



DAILY LIFE THROUGH WORLD HISTORY IN PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

Volume 1, 2 and 3



Lawrence Morris



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Daily Life through World History in Primary Documents

Daily Life through World History in Primary Documents
Lawrence Morris, General Editor

Volume 1: *The Ancient World*
David Matz

Volume 2: *The Middle Ages and Renaissance*
Lawrence Morris

Volume 3: *The Modern World*
David M. Borgmeyer and Rebecca Ayako Bennette



THE ANCIENT WORLD

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To my family

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SET INTRODUCTION

What time we leave work; the food we eat for dinner; how we spend our free time—these small, almost mundane details, can shape our lives as powerfully as who is the president or what battles are being fought in a far-distant country. In fact, we often judge major events—wars, legislation, trade deals—by how those events affect our everyday lives. If trade negotiations mean that we can purchase more goods for less money, we may very well support the negotiations: we will be able to eat out more, see more movies, buy more books. If the negotiations mean that we lose our jobs—resulting in skipped meals, bankruptcy, and ulcers caused by stress—we are likely to be much more critical. How an event impacts our daily life frequently determines how we view that event. Daily life, in other words, is very important and always has been.

The study of daily life therefore enables us to examine the cultural norms, concerns, and priorities of societies across time. We learn the vital importance of maritime trade for the citizens of medieval Barcelona, for example, when we examine the detailed law codes by which they carefully regulated the rights and responsibilities of ships' captains and merchants. We understand more deeply the pervasive role of religious ritual in medieval Japan when we read about the exorcisms practiced to combat ailments that we would now consider physical, not spiritual. When we learn about the day-to-day politics of the ancient Roman Republic, we appreciate how radically different life was under the Roman Empire. When we read a letter home from a U.S. soldier fighting in Vietnam, we feel more intimately the pain of separation. By studying daily life, we get a firmer understanding of what it was like to live in a certain era and a certain place. Learning that Constantine I was emperor of Rome in A.D. 313 gives us important information, but learning about the foods prepared by a Roman peasant or how a Roman merchant traveled about on business gives us a better idea of what it was really like to live in Italy during the same time period.

Primary sources, moreover, offer a uniquely valuable way of learning about the past. Primary sources, of course, are documents or artifacts produced by the people under investigation. These sources enable us to listen directly to the voices of the past. A primary source enables us to view the past from the inside, from the point of view of a person alive at the time. Our tour guide to the culture of ancient Egypt is an ancient Egyptian. Primary sources are the ultimate historical authority—there can be no greater

expert on ancient Rome than an ancient Roman or on medieval France than a medieval Frenchman or woman or on twentieth-century Africa than a modern African.

Daily Life through World History in Primary Documents, therefore, offers the reader a feast of knowledge. Packed within the covers of this important three-volume set are over 500 documents, each of which offers readers the opportunity to listen to a voice from the past (and sometimes the present) explaining that person's own culture and time. The volumes are organized chronologically as follows:

Volume 1: *The Ancient World* contains almost 300 documents from various ancient cultures, including those of Sumeria, Egypt, Israel, China, India, Greece, and Rome, with its primary focus being upon the daily life of Greece and Rome up to roughly the sack of Rome in the fifth century A.D.

Volume 2: *The Middle Ages and Renaissance* contains almost 130 documents from various European (e.g., Anglo-Saxon England, Renaissance Italy), Asian (e.g., Tang China, medieval Japan, Mogul India), Middle Eastern (e.g., medieval Persia, early Islamic Arabia), and Latin American (e.g., Aztec Mexico, Inca Peru, Mayan Central America) cultures spanning the period from the fifth to the seventeenth centuries.

Volume 3: *The Modern World*, covering the birth of modern democracy in the eighteenth century up through the present day, contains over 100 documents from various world cultures, including Turkey, West Africa, India, the United States, and Russia.

At the edges of these basic divides, there is some overlap between volumes, demonstrating how each era carries on from the preceding one.

Within each volume, the myriad aspects of daily life are grouped under seven overarching categories: Domestic Life, Economic Life; Intellectual Life, Material Life, Political Life, Recreational Life, and Religious Life. These categories, which were also employed by the award-winning *Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life*, allow for quick reference between all three volumes. Browsing Religious Life in all three volumes, for example, will offer a scintillating introduction to and overview of the major spiritual traditions across time. Under these shared categories, each volume then further subgroups the texts in the way most useful for the time period under discussion. Common subcategories include Women, Marriage, Children, Literature, Transportation, Medicine, Housing, Clothing, Law, Reform, Sports, and Rituals. Under "Economic Life" in Volume 2, for example, the subcategories employed highlight the important roles played by urban and rural populations, as well as the well-established practice of slavery and the increasingly important role of international trade and commerce.

The scope of *Daily Life through World History in Primary Documents* is truly global. Within these pages, we see documents from countries with such diverse histories and cultures as Japan, Italy, India, West Africa, Persia, the United States, and Central America. Browsing almost any of the subcategories will offer the reader fascinating voices from non-Western cultures. Each section, however, also includes a solid central focus on the major cultures that have shaped the Western world, including Europe and the Americas. None of these cultures exists in a vacuum, however, nor are they entirely dissimilar. Western and non-Western cultures contextualize each other and comment on the common concerns of human beings around the world. Brief analytical essays at the start of each subcategory outline the documents that follow and draw out important

themes that weave throughout the documents, charting a cultural conversation that crosses time and place.

To benefit the most from the primary sources, each individual document also is preceded by an analytical introduction that explains and highlights the main features of that particular document. An author of a primary document, just like authors today, may have a bias, a limited perspective, or missing information that results in a slightly inaccurate portrayal of life in a given culture. The non-specialist reader, moreover, may not be familiar with the items and ideas discussed in a document written a thousand years ago, or in a completely different more contemporary culture. The concise analytical introductions preceding each document mitigate these difficulties by providing an expert evaluation and contextualization of the following document. The combination of primary sources and modern historical analyses of those sources offers the reader a balanced perspective and a solid grounding in the modern the study of daily life.

Part I in each volume offers a detailed historical overview of the period covered. Each volume also contains a chronology of important world events for the period covered, an appendix of brief biographies of document authors or creators, a glossary defining and describing unfamiliar names and terms encountered in the section and document introductions which are also in italics throughout the text for ease of reference, and a bibliography of sources used. Glossary terms in the text appear in italics. Many documents are also illustrated and information can be further accessed through a detailed subject index for the set.

These volumes will be used in many different ways by many different readers, including high school students, college and university undergrads, and interested general readers. Some readers will delve into one volume and browse extensively, gaining an overview of how generations in one era lived their lives. Other readers may be more interested in exploring how one realm of life—political life—for example, has changed from ancient Rome through the present day; those readers will devour the appropriate categories and subcategories from each of the three volumes. Other readers will use the sources to research and support their own written analyses, for assigned essays or for their own independent research. However the reader uses these volumes, I am confident that he or she will enjoy the experience. We have collected an amazing array of intriguing sources that cannot help but capture the interest and the imagination. Enjoy!

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SET ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have made working on *Daily Life through World History in Primary Documents* rewarding. First of all, the volume editors David Matz, Rebecca Ayako Bennette, and David Borgmeyer have created interesting and illuminating conversations between the plethora of texts included in their volumes—daily life comes alive in their pages. Dr. William McCarthy also helped to get the project rolling in its early stages. All the editors at Greenwood, and most especially Mariah Gumpert and John Wagner, have supported and encouraged us from day one. I thank Joyce Salisbury in particular for first awakening my interest in the study of daily life. Agus, ar ndóigh, gabhaim buíochas ar leith le mo bhean chéile, Amy, agus le mo chlann, a bhí foighneach agus tuisceanach nuair a bhuailinn an doras amach go dtí an oifig arís eile i ndiaidh an dinnéir chun beagáinín tuilleadh a scríobh. Tá cuid díobh féin istigh san obair seo; go gcúití Dia leo é.

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CHRONOLOGY

CHRONOLOGY OF SELECTED EVENTS: THE ANCIENT WORLD

c. 3000 B.C.	Sumerian agricultural settlements in Mesopotamia begin to transform into city-states; the Indus Valley Civilization begins to emerge in India
c. 2925	Upper and Lower Egypt are unified
c. 2697	The Yellow Emperor, Huangdi, comes to power in China, and rules for about 100 years
2686–2181	The Old Kingdom flourishes in Egypt
c. 2665–2645	Reign of the Egyptian pharaoh Djoser, for whom the first step pyramid is built at Saqqara
c. 2589–c. 2504	Construction of the great Egyptian pyramids at Giza during the reigns of the fourth Dynasty pharaohs Khufu (c. 2589–2566 B.C.), Khafre (c. 2558–2532 B.C.), and Menkaure (c. 2532–2504 B.C.)
c. 2350	Ptah-hotep, royal vizier, composes his <i>Maxims</i> , a compilation of Egyptian didactic literature
c. 2330	The Akkadian king Sargon the Great conquers the Sumerians
2055–1650	The Middle Kingdom flourishes in Egypt
c. 2000	The Minoan Civilization emerges on the island Crete
c. 1750	Promulgation of the Code of Hammurabi, a set of laws issued by Hammurabi, king of Babylon
c. 1648–c. 1540	A Semitic people known as the Hyksos enter the Nile Delta and rule most of Egypt during this period; identified by some scholars as the Hebrews of the Exodus or as the pharaohs who invited the Hebrews into Egypt, the Hyksos introduced new modes of warfare to Egypt, especially use of the chariot
c. 1600	The Mycenaean Civilization, so named because the city of Mycenae was one of its most important centers, emerges on the Greek mainland
1570–1085	The Egyptian New Kingdom
c. 1530–1028	The Shang, or Yin, Dynasty is predominant in China during this period

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c. 1500–c. 500	The Vedic period in Indian history, during which the Vedas, the sacred Sanskrit texts of Hinduism, were composed
c. 1352–1336	Reign of the pharaoh Akhenaten, who attempted to compel the Egyptian people to abandon worship of the traditional gods in favor of the one god Aten, who was symbolized by the sun disk
1333–1323	The reign of Tutankhamun, the Egyptian boy-king, who, because of the discovery of his unspoiled tomb in 1922, is best known today as King Tut; during his reign, Egypt returned to the worship of the old gods, abandoning the worship of Aten, which had earlier been instituted by Pharaoh Akhenaten
1286	Battle of Kadesh, in which the Egyptians prevail over the Hittites
c. Thirteenth century	Moses leads the Hebrews from bondage in Egypt
c. 1200	The Trojan War begins between the Greeks and the city of Troy in northwestern Asia Minor; according to Homer's <i>Iliad</i> , the war lasted 10 years
c. 1027–256	The Zhou, or Chou, Dynasty rules China; the dynasty's rule sees the further development of Chinese script and the growth of Chinese philosophy
c. 1000	King David comes to power in Israel
c. 970	Solomon succeeds his father David as king of Israel; his reign sees the construction in Jerusalem of a temple where the Ark of the Covenant is kept
c. 930	Following the death of Solomon, the kingdom of Israel splits into two states: Israel in the north ruled eventually from Samaria, and Judah in the south ruled from Jerusalem
776	Traditional founding date of the ancient Greek Olympics
753	Traditional date for the founding of the city of Rome
722	The northern Hebrew kingdom of Israel is conquered by the Assyrians and many of its citizens are carried away into exile, thus becoming known to history as the “lost tribes of Israel”
594	Solon reforms the laws of Athens
586	The Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar completes the siege of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple, an event that also marks the beginning of the Jewish Diaspora
c. 566	Birth of Siddhārtha Gautama, known as Buddha, an Indian spiritual teacher and the founder of Buddhism
551	Birth of Confucius, the Chinese thinker and social philosopher
509	Traditional date for the overthrow of the Roman monarchy and the founding of the Roman Republic, which was to last until 27 B.C.
c. 508	Cleisthenes's legal reforms place the Athenian constitution on a democratic footing
490	A Persian army under King Darius invades Greece but is defeated by a smaller mainly Athenian force at the Battle of Marathon

- 480 The naval component of a second Persian invasion of Greece, led this time by King Xerxes, son of Darius I, is defeated by a Greek fleet at the Battle of Salamis; the Persian army burns Athens after being held up for days at the mountain pass of Thermopylae by a force of 300 Spartans and their allies
- 479 A Greek army defeats a Persian force at the Battle of Plataea, thereby ending the invasion of Xerxes and the second Persian War
- 468 Death of the Indian teacher and philosopher Mahavira, “The Great Hero,” whose doctrines formed the basis of Indian Jain literature
- c. 450 The Twelve Tables, the first codification of Roman law, are published
- 460–429 The orator and statesman Pericles dominates Athenian political life during this period; many of the great buildings of the Athenian Golden Age are constructed during this time, including the Parthenon
- 431–404 The Peloponnesian War pits Athens and its allies against Sparta and its allies and ends in the defeat of Athens; the historian Thucydides (c. 460–400 B.C.) spends the last 20 years of his life writing a monumental history of the war
- c. 430 Sophocles authors possibly the most famous play in the history of Greek tragedy, *Oedipus the King*; in the fall of 430, Pericles delivers his Funeral Oration, in which he praises the Athenian democracy and claims that Athens is the “School of Greece”
- 399 Found guilty of corrupting the youth of Athens, the Athenian philosopher Socrates is forced to commit suicide by drinking hemlock
- 384–322 These dates mark the life spans of two noted Athenians: Demosthenes, the foremost orator of the fourth century B.C., and Aristotle, who was pre-eminent in many fields of inquiry, including philosophy, biology, literature, and political science
- 338 Philip II of Macedonia defeats the combined forces of Athens and Thebes at the Battle of Chaeronea to establish Macedonian hegemony over Greece
- 336 Alexander the Great succeeds his assassinated father, Philip II, as king of Macedonia
- 333 Alexander the Great defeats the main Persian army of Darius III at the Battle of Issus, thus beginning the destruction of the Persian Empire, which, after Alexander’s death, was succeeded by a number of states ruled by Greek dynasties
- 331 Alexander the Great founds the Egyptian city of Alexandria, which over the next century evolves into a focal point of learning and creativity, signaling the beginning of the Hellenistic Age; geographers, astronomers, physicians, and mathematicians flourish in Alexandria, which boasts a magnificent library
- 323 Death of Alexander the Great in Babylon
- 321–184 The Maurya Dynasty rules most of India

Chronology

c. 312	Construction begins on the first paved Roman road, the Via Appia, or Appian Way, which runs eventually from Rome to Brundisium in southeastern Italy
c. 273–232	Reign of the emperor Asoka the Great, an aggressive and dynamic ruler of the Maurya Dynasty, who extended his authority over most of India
264–241	The First Punic War, fought between Rome and Carthage, ends in victory for the former, which becomes the dominant naval power in the Mediterranean
221–206	Rule of the Chinese Qin (or Ch'in) Dynasty, from whose name the word <i>China</i> derives
218–201	The Second Punic War between Rome and Carthage is noted especially for the invasion of Italy undertaken by the Carthaginian general Hannibal, who defeats several Roman armies and nearly seizes and occupies Rome
216	During the Second Punic War, Hannibal wins the Battle of Cannae, which is considered to be one of the worst military defeats ever suffered by Rome
206 B.C.–220 A.D.	Rule of the Han Dynasty in China
202 B.C.	Fought on African soil, the Battle of Zama, in which a Roman army under Publius Cornelius Scipio defeats a Carthaginian force under Hannibal, ends the Second Punic War with a Roman victory
164–63	An independent Jewish state is ruled from Jerusalem by the Jewish Hasmonean Dynasty
149–146	The Third Punic War between Rome and Carthage results in the complete destruction of Carthage
133	Attempting to pass a land reform bill, the Roman tribune Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus is killed in a riot
121	Death of Gaius Gracchus, brother of Tiberius Gracchus, whose attempted reforms led to his flight from Rome and his death, either by his request or through treachery, at the hands of his slave
100	Birth of Julius Caesar
91–88	Rome defeats a coalition of former allies among the other cities of Italy in what is known as the Social War
82–80	The Roman general Sulla seizes power in Rome as dictator, thereby setting an example of one-man rule that will later help hasten the end of the Roman Republic
73–70	Rome defeats a slave revolt led by the gladiator-slave Spartacus during an uprising known as the Third Servile War
70	Birth of the Roman poet Virgil, who completed his epic poem <i>Aeneid</i> shortly before his death in 19 B.C.
63	The noted Roman statesman and lawyer Marcus Tullius Cicero exposes and disrupts the plot of the disappointed office-seeker

	Catiline to overthrow the Roman government in an armed rebellion; Cicero's four speeches against Catiline, delivered in November and December 63, have become classics of Latin literature. Birth of Julius Caesar's grand-nephew Octavian, who becomes the future emperor Augustus
59–54	Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus form and maintain the First Triumvirate to govern the Roman Republic
58–50	Caesar conquers Gaul for Rome
49	Caesar initiates civil war by crossing the Rubicon River and leading his troops into Italy from Gaul; he is opposed by a conservative Senate faction led by his former ally Pompey
44	Julius Caesar is assassinated in the Ides of March conspiracy, which is led by men who oppose his assumption of dictatorial powers in Rome
43	The orator and politician Cicero is killed during the political turmoil that follows upon Caesar's murder; Octavian, Mark Antony, and Lepidus form the Second Triumvirate in opposition to the conservative faction that slew Caesar
42	The civil war initiated by Caesar's murder ends with the defeat of Caesar's assassins by his political heirs, Octavian and Mark Antony
32	Civil war erupts between Octavian, who controls Rome and the western empire, and Antony, who controls the eastern empire
31	The naval Battle of Actium results in the defeat of Mark Antony and Cleopatra by Octavian, who thereafter ends the Roman Republic and initiates the Roman Empire by instituting one-man rule
30	Antony and his lover, Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, who is the former lover of Julius Caesar, commit suicide; Egypt becomes a Roman province
27	Octavian, taking the title Augustus Caesar, becomes sole ruler of Rome, thus initiating the Roman Empire while outwardly retaining the forms and institutions of the Republic
c. 6	Birth of Jesus, the founder of Christianity
A.D. 14	Death of Augustus Caesar, who is succeeded as emperor by his stepson Tiberius
43	The Romans invade Britain under the emperor Claudius (r. A.D. 41–54)
64	The great fire of Rome destroys much of the city; Emperor Nero (r. A.D. 54–68) blames the fire on the Christians, who undergo their first period of state persecution
66–70	Jewish Revolt against Rome culminates in the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem in A.D. 70
79	The eruption of Mount Vesuvius, on August 24 and 25 of this year. The scientist Pliny the Elder is one of the casualties of the eruption. Also in this year, construction begins in Rome on the Flavian Amphitheater, better known as the Coliseum

Chronology

98–180	The Golden Age of ancient Rome, in which the city is ruled by five effective and conscientious emperors in succession: Nerva; Trajan; Hadrian; Antoninus Pius; Marcus Aurelius. In the words of the historian Edward Gibbon: “If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian [A.D. 98] to the accession of Commodus [A.D. 180].”
122	Construction of Hadrian’s Wall begins in northern Britain
280–550	The Gupta Empire rules most of India
303	The emperor Diocletian orders the persecution of Christians
306–337	Reign of Emperor Constantine, who proclaims toleration for Christianity throughout the Roman Empire
476	Deposition of the boy emperor Romulus Augustulus by the Germanic chieftain Odoacer, whose action makes him king of Italy; year is traditionally taken as the ending date of the Roman Empire in the West

Part I

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Sumeria

The story of civilization begins with the Sumerians, who settled in Mesopotamia (modern Iraq). They cultivated their once-swampy homeland, creating a thriving agricultural economy. Around 3000 B.C., their agricultural settlements began to be transformed into the following 12 city-states: Adab, Akshak, Bad-tibera, Erech, Kish, Lagash, Larak, Larsa, Nippur, Sippar, Umma, and Ur. The Sumerians were the first civilization to use the city-state form of political and social organization. At the outset, the citizens of the city-states dictated government policy, but, ultimately, monarchies emerged in all 12.

Around 2330 B.C., the Sumerians were conquered by an Akkadian army under the leadership of Sargon the Great. Sargon's vast empire, which overwhelmed the Sumerian city-states, stretched from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea. He controlled this sprawling empire by dividing it into smaller administrative units and appointing bureaucrats to supervise each one. After Sargon's death in about 2279 B.C., his empire gradually devolved once more into a series of city-states. Ur, the most prominent of these city-states, became known for the promulgation of one of the earliest law codes.

Around 1900 B.C., the Amorites conquered the Sumerian lands, and the Sumerians, as a distinct cultural entity, faded from the scene. However, the accomplishments of the Sumerians, which included the first practical use of wheels, in both pottery-making and transportation; the first city-states; and, perhaps most importantly, the first system of writing, a collection of symbols carved into clay tablets known as cuneiform, have endured.

China

The early history of China may be studied from the perspective of four of the earliest dynasties: the Shang or Yin, the Chou, the Ch'in, and the Han.

SHANG DYNASTY (c. 1530–1028 B.C.)

Under the Shang Dynasty, the first historic Chinese dynasty, the earliest form of Chinese writing emerged in the form of inscriptions on daggers, earthenware, tortoise

shells, and even bones. Monarchy was the predominant form of government, although priests, with their powers of prophecy, also enjoyed great prestige. A wide gulf apparently separated kingly lifestyles from the daily routines of the ordinary people; kings dwelled in ornate palaces, while their subjects passed their days in simple huts and caves. The Shang Dynasty survived for over 500 years, until it was toppled by the Chou Dynasty in about 1027 B.C.

CHOU (ZHŌU) DYNASTY (c. 1027–256 B.C.)

The Chou Dynasty came to power because of the corruption and ineptitude of the last Shang ruler. By contrast, the first two Chou rulers, Wen Wang and his son Wu Wang, were noble and virtuous. Down to about 770 B.C. the dynasty is known as the Western Chou because of the location of the dynastic capital in the northwestern portion of the family's territories. The Western Chou built upon the achievements of the Shang in writing and metallurgy. Chou rulers maintained power through what they termed *the Mandate of Heaven*, wherein the ruler occupied a sort of middle position between heaven and earth. The Chinese of this period attributed the downfall of a ruler or a dynasty to a forfeiture of this mandate through dishonest or ignoble behavior.

Around 770 B.C., barbarian invaders defeated the last Western Chou ruler and moved the capital eastward to Loyang. The dynasty founded by the invaders was hence known as the Eastern Chou, whose rulers were unable to impose the same political and military unity achieved by their predecessors. Nonetheless, the Eastern Chou presided over a sort of Chinese Golden Age sometimes called *The Period of the One Hundred Schools*. During this time, some of the most noteworthy Chinese philosophers flourished, including Kung Fu Tzu (Confucius), out of whose teachings developed the Chinese ethical and philosophical system known as Confucianism; Lao Tzu, the founder of Taoism; and Mo Tzu.

CH'IN DYNASTY (221–206 B.C.)

Although lasting for a mere 15 years, the Ch'in Dynasty had so great an impact on Chinese history that the modern name of the country, *China*, derives from it. The emperor most closely associated with this dynasty is Ch'eng, who took the title Shih Huang Ti, which is variously translated as "The First August Sovereign" or "The First Exalted Emperor." The Ch'in established the first great Chinese empire, with the emperor consolidating administrative authority in his hands by weakening the power of local aristocratic nobles. Under Ch'in rule, a network of highways was constructed and money, the calendar, and weights and measures were standardized. The Ch'in also began a construction of a series of fortifications that eventually became the Great Wall of China.

The Ch'in emperor enforced a Draconian adherence to the accepted laws and legal doctrines; deviation from the prescribed norms meant the death penalty. When Shih Huang Ti died in 210 B.C., the unity that he had brought to China quickly dissolved into rioting and anarchy. The dynasty that was supposedly destined to last 10,000 years outlasted its "first exalted emperor" by only four years.

HAN DYNASTY (202 B.C.–A.D. 220)

Like their predecessors, the goal of the Han rulers was national unification. In this, the Han succeeded to an extent not achieved by previous dynasties. The Han Dynasty saw the expansion of Chinese hegemony into Vietnam and Korea, as well as the establishment of Chinese control over the Silk Road, a trade route that eventually stretched as far as the Roman world in the west. Much of this expansion occurred during the reign of emperor Wu Ti (141–87 B.C.).

The Han Dynasty, like the Eastern Chou before them, inspired a burst of creative activity in many areas. Several noted writers, among them Ssu-ma Ch'ien (first century B.C.) and Pan Ku (A.D. 32–92) produced high quality historical works. The historian Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian* was the exemplar for all future Chinese historians. Around A.D. 100, the first dictionary of Chinese characters was published, the *Shuo Wen*, or *Explanation of Writing*. A comprehensive book on natural history, *Book of the Mountains and Seas*, also appeared during the Han period. Technological advances, including the invention of paper and the development of silk weaving, occurred during this time period. So lasting was the influence of the Han Dynasty that modern Chinese proudly refer to themselves as *Men of Han*.

India

The first important cultural group in Indian history was the Indus Valley Civilization (also known as the Harappan Civilization), which began to flourish sometime after 3000 B.C. Around the middle of the second millennium B.C., various Aryan peoples supplanted the Indus Valley Civilization. During this time, the earliest Indian literary source was compiled, the *Rig Veda*, which is an anthology of religious hymns.

Aryan influence began to wane in the sixth century B.C., when the country was divided into 16 monarchies known collectively as the Mahajanapadas. The most prominent of these was the Kingdom of Magadh in the valley of the Ganges River. Lasting from about 500 to 300 B.C., the period of the 16 kingdoms is regarded as a golden age, when many notable advances occurred, including the development of coinage and the creation of some of the earliest Sanskrit texts. Siddhârtha Gautama, the founder of Buddhism and known to its adherents as the Great Buddha, was born in about 563 B.C., the son of a north Indian ruler.

The Mauryan Kingdom emerged in the third century B.C. under the leadership of one of the most dynamic of Indian monarchs, Asoka the Great, who ruled from 273 to 232 B.C. An aggressive leader, Asoka pushed his conquests as far as the Kingdom of Kalinga on India's eastern shore. As a result of this offensive, Asoka wrote that "150,000 were captured, 100,000 were slain, and many times as many died."

However, after his conversion to Buddhism, he adopted the principle of Ahimsa, "respect for life." He put aside his earlier bellicose inclinations and instead channeled his energies into spreading Buddhism throughout India, as well as into Ceylon and southeast Asia. Asoka's missionaries also came into contact with peoples as far away as north Africa, western Asia, and eastern Europe. Under Asoka's leadership, Buddhism emerged as a prominent world religion.

After Asoka's death, India was not a unified nation but a collection of small, discordant kingdoms subject to attacks from each other and also from foreign invaders. However, unity was restored during the Gupta Period (A.D. 320–540) by the first two Gupta kings, Chandragupta I (A.D. 320–330) and his son Samudragupta (A.D. 330–380), who is sometimes called the “Napoleon of India.”

During the Gupta Dynasty, India enjoyed a renaissance in art, literature, science, and other creative endeavors. Kalidas, a famous Sanskrit poet and dramatist, flourished under the Gupta, as did such mathematicians and astronomers as Arybhata and Varah-mihir. Hindu temple architecture also began to take shape under the Gupta. A traveler from China, Fa Hsien, visited India in the early fifth century A.D. and chronicled his observations of the Gupta Dynasty.

Egypt

Egypt boasts a civilization that remained intact for almost 3,000 years, beginning with the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt around the year 2925 B.C. By 2686 B.C., a dynastic tradition had been established, and the history of the Old Kingdom (2686–2181 B.C.) began under the direct and unquestioned control of the pharaoh.

The Old Kingdom is also aptly known as the Pyramid Age, for it was during this time that the construction of those immense tombs began. One of the earliest names associated with pyramid building was Imhotep, a trusted advisor to the pharaoh Djoser. Under Imhotep's direction, a step pyramid (c. 2650 B.C.) was constructed for Djoser; it was the first structure in history in which prepared stone was used throughout.

Pyramid building reached its zenith during the Fourth Dynasty (2613–2494 B.C.), when the famous pyramids of Giza were constructed. The Great Pyramid originally soared to a height of almost 520 feet; over two million limestone blocks were used in its construction. Other Old Kingdom advances included crop irrigation and the invention of a solar calendar similar to the calendar in use today.

The Old Kingdom declined and eventually disappeared after 2181 B.C. After a transitional period lasting over a hundred years, the Middle Kingdom (2055–1650 B.C.) emerged. The Middle Kingdom was marked by a flurry of expansionism, which included the annexation of Nubia (modern Sudan) to the south. This annexation gave the Egyptians access to Nubian gold mines, which increased Middle Kingdom wealth and accelerated its commercial relationships with places such as Palestine, Syria, and Crete.

Around 1700 B.C., Egypt was invaded and occupied by the Hyksos, a people whose origins are unknown, but who may have come from somewhere in the Middle East. The Hyksos ruled Egypt for about a hundred years until their expulsion in 1570 B.C. This expulsion paved the way for the emergence of the Egyptian New Kingdom (1570–1085 B.C.).

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the New Kingdom was its emphasis on aggressive expansion. The pharaohs of the New Kingdom pushed the boundaries of Egypt to the Euphrates River and also took control of land in Palestine and Syria. Their possession of the Nubian gold mines provided the necessary funding for these ambitious ventures. Commercial interactions with other nations and city-states also increased, coupled with a change in religious belief. For much of their history, the Egyptians had been polytheistic, but the pharaoh Akhenaton (1669–1353 B.C.) introduced the worship of

a single god, Aton, who was represented by the sun. Akhenaton's religious views died with him, and the traditional Egyptian religion was revived by his successors, most notably Tutankhamon, whose tomb was discovered intact in the twentieth century. He has become popularly known as King Tut. One other noteworthy New Kingdom event was the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt under the leadership of Moses.

After the reign of Akhenaton, the New Kingdom experienced a slow decline, culminating in its collapse around 1085 B.C. A succession of foreign invaders, including the Libyans, Persians, and, ultimately, in the fourth century B.C., the Greeks, ruled the country. After the conquest of Alexander the Great in 332 B.C., Egypt became fully immersed in Hellenistic culture. Founded by Alexander, the city of *Alexandria* became a center of learning and human creativity. Alexandria could boast of a magnificent library that is thought to have contained over a half million volumes. There were also spectacular advances in medicine, astronomy, and mathematics. The Alexandrian astronomer Aristarchus (c. 310–230 B.C.) argued in favor of a heliocentric solar system almost two millennia before Copernicus and Galileo reached the same conclusion. The geometric proofs of the mathematician Euclid (fl. 300 B.C.) belong to Alexandria's Hellenistic age, while the geographer Eratosthenes (c. 275–194 B.C.) accurately calculated the earth's circumference. In 30 B.C., Egypt came under Roman rule, which lasted until A.D. 395, when control of the country was assumed by Constantinople.

Israel

The earliest Hebrew people, forbears of the Israelites, lived in the land of Canaan. At some point, some of the Hebrews emigrated from Canaan to Egypt seeking a more viable environment for their agricultural production. However, they eventually became the slaves of the Egyptians and sought a way to escape from the clutches of the pharaohs. In the thirteenth century B.C., the Hebrew leader Moses, claiming to be a messenger of God, led the Hebrews from bondage in Egypt. After a long and arduous journey through the desert, they ultimately arrived, again, in Canaan, where they were reunited with the Hebrews who had not emigrated. The Philistines, Aegean Sea islanders who had settled on the southern coasts of Canaan, threatened the security of the newly unified Hebrews, but under the leadership of King Saul, the Philistines were contained.

King David took power among the Hebrews around 1000 B.C. and ushered in a memorable chapter in the history of ancient Israel. King David's armies subjugated the Philistines and subdued other neighboring tribes, including the Moabites and the Ammonites. David established Jerusalem as the capital city of the increasingly powerful and unified Hebrews; he conferred a religious aura on the city by placing the Ark of the Covenant there. The ark was a specially built sacred container within which were placed the tablets containing the Ten Commandments and other sacred objects.

When King David died in 973 B.C., he was succeeded by his son King Solomon. Perhaps the most significant achievement of Solomon's reign was the construction in Jerusalem of a temple where the Ark of the Covenant could be kept. With the help of the seafaring Phoenicians, who lived to the north of Israel, Solomon created a fleet of Hebrew merchant ships that traveled widely on trading expeditions and greatly increased the material prosperity of the kingdom.

Historical Overview

After the death of Solomon in 922 B.C., Hebrew unity dissolved into two separate kingdoms: Judah, to the south, and Israel, to the north. The Assyrians invaded and conquered Israel in 722 B.C., dispersing many of the people of the kingdom to other parts of the Assyrian Empire. In 586 B.C., Judah, whose kings ruled from Jerusalem, fell to the Chaldeans, who destroyed Solomon's magnificent temple and exiled many of the kingdom's inhabitants. Many were sent to Babylon, the Chaldean capital, thus initiating a period of almost 50 years that came to be known in Israelite history as the Babylonian Captivity. Shortly after the Persians conquered Babylon in 538 B.C., King Cyrus of Persia allowed the Hebrews to return to Judah, where they retained the right to practice their religion and were allowed to rebuild the temple. The Hebrews remained under Persian rule until the Persian Empire was overthrown by Alexander the Great of the Greek kingdom of Macedonia in the 330s B.C.

Thereafter, the Hebrews or, as they have been commonly called after this period, Jewish people, fell under the rule of the Hellenistic Seleucid kingdom, one of the successor states to Alexander's empire. In 164 B.C., a revolt led by the Maccabees ended Seleucid rule and established an independent Jewish kingdom ruled by the Hasmonean royal dynasty. The Hasmonean kingdom ended in 63 B.C. when Jerusalem and the Jewish state passed under Roman rule. In A.D. 66, the eruption of an ultimately unsuccessful Jewish revolt against the Romans led to the recapture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70. Some 100,000 Jews were killed and another 100,000 were seized as slaves. A second rebellion against Roman rule erupted in A.D. 132 under the leadership of Simon Bar Kokhba, but it was soon put down. The Romans then created a new province, Syria-Palestine, and the region of the old Hebrew kingdoms has been known as Palestine since that time.

Greece

The first important civilization in the Greek world arose not on the Greek mainland but on the Mediterranean island of Crete to the south. Around 2000 B.C., the Minoans—named for the legendary Cretan king Minos—developed a flourishing civilization that featured ornate palaces for the monarchs and their entourages. The palaces had workshops where high-quality vases and other implements were fabricated. The walls were decorated with mural paintings, and the lavatories had running water, baths, and drains. Around 1250 B.C., the Minoan civilization abruptly vanished, perhaps as the result of an earthquake or volcanic eruption, although the exact cause of its demise is unknown.

Coinciding with the decline of the Minoans was the rise of the Mycenaean civilization on the Greek mainland. The Mycenaeans, like the Minoans, built elaborate palaces for their rulers and also developed a system of writing known as Linear B (because the characters appear in straight lines), an early form of Greek. They were also great seafarers, and their merchant ships plied the waters of the Mediterranean from Sicily to the Near East. The city of Mycenae was the capital of *Agamemnon*, the leader of the Greek forces that attacked Troy. Agamemnon's role in the Trojan War is described in detail in Homer's epic poem, *Iliad*. Unfortunately, Mycenaean participation in the Trojan War may have helped hasten the end of its civilization, which collapsed around 1150 B.C.

After the downfall of the Mycenaeans, ancient Greece lapsed into a Dark Age, which lasted until about 800 B.C. At that time, an era of economic expansion, international trade, and overseas colonization emerged. The Greeks established colonies as far east as Asia Minor and as far west as Sicily. The Olympic Games, first held in *Olympia* in 776 B.C., as well as other important athletic/religious festivals, were founded during this period. City-states, or *poleis*, flourished across Greece, and the stage was set for the rise of Athens and other Greek population centers.

Athens eventually became the cultural and economic center of Classical Greece, ultimately evolving into one of the most powerful city-states. One of its earliest identifiable figures was the statesman/philosopher/poet *Solon*, who in 594 B.C. was granted extensive power to reform the laws of Athens. He undertook this awesome responsibility vigorously and comprehensively, drafting or reforming laws and policies in areas such as debt and currency, agriculture, wills, and marriage. So far-reaching was his influence that his name lives on today in the English language to refer to a wise and prudent legislator.

During the sixth century B.C., Athens matured as a city-state. Two notable Athenian politicians book-ended the century—*Solon* at its beginning and *Cleisthenes* at its end. Around 508 B.C., Cleisthenes took the lead in establishing the beginnings of democracy by spearheading a movement to place governmental power in the Athenian *Assembly*, and by introducing a unique practice called *ostracism*, a method of curtailing the power of overly ambitious politicians. Ostracism worked as follows: Once per year, the Assembly could vote to exile from Athens any one politician for a period of 10 years. Each voter was issued an *ostrakon*, or broken piece of pottery, on which he inscribed the name of the politician he most wished to see exiled. As long as a minimum of 6,000 votes were cast, the individual with the most votes recorded against his name had to undergo the prescribed penalty.

Abuses, however, sometimes occurred. *Aristides*, a fifth-century B.C. politician with so great a reputation for honesty and fairness that he received the sobriquet “the Just,” was ostracized in 483 B.C. According to a well-known story, during the voting, an illiterate farmer, who did not know Aristides by sight, marched up to him and asked him to inscribe the name “Aristides” on his ostrakon. Aristides was understandably taken aback; he asked the farmer how Aristides had wronged him and the farmer replied that Aristides had never harmed him in any way, but he was weary of hearing about Aristides the Just all the time. Aristides, honest man that he was, dutifully carved his own name on the potsherd.

In the early fifth century B.C., the Greeks faced a crisis from abroad. The Persians, who had been relentlessly pushing their imperial domains ever further west, invaded Greece in 490 B.C. and again 10 years later in 480 B.C. Both times, the Greeks, under the leadership of Athens, defeated the Persians, even though the Persian king had larger armies and greater resources.

In about 478 B.C., representatives from several hundred Greek *poleis* met on the tiny island of Delos in the Cyclades archipelago off the eastern coast of Greece. There they formed an alliance, known as the Delian League, which was designed to prevent the Persians from attempting a third invasion. Because the Delian League was eventually dominated by Athens, its formation helped set the stage of the golden age of Athenian power.

The groundwork that was laid by Cleisthenes for a democracy in Athens came to full flower in the mid-fifth century B.C. The Athenian Assembly met 40 times per year, not in a comfortable, ornately decorated hall, but out of doors on the side of a rocky hill called the Pnyx. Any male Athenian citizen could attend and participate in Assembly meetings. While the precise number of Athenian citizens at any given time is unknown, there may have been 40,000 in the mid-fifth century, a far greater number than could be comfortably accommodated on the Pnyx. In reality, however, few of the 40,000 likely showed up for Assembly meetings, so overcrowding was seldom, if ever, a problem. In the Assembly, debates and speeches about public policy issues ensued, and attendees could voice their opinions and vote when appropriate.

It has been said that Athenian democracy was noteworthy by virtue of the absence of professional politicians, and this is probably true. However, one area where professional competency was paramount was military leadership. Hence, the generals—*strategoí* (singular *strategos*)—of the Athenian army were elected, 10 per year, for terms of one year. Generals could run for re-election; *Pericles*, perhaps the most famous figure of Athens' Golden Age, was elected *strategos* 15 consecutive times between 444 and 429 B.C.

The zenith of the Athenian golden age coincided with Pericles's remarkable string of electoral triumphs, and it seems fair to say that he was the driving force that made the golden age possible. During this time, poets and playwrights flourished, notably the famous triad of tragedians—Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides—as well as the comic playwright Aristophanes, and many others, whose works are fragmentary or known only by references to them in works of other authors. Philosophers and historians, such as *Socrates* and *Thucydides*, also flourished in Periclean Athens. All these writers enjoyed complete freedom of speech. Plutarch, who wrote a biography of Pericles, says that the comic playwrights of the time saddled Pericles with the uncomplimentary nickname *schinocephalus* ("squillhead"), a reference to his misshapen skull. In modern times, such a comment would be at best unseemly, but the unbridled satirists of the fifth century B.C. were bound by no such conventions of nicety or political correctness.

The Athenian golden age was also marked by a flurry of building activity, as Pericles sought to beautify the city with a number of impressive buildings, particularly to serve as tangible examples of Athenian power. Of these structures, the most enduringly famous is the *Parthenon*, a huge temple in honor of the goddess Athena, which was constructed on top of the *Acropolis*, the highest elevation in the city. The Parthenon is about 200 feet long. The exterior supports for its roof are massive Doric columns, each about 34 feet tall, with a diameter of over 6 feet. The building is graced, inside and out, with first-rate sculptural decorations. In the interior stood a colossal statue of Athena, about 40 feet tall, crafted of ivory and gold, and created under the supervision of Athens's most renowned sculptor/artist, *Pheidias*. The entire building was constructed of the most expensive marble, and the bottom-line price tag for the project was an astounding 5,000 talents. (Because a conservative estimate for the dollar value of a talent might be \$300,000, the Parthenon, in modern terms, cost at least one and a half *billion* dollars.)

Pericles paid for his ambitious building projects in Athens by siphoning off funds from the Delian League, whose member poleis made annual contributions to the League treasury. This practice was bitterly criticized by League members, but Pericles responded by saying that as long as Athens kept the Persians at bay he had no obligation to

provide any justification or explanation to the allies or to rival Athenian politicians for how League funds were spent.

The Athenian golden age ended with the start of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.), a long and bitter struggle between the two most powerful Greek poleis, Athens and *Sparta*. A long simmering rivalry between the two city-states finally erupted into open war for many reasons, but the two identified by the historian Thucydides (c. 460–c. 400 B.C.) in his monumental work on the conflict were the growing power of Athens and the Spartan fear of that power. The long war finally ended when the victorious Spartans breeched the walls of Athens and occupied the city.

The fourth century B.C. was characterized by the rise and decline of various poleis that were trying, whether consciously or not, to fill the void left by the fall of Athens. Chief among these city-states were Sparta and Thebes. During the century, the city-state model of government gave way to more authoritarian forms, especially when Philip II and his son Alexander, the rulers of the northern kingdom of Macedonia, brought most of Greece under their control in the 330s B.C.

Alexander succeeded Philip on the Macedonian throne in 336 B.C., when Philip was murdered. Only 20 years old, Alexander immediately implemented a plan to invade Persia. Alexander defeated Darius III of Persia at Issus in 333 B.C. He thereafter extended his rule into Egypt and led his army as far east as Afghanistan and India. The result of Alexander's campaigns was a new mingling of eastern and western cultures, encouraged by the king himself, who married a Persian woman and founded over 70 cities, all named Alexandria, throughout his domains. Had he not died prematurely of fever at age 33 in 323 B.C., Alexander might have united all the lands he conquered into a permanent, stable Hellenistic kingdom. As it was, Alexander's empire broke up quickly into a series of successor states ruled by some of his leading commanders. Although Greek literature, philosophy, rhetoric, and language remained as influential forces in the intellectual life of the ancient world, the rising power of Rome gradually emerged as the successor to Greek cultural and political dominance.

Rome

Few Trojans survived the epic conflict with Greek invaders immortalized by the poet Homer in the *Iliad*. According to Roman tradition, one of the survivors, Aeneas, escaped from the burning city of Troy and, with a small band of friends, sailed away as refugees, not knowing where they were headed nor what lay in store for them. After many adventures and setbacks on the high seas, the Trojans eventually landed in central Italy, and, after some resistance from the local inhabitants, established a new homeland. Aeneas, according to this view, was the progenitor of Rome.

A shadowy and poorly attested line of kings ruled for four centuries after Aeneas. Then, some time in the eighth century B.C., came the birth of a pair of twin boys named *Romulus* and Remus. One of them was said to be destined to found a new and great city, but when it could not be determined which of the two it was, both began construction of cities on adjacent hills. According to Roman legend, Remus one day paid a visit to his brother's hill to see how the construction was progressing. Upon seeing that little had been accomplished, Remus began to taunt his brother about the puniness of his

fortification walls. Romulus endured this abuse in silence for a short time, but when Remus began to leap back and forth over the unfinished walls, Romulus drew his sword and slew his brother, proclaiming as he did so that a similar fate would await anyone who attempted to breach the walls of his city. Romulus's dictum was never in the future to be taken lightly either by the Romans or by their many foreign enemies. Romulus continued building his new city, which was named Rome in his honor, and became its first king in 753 B.C., the date traditionally taken for the founding of the city. He was succeeded by six more kings, until the last—Tarquinius Superbus—was expelled around 509 B.C., when the monarchy was abolished and replaced with a republic.

In its earliest days, the Roman Republic was divided into two socioeconomic groups: the patricians, who constituted the wealthy nobility, and the plebeians, the common people. A prolonged civil rights struggle characterized the first several centuries of the republic, with the plebeians attempting to gain social, political, and economic equality with the patricians, and the patricians trying to prevent them from doing so. The plebeians eventually prevailed, partly because they outnumbered the patricians, and partly because the patricians needed plebeian soldiers to fight the many expansionist and defensive wars in which the republic was involved.

Among the worst of these conflicts were the Punic Wars (from the Latin word *Punicus* for “Carthaginian”), which pitted Rome against *Carthage*, a north African city of Phoenician origins. A growing rivalry for economic and political control of Sicily, southern Italy, and Spain exploded into the First Punic War (264–241 B.C.), which ended with the establishment of Roman hegemony in Sicily. The Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.) was perhaps the most difficult and dangerous conflict in which Rome was ever involved. The brilliant Carthaginian general Hannibal had sworn as oath at the age of nine that he would be the relentless and intractable enemy of the Roman people. As a youth, he accompanied his father, Hamilcar, the leader of the Carthaginian army, to Spain, where the Carthaginians were establishing outposts and military bases. In 221 B.C., when Hannibal was about 26, Hamilcar died, leaving his son to assume command of the army. In 218 B.C., Hannibal blockaded and eventually captured the Spanish coastal town of Saguntum, a nominal Roman ally. Rome declared war on Carthage and the Second Punic War began.

In a bold and unexpected move, Hannibal invaded Italy by marching overland through Spain and southern France before undertaking an arduous October crossing of the Alps. Although the land route was for more difficult and dangerous, especially for the seafaring Carthaginians, Hannibal chose it as the best way to both toughen his men and intimidate the Romans. Hannibal won three decisive victories over the Romans in Italy: at the Trebia River in 218 B.C., at Lake Trasimene in 217 B.C., and at the Battle of Cannae in 216 B.C., with the latter being a particularly disastrous Roman defeat. After Cannae, Hannibal's lifelong desire to destroy Rome seemed about to be realized. Although he marched to the walls of Rome, he had not the strength to take the city. Remaining in Italy for the next 13 years, Hannibal was recalled to Carthage in 203 B.C. In 202 B.C., at Zama in Carthaginian north Africa, the Romans under Scipio Africanus defeated Hannibal for the first and only time during the war. The Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.) was a much briefer conflict that resulted in the complete destruction of Carthage.

The Second Punic War decimated Roman farmland and left in its wake thousands of unemployed and homeless Roman farmers, many of whom had fought as soldiers against Hannibal. No one seriously addressed these pressing economic and social issues until Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus was elected one of the 10 tribunes for the year 133 B.C. As a Roman tribune, Gracchus had the right to introduce legislation, and, having campaigned for office on the issue of land redistribution, he quickly introduced a land reform bill. Much of the farmland in the Italian countryside had been swallowed up into huge holdings known as *latifundia*, which were owned by a comparatively few wealthy aristocrats. Much of this land had been expropriated during or after the Second Punic War, leaving their original owners, who had been away serving in the army, with nothing. Gracchus sought to remedy this situation.

Not surprisingly, the landowners were bitterly opposed to Gracchus's proposal, and they tried every parliamentary trick to stop passage of his bill. However, in the end his land reform measure was enacted into law. Late in 133 B.C., Gracchus, took the unusual step—since the tribunate, like all other elective offices in the republic, was to be held for one year only—of announcing his intention of standing for re-election. This move was more than Gracchus's wealthy foes could tolerate. On election day, Gracchus appeared in the forum with armed guards and wearing mourning clothes, actions that implied that his failure to win re-election would lead to his impeachment and death. During the voting, violence erupted between the factions, and Gracchus's opponents, declaring that he sought to make himself king, invaded the forum. Gracchus was slain in the ensuing disorder.

Some historians see the events of 133 B.C. as the beginning of the end of the Roman Republic, and certainly the activities of ambitious Roman politicians over the next century seem to validate that assessment. The first century B.C. is one of the best documented and most complicated periods in all of ancient history, so it is a daunting task to single out one event, or even series of events, as having the greatest significance on the development of Roman history. But the tenure of the times might be conveniently illustrated by considering the lives and careers of the era's leading figures—Marcus Tullius Cicero and Gaius Julius Caesar.

Cicero (106–43 B.C.) was a statesman, diplomat, politician, and author, but he achieved his greatest fame as a lawyer and orator. His legal career spanned nearly 40 years and included many celebrated cases. His most famous speeches may have been the four he delivered in November and December of 63 B.C., in which he exposed the plot of Lucius Sergius Catilina, or Catiline, to overthrow the Roman government by force. Toward the end of his life, Cicero became increasingly worried about the future of his beloved Roman Republic, and he did not hesitate to lash out at individuals whom he perceived as threats to its survival. His last public speeches, the *Philippics*, were a series of tirades directed, for the most part, at Mark Antony, a public figure for whom Cicero had nothing but contempt. When Mark Antony became part of the triumvirate (three-man coalition) that seized power in Rome shortly after the assassination of Julius Caesar on the Ides of March (March 15) of 44 B.C., he made certain that Cicero's name appeared on the proscription list that the three triumvirs drew up. Cicero was then hunted down and killed in December of 43 B.C.

The century's dominant individual, however, was certainly Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.). Shrewd, ambitious, ruthless, and brilliant, Caesar was a man who knew what he wanted and who knew how to get it. He served as consul (the most important political office in the republic) in 59 B.C., and, after that, as governor of the province of Gaul (modern France), a post that he held for eight years. Caesar proved to be a very aggressive provincial governor, initiating battles, annexing territories, and capturing prisoners. When he finally returned to Rome in 49 B.C., at the head of a battle-tested army loyal to him, he precipitated a bloody civil war that lasted for four years and ended with the establishment of his own political dominance.

By the end of the civil wars, the Roman Republic had ceased to exist in any meaningful way. In 46 B.C., the Roman Senate granted Caesar the powers of dictator for 10 years and then, 2 years later, gave them to Caesar for life. The biographer Suetonius asserted that Caesar also received many other honors that were deemed inappropriate, including a lifetime consulship; the erection of his statue among those of the early Roman kings; and the establishment of altars, temples, and even a priest of his own religious cult. The seventh month of the year, previously called Quintilis, was renamed Julius in his honor (the current name for the month, July, derives from Julius).

Quixotic defenders of the republic, led by Marcus Junius Brutus and Gaius Cassius Longinus, believed that Caesar had to be stopped; they formed a conspiracy to assassinate him, believing that his plans—whatever they were exactly—could be thwarted in no other way. On March 15, 44 B.C., Caesar self-confidently ignored warnings of plots against his life and entered the Senate, where he was stabbed to death by the conspirators.

Caesar's death began a new round of even bloodier civil wars, which did not end until 31 B.C., when naval forces under the command of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa and the young Octavian, grand-nephew of Julius Caesar, defeated the fleet of Mark Antony and Queen Cleopatra of Egypt at the Battle of Actium. The subsequent end of the civil war was also effectively the end of the Roman Republic.

By virtue of his victory at Actium, Octavian was unquestioned leader of Rome. In 27 B.C., he received an imposing array of honors from the Senate, including the new name *Augustus*—meaning “the revered one”—which was a term with religious connotations. His mastery of Rome now complete, Augustus shrewdly claimed to be following the customs and traditions of the republic. He sternly denied any aspirations for the kingship, but during his rule the Roman Empire emerged from the ashes of the republic, and Augustus became the first emperor. Augustus so successfully stabilized the Roman government that his 41-year reign saw the establishment of a *Pax Romana*, a period of relative peace and tranquility that became a Roman golden age of creative expression.

When Augustus died in A.D. 14, at the age of 76, he was succeeded by a line of mainly corrupt or inept emperors that lasted until the accession of Nerva to the imperial throne in A.D. 96. Nerva (A.D. 96–98) and the four emperors who followed him—*Trajan* (A.D. 98–117), *Hadrian* (A.D. 117–138), *Antoninus Pius* (A.D. 138–161), and *Marcus Aurelius* (A.D. 161–180)—were collectively known as the Five Good Emperors because they presided over an unprecedented period of peace and prosperity. Indeed, the famous historian Edward Gibbon described the period as follows: “If a man were to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race

was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus" [i.e., the period of the Five Good Emperors].

After the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180, the Roman Empire experienced a gradual decline in its fortune, although it managed to endure for almost another three centuries. Most of the emperors in these years were unremarkable, with a few notable exceptions, such as Aurelian (A.D. 270–275), Diocletian (A.D. 285–313), and Constantine (A.D. 313–337), under whom Christianity was officially recognized. However, the imperial bureaucracy and infrastructure proved strong enough to withstand incompetence at the top until the fifth century A.D., when the empire, particularly in the west, began to break up. In A.D. 476, Germanic tribes captured Rome and overthrew the last Roman emperor, thus effectively ending the Roman Empire in the west. In the east, however, the empire, now ruled from Constantinople, continued to exist until the fifteenth century.

Part II

DOMESTIC LIFE

Families and Households

Not surprisingly, the family unit is a major commonality among ancient civilizations; therefore, much of the primary source material—especially documents pertaining to laws, customs, and traditions—in one way or another reflects ancient family values. Information on marriage customs seems particularly abundant. Many clauses of the Code of Hammurabi (Document 1) pertained to marriage, as did much of the content of the Mosaic law on marriage (Document 2). Strict rules applied in many cases, especially in the matter of the choice of a spouse.

The *polis* of *Sparta* in ancient Greece was an anomalous state in many ways, and such was the case with its marriage customs, as Document 9 indicates. In particular, bachelorhood for men was frowned upon, and severe penalties awaited those who did not marry. Nor were Spartan husbands averse to sharing their wives with other men (Document 13), with the primary aim of begetting strong children. In ancient India, on the other hand, wives were greatly honored, but they also knew their place, which mainly involved cooking and taking care of the household (Document 4). The text of Document 6 reveals that men in ancient Egypt could marry as many wives as they wished, and large families were encouraged. Priests, however, were limited to one wife.

A unique situation prevailed in Athens in the early sixth century B.C. Because the city was in chaos, an extraordinary decision was made to place all legislative authority in the hands of one man, *Solon*, who was given one year to reform all the laws of the city as he saw fit. No limit was set to his powers. His reforms touched virtually all aspects of Athenian public and private life (Document 7), including regulations governing marriages, dowries, rape, adultery, and illegitimate children. Plutarch, conversely, touched upon one of the lighter sides of the marriage equation: why so many guests are invited to—or appear at—wedding receptions (Document 10). The Athenian philosopher *Socrates* claimed that an advantage of having a shrewish wife—as he reputedly did—was that she unintentionally helped prepare him for enduring the pettiness and abuse of his critics in the public arena (Document 8). But the Roman politician Quintus Metellus Numidicus once made a speech in which he wistfully longed for a social state wherein marriage, and women, would be unnecessary (Document 14).

Various aspects of family life in China (Document 3), Egypt (Document 5), and Rome (Documents 11 and 12) round out the material covered in this section. Of particular interest is Document 12, on the responsibilities of a good father, because it pertains to Roman politician Cato the Elder. Cato's public persona was that of a crusty, aggressive, often foul-tempered man; one might conclude that he behaved that way at home also, but such was apparently not the case.

SUMERIA

1. Selections from the Code of Hammurabi

The written evidence for much of Sumerian domestic life is contained in three poorly preserved collections of laws: the reforms of Urukagina, a ruler of Lagash, one of the Sumerian city-states, from about 2400 B.C.; law codes developed by Ur-Nammu, a ruler of Ur, from about 2100 B.C.; and a code of Lipit-Ishtar, the king of Isin, from about 1800 B.C. However, the best-preserved and most complete document from Sumerian/Akkadian times is the eighteenth-century B.C. Code of Hammurabi, a series of some 282 proclamations and decrees issued by the Babylonian king for whom it is named. This law code, in the form of an inscribed stele found in 1901 by French archaeologists, is particularly noteworthy because it is the only known law code that can be dated earlier than the Bible. Reproduced below are some clauses from the code that are pertinent to domestic relations.

137. If a man wishes to separate from a woman who has borne him children, or from his wife who has borne him children, then he shall give that wife her dowry, and a part of the usufruct of field, garden, and property, so that she can rear her children. When she has brought up her children, a portion of all that is given to the children, equal as that of one son, shall be given to her. She may then marry the man of her heart.

141. If a man's wife, who lives in his house, wishes to leave it, plunges into debt, tries to ruin her house, neglects her husband, and is judicially convicted; if her husband offer her release, she may go on her way, and he gives her nothing as a gift of release. If her husband does not wish to release her, and if he take another wife, she shall remain as servant in her husband's house.

142. If a woman quarrel with her husband, and say: "You are not congenial to me," the reasons for her prejudice must be presented. If she is guiltless, and there is no fault on her part, but he leaves and neglects her, then no guilt attached to this woman; she shall take her dowry and go back to her father's house.

152. If after the woman had entered the man's house, both contracted a debt, both must pay the merchant.

168. If a man wishes to put his son out of his house, and declares before the judge: "I want to put my son out," then the judge shall examine his reasons. If the son be guilty of no great fault, for which he can be rightfully put out, the father shall not put him out.

169. If he be guilty of a grave fault, which should rightfully deprive him of the filial relationship, the father shall forgive him the first time; but if he be guilty of a grave fault a second time, the father may deprive his son of all filial relation.

188. If an artisan has undertaken to rear a[n adopted] child and teaches him his craft, he cannot be demanded back.

189. If he has not taught him his craft, this adopted son may return to his father's house.

Source: The Avalon Project at Yale Law School. Translated by L. W. King. <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/medieval/hamcode.htm>.

ISRAEL

2. Jewish Laws on Marriage and Families

In his most highly regarded work, Jewish Antiquities, the first-century A.D. Jewish antiquarian and historian Josephus details some of the provisions of the Mosaic law on marriage and families.

Let your young men, on reaching the age of wedlock, marry virgins, freeborn and of honest parents. He that will not espouse a virgin must not unite himself to a woman living with another man, corrupting her or wronging her former husband. Female slaves must not be taken in marriage by free men, however strongly some may be constrained to do so by love; such passion must be mastered by regard for decorum and the proprieties of rank. Again, there must be no marriage with a prostitute, since by reason of the abuse of her body, God could not accept her nuptial sacrifices. For so only can your children have spirits that are liberal and uprightly set towards virtue, if they are not the issue of dishonorable marriages or of a union resulting from ignoble passion [i.e., for a slave].

If a man, having betrothed a bride in the belief that she is a virgin, and afterwards finds that she is not so, let him bring a suit and make his own accusation, relying upon what evidence he may have to prove it; and let the woman's defense be undertaken by her father or brother or whosoever, lacking these, be considered her next of kin. If the woman is then declared innocent, let her continue to live with her accuser, who shall have no right to dismiss her, except only if she furnishes him with grave and undeniable reasons for so doing. And for rashly and precipitately brought a calumnious charge against her, let him undergo a double penalty, receiving forty stripes less one, and paying fifty shekels to the father. But should he prove that the young woman has been corrupted, then, if she is one of the people, for not having kept chaste guard over her virginity up to her lawful marriage, let her be stoned. If she is of priestly parentage, let her be burned alive...

Should a man violate a woman who is betrothed to another, if he persuaded her and had obtained her assent to the violation, let him die along with her; for both are guilty alike, he for having persuaded the woman voluntarily to submit to the worst disgrace and to prefer that to honest wedlock, she for being persuaded to lend herself, for pleasure or money, to this outrage. But if he met her alone somewhere and forced her, when no one was nearby to help her, let him die alone. He that violates a virgin who is not yet betrothed shall marry her himself. But if the father of the woman is not willing to give her away to him, he shall pay fifty shekels as compensation for the outrage.

He who desires to be divorced from the wife who is living with him for whatsoever cause—and with mortals, many such may arise—must certify in writing that he will have no further intercourse with her. For thus will the woman obtain the right to consort with another, which thing before then must not be permitted. But if she is maltreated by the other also, or if upon his death her former husband wishes to marry her, she shall not be allowed to return to him.

When a woman is left childless on her husband's death, the husband's brother shall marry her, and shall call the child that shall be born by the name of the deceased, and raise him as heir to the estate; for this will at once be profitable to the public welfare, families not dying out and property remaining with the relatives, and it will moreover bring the women an alleviation of their misfortune to live with the nearest kinsman of their former husbands. But if the brother be unwilling to marry her, let the woman come before the council of elders and testify that, while she desired to remain in this family and to have children, he would not accept her, thereby doing outrage to the memory of his deceased brother. And when the council asks him for what reason he is opposed to the marriage, be his alleged reason slight or serious, the result shall be the same: the wife of his brother shall loose his sandals and spit in his face and declare that he merits this treatment from her for having outraged the memory of the departed. Then let him leave the council of elders to carry this reproach throughout his life, while she shall be free to marry any suitor whom she will...

With regard to those youths who scorn their parents and do not pay them the honor that is due, but whether by reason of disgrace or through witlessness, break out insolently against them, first of all let the parents verbally admonish them, for they have the authority of judges over their sons. Let them tell them that they came together in matrimony not for pleasure's sake, nor to increase their fortunes by uniting their several properties in one, but that they might have children who should tend their old age and who should receive from them everything that they needed... "[W]e raised you up and devoted our utmost care to your upbringing, sparing nothing that appeared profitable for your welfare and training in all that was best. But now—since indulgence must be accorded to the errors of youth—have done with all that scorn of respect towards us and return to saner ways, reflecting that God also is distressed at acts of effrontery to a father, since He is himself Father of the whole human race and regards himself as a partner in the indignity done to those who bear the same title as himself, when they do not obtain from their children what is their due"... If, then, by such means the young men's disrespect is cured, let them be spared further reproach for their sins of ignorance; for thus will be shown the goodness of the lawgiver, while the parents will be happy in seeing neither son nor daughter delivered to punishment. But the youth with whom these words and the lesson in sobriety conveyed by them appear to have no impact, and who makes for himself implacable enemies of the laws by continuous defiance of his parents, let him be led forth by their own hands outside of the city, followed by the multitude, and be stoned to death, and, after remaining for the whole day exposed to the general view, let him be buried at night.

Source: *Josephus*. Volume IV. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1930.

CHINA

3. Raising Families in Ancient China

Instructions on raising families form a major part of Chinese culture from the country's earliest times. In the following excerpt from his work, Yan Zhitui (531–590) offers advice on teaching children, and on brotherly and family harmony.

The habits and teaching of our family have always been regular and punctilious. In my childhood, I received good instruction from my parents. With my two elder brothers, I went to greet our parents each morning and evening to ask in winter whether they were warm and in summer whether they were cool; we walked steadily with regular steps, talked calmly with good manners, and moved about with as much dignity and reverence as if we were visiting the awe-inspiring rulers at court. They gave us good advice, asked about our particular interests, criticized our defects, and encouraged our good points—always zealous and sincere...

Instructing children: Those of the highest intelligence will develop without being taught; those of great stupidity, even if taught, will amount to nothing; those of medium ability will be ignorant unless taught. The ancient sage kings had rules for prenatal training. Women when pregnant for three months moved from their living quarters to a detached palace where they would not see unwholesome sights nor hear reckless words, and where the tone of music and the flavor of food were controlled by the rules of decorum. These rules were written on jade tablets and kept in a golden box. After the child was born, imperial tutors firmly made clear filial piety, humaneness, the rites, and rightness to guide and train him.

The common people are indulgent and are unable to do this. But as soon as a baby can recognize facial expressions and understand approval and disapproval, training should be begun so that he will do what he is told to do and stop when so ordered. After a few years of this, punishment with the bamboo can be minimized, as parental strictness and dignity mingled with parental love will lead the boys and girls to a feeling of respect and caution and give rise to filial piety. I have noticed about me that where there is merely love without training this result is never achieved. Children eat, drink, speak, and act as they please. Instead of needed prohibitions, they receive praise; instead of urgent reprimands, they receive smiles. Even when children are old enough to learn, such treatment is still regarded as the proper method. Only after the child has formed proud and arrogant habits do they try to control him. But one may whip the child to death and he will still not be respectful, while the growing anger of the parents only increases his resentment... A common proverb says, "Train a wife from her first arrival; teach a son in his infancy." How true such sayings are!

Generally, parents' inability to instruct their own children comes not from any inclination just to let them fall into evil ways, but only from parents' being unable to endure the children's looks [of unhappiness] from repeated scoldings, or to bear beating them, lest it do damage to the children's physical being. We should, however, take illness by way of illustration: how can we not use drugs, medicines, acupuncture or cautery to cure it? Should we then view the strictness of reproof and punishment

as a form of cruelty to one's own kith and kin? Truly there is no other way to deal with it...

In the love of parents for children, it is rare that one succeeds in treating them equally. From antiquity to the present, there are many cases of this failing. It is only natural to love those who are wise and talented, but those who are wayward and dull also deserve sympathy. Partiality in treatment, even when done out of generous motives, turns out badly...

When brothers are at odds with each other, then sons and nephews will not love each other, and this in turn will lead to the cousins drifting apart, resulting finally in their servants treating one another as enemies. When this happens, then strangers can step on their faces and trample upon their chests and there will be no one to come to their aid. There are men who are able to make friends with distinguished men of the empire, winning their affection, and yet are unable to show proper respect toward their own elder brothers. How strange that they should succeed with the many and fail with the few! There are others who are able to command troops in the thousands and inspire such loyalty in them that they will die willingly for them, and yet are unable to show kindness toward their own younger brothers. How strange that they should succeed with strangers and fail with their own flesh and blood!...

Family governance:... if a father is not loving, the son will not be filial; if an elder brother is not friendly, the younger will not be respectful; if the husband is not just, the wife will not be obedient. When the father is kind, but the son refractory, when an elder brother is friendly but the younger arrogant, when a husband is just but a wife overbearing, then indeed they are the bad people of the world; they must be controlled by punishments; teaching them guidance will not change them. If rod and wrath are not used in family discipline, the faults of the son will immediately appear. If punishments are not properly awarded, the people will not know how to act...

The burden of daughters on the family is heavy indeed. Yet how else can Heaven give life to the teeming people and ancestors pass on their bodily existence to posterity? Many people today dislike having daughters and mistreat their own flesh and blood. How can they be like this, and still hope for Heaven's blessing?...

It is common for women to dote on a son-in-law and to maltreat a daughter-in-law. Doting on a son-in-law gives rise to hatred from brothers; maltreating a daughter-in-law brings on slander from sisters. Thus when these women, whether they act or remain silent, draw criticism from the members of the family, it is the mother who is the real cause of it.

Source: From *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. Volume I. Second edition. Compiled by Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom. Copyright © 1999 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

INDIA

4. Women, Men, and Marriage in Ancient India

The following directives on marriage, the role of women, and the responsibilities of householders in ancient India come from the Smṛti, a class of Hindu sacred texts based on human experience and memory rather than revealed tradition. Although considered less

authoritative than the Hindu Vedic literature, the Smṛti literature is perhaps more familiar to modern Hindus because it covers matters of law and everyday social conduct.

[From *Asvalayana Grhya Sutra*]. One should first examine the family [of the intended bride], those on the mother's side and on the father's side... One should give his daughter in marriage to a young man endowed with intelligence. One should marry a girl who possesses the characteristics of intelligence, beauty, and good character, and who is free from disease.

[From *Yajñavalkya Smṛti*]. A householder should perform every day a Smṛiti rite on the nuptial fire or on the fire brought in at the time of the partition of ancestral property...

Having attended to the bodily calls, having performed the purificatory rites, and after having first washed the teeth, a... man should offer the morning prayer.

Having offered oblations to the sacred fires, becoming spiritually composed, he should murmur the sacred verses addressed to the sun god.

[From *Manu Smṛti*]. Women must be honored and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law who desire great good fortune.

Where women, verily, are honored, there the gods rejoice; where, however, they are not honored, there all sacred rites prove fruitless.

Where the female relations live in grief—that family soon perishes completely; where, however, they do not suffer from any grievance, that family always prospers...

Her father protects her in childhood, her husband protects her in youth, her sons protect her in old age—a woman does not deserve independence.

The father who does not give away his daughter in marriage at the proper time is censurable; censurable is the husband who does not approach his wife in due season; and after the husband is dead, the son, verily, is censurable, who does not protect his mother.

Even against the slightest provocations should women be particularly guarded; for unguarded they would bring grief to both the families.

...[H]usbands, though weak, must strive to protect their wives.

His own offspring, character, family, self... does one protect when he protects his wife scrupulously...

The husband should engage his wife in the collection and expenditure of his wealth, in cleanliness... in cooking food for the family, and in looking after the necessities of the household...

Women destined to bear children, enjoying great good fortune, deserving of worship, the resplendent lights of homes on the one hand and divinities of good luck who reside in the houses on the other—between these there is no difference whatsoever.

Source: From *Sources of Indian Tradition*. Volume I. Edited by William Theodore de Bary. Copyright © 1958 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

EGYPT

5. Vizier Ptah-hotep's Advice on Family Life

A vizier—a high ranking political or military advisor—by the name of Ptah-hotep lived in twenty-fourth-century B.C. Egypt during the rule of the Fifth Dynasty. A lengthy series of

teachings, on a wide variety of topics, is attributed to him. Reproduced below are some of his precepts on family and domestic life.

If you are a wise man, bring up a son who shall be pleasing to Ptah. If he conforms his conduct to your way and occupies himself with your affairs as is right, do to him all the good you can; he is your son, a person attached to you whom your own self has begotten. Separate not your heart from him... But if he conducts himself ill and transgresses your wish, if he rejects all counsel, if his mouth goes according to the evil word, strike him on the mouth in return. Give orders without hesitation to those who do wrong, to him whose temper is turbulent; and he will not deviate from the straight path, and there will be no obstacle to interrupt the way...

If you desire to excite respect within the house you enter... keep yourself from making advances to a woman, for there is nothing good in so doing...

If you are wise, look after your house; love your wife. Fill her stomach, clothe her back; these are the cares to be bestowed upon her person. Caress her, fulfill her desires during the time of her existence; it is a kindness which does honor to its possessor. Be not brutal; tact will influence her better than violence... Behold to what she aspires, at what she aims, what she regards. It is that which fixes her in your house; if you repel her, it is an abyss. Open your arms for her, respond to her arms; call her, display to her your love...

The merit of one's son is advantageous to the father, and that which he really is, is worth more than the remembrance of his father's rank...

When a son receives the instruction of his father, there is no error at all in his plans. Train your son to be a teachable man whose wisdom is agreeable to the great. Let him direct his mouth according to that which has been said to him; in the docility of a son is discovered his wisdom. His conduct is perfect while error carries away the unteachable. Tomorrow knowledge will support him, while the ignorant will be destroyed.

Source: *Ancient History Sourcebook: The Precepts of Ptah-Hotep*, c. 2200 B.C.E. www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/ptahhotep.html.

6. Egyptian Marriage and Family Customs

Diodorus Siculus, a first-century B.C. Greek historian who was born in Sicily, wrote the following account of Egyptian marriage and family customs in his massive historical work, the Bibliotheca Historica.

In accordance with the marriage customs of the Egyptians, the priests have only one wife, but any other man takes as many as he may determine. And the Egyptians are required to raise all their children in order to increase the population, on the grounds that large numbers are the greatest factor in increasing the prosperity of both country and cities. Nor do they consider any child to be illegitimate, even though he was born of a slave mother. For they have taken the general position



A bas-relief of Ptah-hotep in the tomb of Ptah-hotep and Akhet-hotep, Saqqarah, Egypt. The Art Archive/Gianni Dagli Orti.

that the father is the sole author of procreation and that the mother only supplies the fetus with nourishment and a place to live...

They feed the children in a sort of happy-go-lucky fashion that in its inexpensiveness quite surpasses belief. They serve them with stews made of any stuff that is right at hand and cheap, and give them stalks of the byblos plant as can be roasted in the coals, and the roots and stems of marsh plants, either raw or boiled or baked. And since most of the children are raised without shoes or clothing because of the mildness of the climate, the entire expense incurred by the parents of a child until it comes to maturity is [minimal]. These are the leading reasons why Egypt has such an extraordinarily large population, and it is because of this fact that the country possesses a vast number of great monuments.

Source: *Diodorus of Sicily*. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1933.

GREECE

7. Solon Reforms the Domestic Laws of Athens

Almost from its earliest days, ancient Athens was embroiled in civil disputes, lawsuits, discord, and wrangling of all kinds. By the early sixth century B.C., the situation there had become so chaotic that the Athenians took the unusual and drastic step of appointing one man, with carte blanche authority, to rewrite their laws and make any changes to customs and traditions that he saw fit. The man on whom this heavy responsibility fell was Solon, a respected and prosperous citizen with a well-earned reputation for honesty, fairness, and intelligence. He was trusted by all segments and factions of the community. After some initial reluctance, Solon accepted. Writing in the early second century A.D., the Greek essayist and biographer Plutarch provides, in the following excerpt, some insights on Solon's social reforms.

Among his other laws there is a very peculiar and surprising one which ordains that he shall be disenfranchised who, in time of factionalism, takes neither side. He wishes, probably, that a man should not be insensible or indifferent to the common weal, arranging his private affairs securely and glorying in the fact that he has no share in the distempers and distresses of his country, but should rather espouse promptly the better and more righteous cause, share its perils, and give it his aid, instead of waiting in safety to see which cause prevails...

In all other marriages [other than those involving wealthy heiresses], he prohibited dowries; the bride was to bring with her three changes of raiment, household stuff of small value, and nothing else. For he did not wish that marriage should be a matter of profit or price, but that man and wife should dwell together for the delights of love and the getting of children.

Praise is given also to that law of Solon which forbids speaking ill of the dead. For it is piety to regard the deceased as sacred, justice to spare the absent, and good policy to rob hatred of its perpetuity. He also forbade speaking ill of the living in temples, courts of law, public offices, and at festivals; the transgressor must pay three drachmas [about \$150] to the person injured, and two more into the public treasury. For never to master

one's anger is a mark of intemperance and lack of training; but always to do so is difficult, and for some, impossible...

He was highly esteemed also for his law concerning wills. Before his time, no will could be made, but the entire estate of the deceased must remain in his family. Whereas he, by permitting a man who had no children to give his property to whom he wished, ranked friendship above kinship, and favor above necessity, and made a man's possessions his own property. On the other hand, he did not permit all manner of gifts without restriction or restraint, but only those which were not made under the influence of sickness or drugs, or imprisonment, or when a man was the victim of compulsion or yielded to the persuasions of his wife. He thought, very rightly and properly, that being persuaded into wrong was no better than being forced into it, and he placed deceit and compulsion, gratification and affliction, in one and the same category, believing that both were alike able to pervert a man's reason.

He also subjected the public appearances of the women, their mourning and their festivals, to a law which did away with disorder and license...[Another of his laws] relieved the sons who were born out of wedlock from the necessity of supporting their fathers at all. For he that avoids the honorable state of marriage, clearly takes a woman to himself not for the sake of children, but of pleasure; and he has his reward, in that he robs himself of all right to upbraid his sons for neglecting him, since he has made their very existence a reproach to them.

But in general, Solon's laws concerning women seem very absurd. For instance, he permitted an adulterer caught in the act to be killed; but if a man committed rape upon a free woman, he was merely to be fined a hundred drachmas [about \$5,000]; and if he gained his end by persuasion, twenty drachmas [about \$1,000]... Still further, no man is allowed to sell a daughter or a sister, unless he finds that she is no longer a virgin.

Source: *Plutarch's Lives*. Volume I. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1914.

8. Socrates's Version of Marital Bliss

Possibly of African birth, the second-century A.D. Latin writer Aulus Gellius related in his Noctes Atticae (Attic Nights) the following brief anecdote of one of ancient Athens's most famous married couples—the philosopher Socrates and his wife Xanthippe. The Noctes Atticae is important for the insights it gives into contemporary society and for the excerpts from the lost works of other authors that it preserves.

Xanthippe, the wife of the philosopher Socrates, is said to have been ill-tempered and quarrelsome to a degree, with a constant flood of feminine tantrums and annoyances day and night. Alcibiades, amazed at this outrageous conduct of hers towards her husband, asked Socrates what earthly reason he had for not showing so shrewish a woman the door. "Because," replied Socrates, "it is by enduring such a person at home that I accustom and train myself to bear more easily away from home the pettiness and injustice of other persons."

In the same vein, Marcus Varro also said in the *Menippean Satire* which he entitled *On the Duty of a Husband*: “A wife’s faults must be either put down or put up with. He who puts down her faults, makes his wife more agreeable. He who puts up with them, improves himself.”

Source: *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

9. Unusual Marriage Customs in Sparta

In the following excerpt from his Life of Lycurgus, the second-century A.D. Greek essayist and biographer Plutarch recounts some of the occasionally bizarre marriage customs of the ancient Spartans (see Lycurgus and Sparta in the Glossary).

There were incentives to marriage in these things: I mean such things as the appearance of the young women without much clothing in processions and athletic contests, where young men were looking on... Nor was this all. Lycurgus also put a kind of stigma upon confirmed bachelors. They were excluded from the sight of the young men and women at their exercises, and in winter, the magistrates ordered them to march around the marketplace in their tunics only, and as they marched, they sang a certain song about themselves, and its gist was that they were justly punished for disobeying the laws. Besides this, they were deprived of the honor and gracious attentions which the young men habitually paid to their elders. Therefore, there was no one to find fault with what was said to Dercyllidas, even though he was a reputable general. As he entered a group of young men, one of them, who would not offer him his seat, said: “You have fathered no son who will one day offer his seat to me.”

For their marriages, the women were carried off by force, not when they were small and unfit for marriage, but when they were fully grown. After the woman was thus carried off, the bridesmaid took her in charge, cut her hair close to the head, put a man’s cloak and sandals on her, and laid her down on a pallet, on the floor, alone, in the dark. Then the bridegroom, not overcome with wine nor enfeebled by excesses, but composed and sober, after eating at his public mess table as usual, slipped stealthily into the room where the bride lay, and bore her in his arms to the marriage bed. Then, after spending a short time with his bride, he went away composedly to his usual quarters, there to sleep with the other young men.

And so he continued to do from that time on, spending his days with his comrades, and sleeping with them at night, but visiting his bride by stealth and with every precaution, full of dread and fear that any of the household might become aware of his visits, his bride also contriving and conspiring with him that they might have stolen moments as the occasion offered. And this they did not for a short time only, but long enough for some of them to become fathers before they had looked upon their own wives by daylight...

After giving marriage such characteristics of reserve and decorum, he nonetheless freed men from the empty and womanish passion of jealous possession... For example, an elderly man with a young wife, if he looked with favor and esteem on some fair and

noble young man, might introduce him to her, and adopt her offspring by such a noble father as his own. And again, a worthy man who admired some woman for the fine children that she bore her husband . . . might enjoy her favors, if her husband would consent, thus . . . begetting for himself noble sons, who would have the blood of noble men in their veins. For in the first place, Lycurgus did not regard children as the peculiar property of their fathers, but rather as the common property of the state, and therefore would not have his citizens spring from random parentage, but from the best there was. In the second place, he saw much folly and vanity in what other peoples enacted for the regulation of these matters. In the breeding of dogs and horses, they insist on having the best sires which money can buy, but they keep their wives under lock and key, demanding that they have children by none but themselves, even if they are foolish, infirm, or diseased.

The freedom which thus prevailed at that time in marriage relations was aimed at physical and political well-being.

Source: *Plutarch's Lives*. Volume I. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1914.

10. Why So Many Guests Are Invited to Wedding Receptions

In this passage from his Moralia (translatable as "Matters," relating to mores and customs), a wide-ranging collection of essays and speeches, the Greek biographer Plutarch examines the phenomenon of including so many names on the guest list for a wedding reception.

At the wedding of my son Autobulus, Sossius Senecio was present in Chaeronea [Plutarch's hometown] as one of our guests. Among many subjects that he brought forward which were particularly appropriate to the occasion, he raised the question of why people invite more guests to wedding dinners than to other parties. It is true, he observed, that those lawgivers who have campaigned most vigorously against extravagance have particularly sought to limit the number of guests at weddings. "But as to the reason for these large numbers," said Senecio, "the only ancient philosopher who had anything to offer was Hecataeus of Abdera, who, in my judgment, said nothing convincing. His point was this: at their marriage, men invite a crowd to the banquet so that there may be many witnesses to testify that the hosts themselves are of good family and that their brides come from good families. On the other hand, the comic poets attack those who celebrate a wedding in a wasteful and ostentatious style, with splendid dinners and great expense, as not putting down a secure foundation, or looking courageously to the future . . . But to avoid what is all too easy, the appearance of accusing others when I myself have nothing to offer, I will be the first," he said, "to state my view. It is that of all the occasions for a banquet, none is more conspicuous or talked about than a wedding. When we offer sacrifices to the gods, or honor a friend on the eve of a journey, or entertain guests from abroad, it is possible to do so unnoticed by many friends and relatives. But a wedding feast betrays us by the loud marriage cry, the torch, and the shrill pipe . . . Consequently, since no one is unaware that we are receiving guests and must have invited them, we include all our relatives, acquaintances, and connections of any degree, because we are afraid to leave anyone out."

When we had applauded this, Theon took up the thread with these words: “Let us adopt this theory, for it is quite probable. But add, if you will, a further point, that these particular banquets are not merely friendly entertainments but important family occasions, which solemnize the incorporation of a new set of relatives into the family. What is more important than this, at the union of two houses, each father-in-law regards it as a duty to demonstrate good will to the friends and relatives of the other, and so the guest list is doubled. Besides, many or most of the activities relating to a wedding are in the hands of women, and where women are present, it is necessary that their husbands also should be included.”

Source: *Plutarch's Moralia*. Volume VIII. Translated by Paul A. Clement and Herbert B. Hoffleit. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1969.

ROME

11. Parenthood in Ancient Rome

In this passage from his essay “On Mercy,” the first-century A.D. philosopher Seneca offers some thoughts on parenthood, especially father-son relationships.

The good parent...reprove[s] his children sometimes gently, sometimes with threats...at times...even by stripes. Does any father disinherit a son for his first offense?



Roman relief of family life, from the sarcophagus of Cornelius Statius, second century A.D. The Art Archive/Musée du Louvre Paris/Gianni Dagli Orti.

Only when great and repeated wrongdoing has overcome his patience, only when what he fears outweighs what he reprimands, does he resort to the decisive pen [i.e. altering his will]. But first he makes many an effort to reclaim a character that is still unformed, though inclined now to the more evil side; when the case is hopeless, he tries extreme measures. No one resorts to the exaction of punishment until he has exhausted all the means of correction. This is the duty of a father... Slow would a father be to sever his own flesh and blood; after severing, he would yearn to restore them, and while severing, he would groan out loud, hesitating long and often. For he comes near to condemning gladly who condemns swiftly, and to punishing unjustly who punishes unduly.

Source: *Seneca: Moral Essays*. Volume I. Translated by John W. Basore. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1928.

12. A Good Father's Responsibilities

Cato the Elder (234–149 B.C.) was the epitome of the stern, disciplined, and stubborn Roman politician and soldier. But despite the renown he won in public life, he considered his role as father and husband to be even more important, as the Greek biographer Plutarch relates in this excerpt from his writings.

He was a good father, a kind husband, and a most capable manager of his own household, since he was far from regarding this side of his affairs as trivial, or allowing it to suffer from neglect. For this reason I think I should give some examples of his conduct in his private life.

He chose his wife for her family rather than her fortune, for he believed that while people of great wealth or high position cherish their own pride and self-esteem, nevertheless women of noble birth are by nature more ashamed of any disgraceful action and so are more obedient to their husbands in everything that is honorable. He used to say that a man who beats his wife or child is laying sacrilegious hands on the most sacred thing in the world. He considered that it was more praiseworthy to be a good husband than a great senator, and also was of the opinion that there was nothing much else to admire in Socrates, except for the fact that he was always gentle and considerate in his dealings with his wife, who was ill-tempered, and his children, who were half-witted.

When his son was born, Cato thought that nothing but the most important business should prevent him from being present when his wife gave the baby its bath and wrapped it in swaddling clothes. His wife suckled the child herself and often did the same for her slaves' children, so as to encourage brotherly feelings in them towards her own son. As soon as the boy was able to learn, his father took charge of his schooling and taught him to read, although he had in the household an educated slave named Chilo, who was a schoolmaster and taught many other boys. However, Cato did not think it right, so he tells us, that his son should be scolded or disciplined by a slave, if he were slow to learn, and still less that he should be indebted to his slave in such a vital matter as his education.

So he took it upon himself to teach the boy, not only his letters, but also the principles of Roman law. He also trained him in athletics, and taught him how to throw the

javelin, fight in armor, ride a horse, use his fists in boxing, endure the extremes of heat and cold, and swim across the roughest and most swiftly flowing stretches of the Tiber. He tells us that he composed his history of Rome, writing it out with his own hand and in large characters, so that his son should possess in his own home the means of acquainting himself with the ancient annals and traditions of his country. He also mentions that he was just as careful not to use any indecent expression before his son. . . .

Such was Cato's approach to the noble task of forming and molding his son for the pursuit of virtue. The boy was an exemplary student in his readiness to learn, and his spirit was a match for his natural goodness of disposition.

Source: *The Rise and Fall of Athens: Nine Greek Lives* by Plutarch. Translated by Ian Scott-Kilvert. New York: Penguin Books, 1960. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

13. A Comparison of Spartan and Roman Marriage and Family Customs

In this passage from his essay comparing the Spartan king Lycurgus with the early Roman king Numa, the Greek biographer Plutarch describes their respective attitudes and policies concerning marriage and families (see also Sparta in the Glossary).

With regard to community in marriage and parentage, though both, by a sound policy, inculcated in husbands a freedom from selfish jealousy, still, their methods were not entirely alike. The Roman husband, if he had a sufficient number of children to rear, and another, who lacked children, could persuade him to the step, relinquished his wife to him, having the power of surrendering her entirely, or only for a season. But the Spartan, while his wife remained in his house, and the marriage retained its original rights and obligations, might allow anyone who gained his consent to share his wife for the purpose of getting children by her. And many husbands . . . would actually invite into their homes men whom they thought most likely to procure them handsome and noble children. . . .

Still further, Numa's watchful care of young maidens was more conducive to feminine decorum; but the treatment of them by Lycurgus, being entirely unconfined and unfeminine, has given occasion to the poets [to ridicule them]. They call them *phainomerides*, "bare-thighed," and revile them as mad for men. . . .

But Numa, while carefully preserving to the matrons that dignified and honorable relation to their husbands which was bestowed upon them by Romulus . . . nevertheless enjoined great modesty upon them, forbade them all busy intermeddling, taught them sobriety, and accustomed them to be silent. They were to refrain from wine entirely, and were not to speak, even on the most necessary topics, unless their husbands were with them. At any rate, it is said that when a woman once pleaded her own cause in the forum, the senate sent [a delegation] to inquire of an oracle what the event might portend for the city. And for their usual gentleness and readiness to obey, there is strong evidence in the specific mention made of those who were less amenable . . . the Romans make record of the fact that Spurius Carvilius was the first to divorce his wife, 230 years

after the founding of Rome [ca. 523 B.C.], there being no precedent for it. Also, that the wife of Pinarius, Thalea by name, was the first to quarrel with her own mother-in-law, Gegania, in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus [sixth century B.C.]. In such fitting and proper manner were marriages regulated by their lawgiver. . . .

The Romans . . . gave their maidens in marriage when they were twelve years old, or even younger. In this way more than any other, it was thought, both their bodies and their dispositions would be pure and undefiled when their husbands took control of them. . . .

For Numa left the bringing up of youths to the wishes or necessities of their fathers. A father might, if he wished, make his son a tiller of the soil, or a shipwright, or might teach him to be a smith or a flute player, as if it were not important that all of them should be trained with one and the same end in view from the outset, and have their dispositions formed alike. But rather, as if they were passengers on a ship, each coming with a different object and purpose, and each therefore uniting with the rest for the common good only in times of peril, through fear of private loss, but otherwise consulting only his own interests . . . When a wise man had consented to be king over a people newly constituted and pliant to his every wish, what should have been his first care, unless it was the rearing of boys and the training of youths so that there might be no confusing differences in their characters, but that they might be molded and fashioned from the very outset so as to walk harmoniously together in the same path of virtue?

Source: *Plutarch's Lives*. Volume I. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1914.

14. On Living With, and Without, Matrimony

In his Noctes Atticae, the Roman writer Aulus Gellius relates the following anecdote about a controversial speech on marriage given by a Roman politician named Quintus Metellus Numidicus.

A number of learned men were listening to the reading of the speech, *On Marriage*, which Metellus Numidicus, an earnest and eloquent man, delivered to the people, urging them to be ready to undertake its obligations. In that speech, these words were written: "If we could get on without a wife, Romans, we would all avoid that annoyance. But since nature has ordained that we can neither live very comfortably with them, nor at all without them, we must consider our lasting well-being rather than for the pleasure of the moment."

It seemed to some of the company that Quintus Metellus . . . ought not to have admitted the annoyance and constant inconveniences of the married state, and that to do this was not so much to encourage, as to dissuade and deter [people from marrying]. They said that his speech ought rather to have taken just the opposite tone, insisting that as a rule there were no annoyances in marriage, and if after all they seemed sometimes to arise, they were slight, insignificant and easily endured, and were completely forgotten in its greater pleasures and advantages. Furthermore, even these annoyances did not

happen in all marriages, or from any fault natural to matrimony, but as the result of the misconduct and injustice of some husbands and wives.

Source: *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Volume I. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

Old Age and Retirement

Ancient sources and writers had a lot to say on the subject of old age and retirement, and much of it was not very optimistic. The ancient world's medical communities seemed to have little or no concept of gerontology, and so the physical ills of old age became magnified. And in a world largely bereft of pensions, whether public or private, comfortable retirement was probably out of reach for many people, assuming, of course, that they lived long enough even to consider retiring.

The downside of old age is revealed by Documents 15 and 16, and most particularly 21. In the last of those three, the aged Greek playwright Sophocles was claimed by his gold-digging sons to be past the age of competence to handle his own affairs, so they attempted to persuade a court of law to declare the old man mentally unfit, thus enabling them to gain control of his financial resources. But Sophocles turned the tables on them by reciting for the court a long choral passage from the play he had just written—at the age of 90!—entitled *Oedipus at Colonus*. His rendition was so passionately emotional that it reportedly brought tears to the eyes of the judges. Not surprisingly, the sons' case was tossed out. The Egyptian octogenarian Ctesicles, unfortunately, had no such literary ability with which to dazzle the court when he complained of abuse and neglect on the part of his daughter and son-in-law (Document 17); the 80-year-old Aurelius Serapion suffered an assault, which he brought to the attention of the legal system, according to Document 18.

Sophocles was not the only spry nonagenarian that we hear of in ancient Greece. The orator Isocrates was composing speeches well into his 90s. His story is recounted in Document 22. Cephalus was yet another old Athenian with a spring in his step (Document 19). Cicero (Document 28) attacks the notion that old age invariably brings with it a diminished capacity for activity, health, and enjoyment of life, while, in Document 20, he offers his views on growing old gracefully.

One's sight sometimes begins to fail in old age (Document 23), and, according to Document 24, old people sometimes were not treated very graciously in Athens. Among the Spartans, however, the opposite was true; when an old man entered the theater one time looking for a place to sit, none of the younger Athenians in the audience would offer him a seat, but when he came to the Spartan section, all of them stood up for him (also Document 24).

In Aristophanes's play *Acharnians*, an elderly character complains about the lack of respect sometimes accorded to old Athenians by the younger generation. Those young people, he complains, conveniently forget about the many contributions made by the old men in their day to the prosperity and freedom that Athens eventually came to enjoy (Document 25).

In Documents 26 and 27, retirement Roman-style is described. Pliny the Younger (26) recounts the very active lifestyle enjoyed by his friend Spurinna, a 78-year-old retiree, while Quintilian (27) describes the ideal retirement for a Roman orator.

INDIA

15. Getting Old Is Not for the Faint-Hearted

Jain literature contains 45 entries, varying in length and content, some in prose, others in poetry, composed over the course of several centuries. The earliest examples of these texts date perhaps to the seventh century B.C.; excerpted below is one of the more pessimistic ones, which dwells on the problems encountered in old age.

He who desires the qualities of things is deluded and falls into the grip of great pain. For he thinks, "I have mother, father, sister, wife, sons, and daughters, daughters-in-law, friends, kin near and remote, and acquaintances. I own various properties, I make profits. I need food and clothes." On account of these things, people are deluded, they worry day and night, they work in season and out of season, they crave for fortune and wealth, they injure and do violence, and they turn their minds again and again to evil deeds. Thus the life of many men is shortened.

For when ear and eye and smell and taste and touch grow weak, a man knows that his life is failing, and after a while, his senses sink into dotage. The kinsfolk with whom he lives first grumble at him, and then he grumbles at them... An old man is fit for neither laughter, nor playing, nor pleasure, nor show. So a man should take to the life of piety, seize the present, be firm, and not let himself be deluded an hour longer, for youth and age and life itself all pass away...

Understanding the nature of all kinds of pain and pleasure, before he sees his life decline, a wise man should know the right moment [for taking up a life of religion]... Before his senses weaken, he should pursue his own true welfare.

Source: From *Sources of Indian Tradition*. Volume I. Edited by William Theodore de Bary. Copyright © 1958 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

EGYPT

16. The Downside of Old Age

In the following passage, the downside of advancing age is described by the twenty-fourth-century B.C. Egyptian vizier Ptah-hotep.

The beginning of the Instruction written by the hereditary noble, the prince, the father of the god [an honorary title, not to be understood literally], the beloved of the god, the judge of the six law courts, the arbiter who causes contentment throughout the entire land, the mayor of the city, the vizier Ptahhotep, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Iseti who lives for ever and eternity. The mayor of the city, the vizier Ptahhotep says:

My Sovereign Lord:
 Old age has arrived, infirmity has descended,
 Misery has drawn nigh, and weakness increases.

One must take a nap like a child every day,
The eyes are blurred, the ears are deaf,
And vigor wanes because of weariness.
The mouth is silent and no longer speaks;
The memory is gone and cannot recall even yesterday.
The bones ache through frailty,
Pleasure has become repulsive, and all taste has vanished.
What old age does to men is totally despicable.
The nose becomes plugged and cannot breathe;
Even standing and sitting are a bother.
Permit your humble servant to appoint a staff of old age.
Let my son be allowed to succeed to my position.
To that end I will instruct him in the decisions of the judges,
The wisdom of those who have lived in earlier ages,
Those who hearkened to the gods.
So may the same be done for you;
May discord be banished from the people...
Then the Majesty of the god said:
"Before you retire, teach him
about what has been said in the past;
Then he will be an example to the children of the nobles,
When understanding and precision have entered into him.
Instruct him, for no one is born wise."

Source: *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*. Edited by William Kelly Simpson. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003. Copyright © 2003 by Yale University Press. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

17. No Way to Treat One's Father!

In the following document dated 220 B.C., a man by the name of Ctesicles, probably from the town of Crocodilopolis, petitioned Egypt's King Ptolemy Philopator for legal redress from an abusive daughter and her consort.

To King Ptolemy, greeting from Ctesicles. I am being wronged by Dionysius [either his son-in-law, or a friend, of his daughter] and my daughter Nice. For although I had nurtured her, being my own daughter, and educated her, and brought her up to womanhood, when I was stricken with bodily infirmity and my eyesight enfeebled, she would not furnish me with any of the necessities of life. And when I wished to obtain justice from her in Alexandria, she begged my forgiveness and in year 18, she gave me in the temple of Arsinoe Actia a written oath by the king that she would pay me 20 drachmas every month by means of her own bodily labor. If she failed to do so, or transgressed any of the terms of her bond, she was to forfeit to me 500 drachmas, on pain of incurring the consequences of the oath.

Now, however, corrupted by Dionysius, who is a comedian, she is not meeting any of her obligations to me, in contempt of my old age and my present infirmity. I beg you, therefore, O king, not to allow me to be wronged by my daughter and Dionysius the comedian, who has corrupted her, but to order Diophanes the strategus [a local official] to summon them and hear my case. And if my words are true, let Diophanes deal with

her corrupter as seems good to him, and compel my daughter, Nice, to yield me my rights... For by this means, I will no longer be wronged, but having sought your protection, O king, I will obtain justice.

Source: *Select Papyri: Non-Literary Papyri. Public Documents.* Volume II. Translated by A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

18. No Way to Treat an Old Man!

In the following document from the year A.D. 248, an 84-year-old man from the village of Philadelphia complains of an assault.

To Aurelius Marcianus, centurion, from Aurelius Serapion, son of Pasei, of the village of Philadelphia. There is nothing more dreadful or harder to bear than maltreatment. At the time of life which I have reached, being 80 years old and more, I am serving blamelessly as an Arab archer [local security official]. A sow having escaped from my daughter in the village, and being reported to be at the house of the soldier Julius, I went to him to demand his oath about this matter, and he, laying hands on me, old as I am, in the village in the middle of the day, as if there were no laws, belabored me with blows in the presence of Nepotianus, steward of the most eminent Valerius Titianus, and of Marcus and Ammonius, Arab archers, so that they, being shocked to see me beaten, separated us and I barely overcame his attempt on my life. I am compelled to present this petition and to request that he be arrested in order that his audacious behavior may receive punishment, and I hold him to account. Farewell.

Serapion, aged about 84 years, with a scar on the right knee.

Source: *Select Papyri: Non-Literary Papyri. Public Documents.* Volume II. Translated by A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

GREECE

19. A Spry Old Gentleman

According to Plato in The Republic, when the Athenian philosopher Socrates and his friends paid a visit to the elderly gentleman Cephalus, the following lively discussion on old age ensued.

So we went with them to Polemarchus's house... and the father of Polemarchus, Cephalus, was at home.

And I thought him much aged, for it was a long time since I had seen him. He was sitting on a sort of couch with cushions, and he had a chaplet on his head, for he had just finished sacrificing in the court. So we went there and sat down beside him, for there were seats there arranged in a circle. As soon as he saw me, Cephalus greeted me and said, "You are not a very frequent visitor, Socrates. You don't often come down to see us. That is not right. For if I were still able to make the journey up to town easily, there would be

no need of your coming here, but we would go to visit you. But as it is, you should not space too widely your visits here. I would have you know that, for my part, as the satisfactions of the body decay, in the same measure my desire for the pleasures of good talk and my delight in them increase. Don't refuse, then, but be a friend to my household, and make our house your resort, and consider us to be your very good and close friends."

"Why, yes, Cephalus," I said, "and I enjoy talking with the very aged. To my way of thinking, we have to learn from them, as it were, from wayfarers who have preceded us on a road on which we too, it may be, must some time experience—what it is like—is it rough and hard going or easy and pleasant to travel. And so now I would like to learn from you what you think of this thing, now that your time has come to it, the thing that the poets call the threshold of old age. Is it a hard part of life to bear or what report do you have to make of it?"

"Yes, indeed, Socrates," he said, "I will tell you my own feeling about it. For it often happens that some of us older men of about the same age come together and verify the old proverb of like to like. At these reunions, most of us become nostalgic, longing for the lost joys of youth and recalling to mind the pleasures of wine, women, and feasts, and other things like that, and they lament that the greatest things have been taken from them, and that then, they lived well, and now it is no life at all. And some of them complain of the indignities that friends and family members put upon old age, and then recite a doleful litany of all the miseries for which they blame old age.

"But in my opinion, Socrates, they do not put the blame on the real cause. For if it were the cause, I too should have had the same experience so far as old age is concerned, and so would all others who have come to this time of life. But in fact I have before now met with others who do not feel this way, and in particular I remember hearing Sophocles the poet greeted by a fellow who asked, 'How about your service of Aphrodite, Sophocles? Is your natural force still unabated?' And he replied, 'Quiet! I have very gladly escaped this thing you talk of, as if I had run away from a raging and savage beast of a master.' I thought it a good answer then, and now I think so still more. For certainly, there comes to old age a great peace in such matters and a restful release. When the fierce tensions of the passions and desires relax, then the wisdom of Sophocles is revealed, and we are set free from these many forms of madness. But with respect to these complaints, and in the matter of our relations with family members and friends, there is just one cause, Socrates: not old age, but the character of the man."

Source: *Plato: The Republic*. Translated by Paul Shorey. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1930, pp. 328–329.

20. How to Grow Old Gracefully

In this passage from his essay "On Old Age," the first-century B.C. Roman orator Cicero cites a number of examples of growing old gracefully among the ancient Greeks, including Plato, Isocrates, and Gorgias of Leontini.

There is also the tranquil and serene old age of a life spent quietly, amid pure and refining pursuits, such an old age, for example, as we are told was that of Plato, who died,

pen in hand, in his 81st year. Or, such as that of Isocrates, who, by his own statement, was 94 when he composed the work entitled *Panathenaicus*, and he lived five years after that. His teacher, Gorgias of Leontini, rounded out 107 years and never rested from his pursuits or his labors. When someone asked him why he chose to remain so long alive, he answered: "I have no reason to complain about old age." A noble answer, and worthy of a scholar.

Source: Cicero: *De Senectute*; *De Amicitia*; *De Divinatione*. Translated by William Armistead Falconer. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1923.

21. A Nonagenarian Shows Off His Intellect to Win His Court Case

Cicero then mentions the amazing mental feats performed by the famous Greek playwright Sophocles, who was then a nonagenarian.

And how is it with aged lawyers, pontiffs, augurs, and philosophers? What a multitude of things they remember! Old men retain their mental faculties, provided their interest and application continue. This is true, not only of men in exalted public affairs, but likewise those in the quiet of private life. Sophocles composed tragedies to extreme old age, and when, because of his absorption in literary work, he was thought to be neglecting his business affairs, his sons dragged him into court in order to secure a verdict removing him from the control of his property, on the ground of mental incompetence, under a law similar to ours, whereby it is customary to restrain heads of families from wasting their estates. Thereupon, it is said, the old man read to the jury his play, *Oedipus at Colonus*, which he had just written and was revising, and asked: "Does that poem seem to you to be the work of an imbecile?" When he had finished, he was acquitted by the verdict of the jury. Do you think, then, that old age forced him to abandon his calling, or that it silenced Homer, Hesiod, Simonides, Stesichorus, or Isocrates, and Gorgias (whom I have mentioned already)?... Rather, did not activity in their various pursuits continue with all of them as long as life itself?

Source: Cicero: *De Senectute*; *De Amicitia*; *De Divinatione*. Translated by William Armistead Falconer. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1923.

22. Another Spry Nonagenarian

The fourth-century B.C. Athenian orator Isocrates lived well into his 90s, and continued to compose speeches, including the one he describes below, which was entitled "Panathenaicus," and which he began at the age of 94.

When I had written half of it, I was attacked by a malady which it is not decorous to name [some think he may have been referring to dysentery], but which is powerful enough to carry off in the course of three or four days not only older people, but many

in the prime of life. I battled against this disease without respite for three years, and I passed every day of that time with such devotion to my work that those who knew of my perseverance, as well as those who learned of it from them, admired me more because of this fortitude than because of the things for which I had been formerly praised. When, however, I had at length given up my work both because of my illness and my age, some of those who were in the habit of visiting me, and who had read again and again the portion of my speech which I had written, begged and urged me not to leave it half-finished or incomplete, but to work on it for a short time and to give my thoughts to what remained to be done. They did not speak as men do who perfunctorily acquit themselves of a duty, but praised extravagantly what I had written, saying about it such things that if any people had heard them who were not my personal friends and kindly disposed towards me, they could not possibly have failed to suppose that my visitors were trying to make a fool of me and that I had lost my wits and was altogether a simpleton if I allowed myself to be persuaded of what they said. Although I had this feeling about the things which they boldly stated, I did allow myself to be persuaded—for why make a long story of it?—to occupy myself with the completion of the speech at a time when I lacked only three years of having lived a century, and when I was in a state of infirmity such that anyone else similarly afflicted, so far from undertaking to write a speech of his own, would not even be willing to listen to one worked out and submitted by someone else.

Source: *Isocrates*. Volume II. Translated by George Norlin. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1929.

23. Near-Sighted Old People

In the following excerpt from his Moralia, the Greek biographer Plutarch describes how one evening at dinner he and his friends discussed the question of why old people have to hold a script farther away from their eyes to read it.

Old people place writing far from their eyes to read it, and when the writing is near, they are unable to make it out. Aeschylus suggests this when he says:

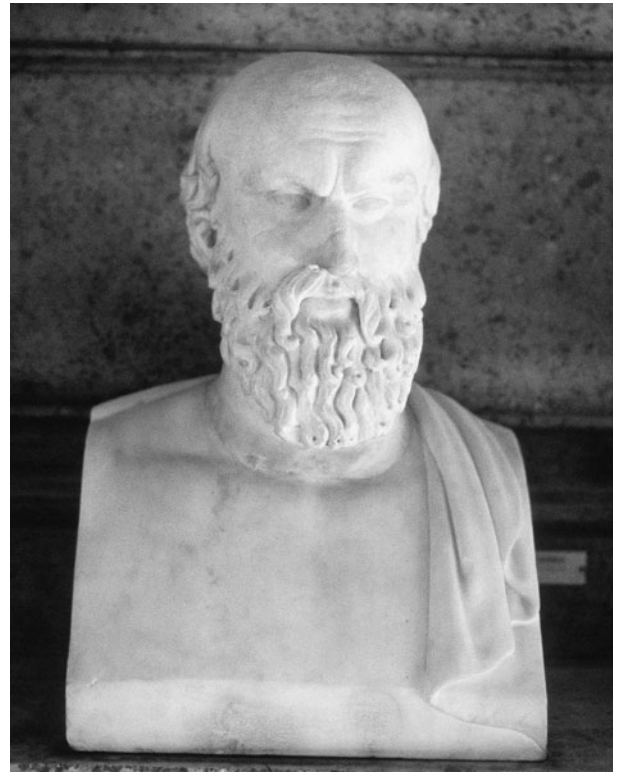
“But you must read it far away,
For close up you could surely not,
And you must be a lucid scribe, though old.”
And Sophocles more clearly says the same thing about old people:
“The sound of talking falls with slow impress,
And hardly penetrates the stopped-up ear;
But each man who sees afar, is blind when close.”

If, then, the senses of old people respond better to intensity and strength, why is it that in reading they do not endure the impact of light from nearby, but destroy its brightness by moving the book farther away, thereby diluting that brightness with air, as wine is diluted with water?

There were some who replied to this that old people hold the book away from their eyes not to soften the light, but, as it were, to lay hold of and encompass more light and fill with bright air the space between their eyes and the writing. And others agreed with the joined-rays school of thought: inasmuch as a cone of rays extends from each of the eyes, its apex at the eye, its base and foundation encompassing the object viewed, it is probable that each of the cones proceeds separately up to a certain point, but when they have attained a greater distance and merged with each other, they unite their light, and consequently each object viewed appears as one, not two, even though it appears to both eyes at the same time. The reason for this is the simultaneous contact of the cones on the same object, and a union of light which produces single rather than double vision. Since this is so, elderly people who bring writing near their eyes, the rays of vision being not yet fused, contact the writing with each cone separately, and lay weaker hold on it; but those who place the writing farther away, the light now fused and intensified, see the writing with greater exactness, like people who master with both hands together what the cannot with either one...

I...argued that a bright emanation which flows out from the eyes mixes with the light which surrounds objects and undergoes a fusion with it, so that from the two, one body is formed, compatible through its entirety. Each mingles with the other...one must not be overwhelmed and destroyed by the other, but a single power must be created from both brought together on common ground...Now inasmuch as the stream...or "luminous emanation" is weak and powerless in people past their prime, no mixing and mingling occurs with the light outside, but only the extinction and disintegration of vision, unless by removing the writing to a distance from their eyes, old people destroy the excessive brilliance of the outside light.

Source: *Plutarch's Moralia*. Volume VIII. Translated by Paul A. Clement and Herbert B. Hoffleit. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1969.



Aeschylus, sometimes called the Father of Greek tragedy.
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24. Rude Athenians, Courteous Spartans

The first-century B.C. Roman orator Cicero writes below of the respect accorded to old people in Sparta.

Lysander the Spartan... is reported to have said more than once that in Sparta, old age has its most appropriate home, because nowhere else is so much deference paid to age and nowhere else is it more honored. For example, there is a story that when an old

man entered the theater at Athens during the dramatic performances, not one of his countrymen in that huge crowd offered him a place. But when he came to the special seats occupied by the Spartans, and assigned to them because they were ambassadors, all of them arose, it is said, and invited him to sit down. After this action had been greeted by the whole audience with sustained applause, one of the Spartans remarked: "These Athenians know what politeness is, but they won't practice it."

Source: Cicero: *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione*. Translated by William Armistead Falconer. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1923.

25. The Old Men Strike Back

In the following passage from the play Acharnians by the Athenian playwright Aristophanes (c. 445–380 B.C.), an elderly character soliloquizes about the mistreatment of old people in Athens.

We think it is high time that someone spoke
About the way you treat us older folk.
Time after time our valor's saved the City
In naval battles. Yet you have no pity
For our old age, but let the younger sort
On trumped-up charges haul us into court,
Young orators who mock us left and right,
Knowing *our* verbal fire's extinguished quite.
We stand there leaning on our staffs and pray
To Lord Poseidon for a storm-free day.
But mist beclouds our eyes, and we can trace
Only the dimmest outline of the case.
The young accuser, scorning others' aid,
Pelts us with small round phrases deftly made,
Then calls us up, puts questions with a catch,
And leaves the accused without a straw to snatch.
He stammers a few words, but soon it ends,
And home he goes, convicted to his friends,
And sobbing says: "The little cash that's mine
Must go, not on a coffin, but a fine!"

Another elderly gentleman takes up the lament:

"It's a scandal and a shame to dishonor and defame
And to laugh at and humiliate in court
One who's snowy-headed now, but whose sweat
bedewed his brow
When the Persian foe at Marathon he fought.
For at Marathon—ah! Then we were proved courageous men
As hotly we pursued the fleeing Persian.
But now it seems the boot's been transferred to the other foot,
And *we're* persecuted, *we* for mercy plead.

And then when we've had our say, all the jurors vote one way.
 They don't care if we are guilty or we ain't.
 Why, it's got so bad I guess even Marpsias [unknown reference] would confess
 That we have some cause for justified complaint."

The first speaker takes up the refrain:

"... But if on trying old folks you insist,
 Then put their names upon a separate list.
 If the defendant's old, then don't be ruthless,
 But choose a prosecutor who is toothless.
 And for the young reserve the subtleties
 Of smart young lawyers like Alcibiades.
 Then will this just old saw of Athens hold:
 'The young should fight the young, the old the old.'"

Source: *Aristophanes: The Acharians; The Clouds; Lysistrata*. Translated by Alan H. Sommerstein. New York: Penguin Books, 1973. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

ROME

26. *An Ideal Retirement*

Many ancient Romans looked forward to a life of leisure when their working years were done, but not all of them realized their dreams. In an era when social security was unknown and pensions were rare and usually not generous, a certain amount of careful budgeting was necessary if a working person hoped one day to retire. Still, some prudent Romans enjoyed comfortable retirement lifestyles. The Roman lawyer and writer Pliny the Younger (A.D. 62–114) recounts below the story of a certain Spurinna, who, at the ripe old age of 78, was pursuing what perhaps might have been the ideal retirement.

I never spent my time more agreeably, I think, than I did lately with Spurinna. I was so much pleased with his way of life, that if ever I should arrive at old age, there is no man whom I would sooner choose for my model. I look upon order in human actions, especially at that advanced period, with the same sort of pleasure as I behold the settled course of the heavenly bodies. In youth, indeed, a certain irregularity and agitation is by no means unbecoming; but in age, when business is unseasonable, and ambition indecent, all should be calm and uniform.

Spurinna religiously pursues the above rule of life;...he observes a certain periodical season and method. The first part of the morning he keeps his bed; at eight he calls for his shoes, and walks three miles, in which he enjoys at once contemplation and exercise. Meanwhile, if he has any friends with him in his house, he enters upon some polite and useful topic of conversation; if he is alone, somebody reads to him; and sometimes, too, when he is not, if it is agreeable to his company. When this is over, he reposes himself, and again takes up a book, or else falls into discourse more improving than a book. He afterwards takes the air in his chariot, either with his wife (a lady of exemplary character) or with some friend, a happiness which lately was mine. How

agreeable, how noble is the enjoyment of him in that hour of privacy! You would fancy you were hearing some worthy of ancient times, inflaming your breast with the most heroic examples, and instructing your mind with the most exalted precepts, which he yet delivers with such an infusion of his native modesty, that there is not the least appearance of dictating in his conversation. When he has thus taken a tour of seven miles, he gets out of his chariot and walks a mile more, after which he either reposes himself, or retires to his study and pen. For he is an accomplished writer of lyric verse, and that both in Greek and Latin. It is surprising what an ease . . . runs through his verses, which the moral virtue of the author renders still more acceptable.

When the baths are ready, which in winter is about three o'clock, and in summer about two, he undresses himself; and if there happens to be no wind, he walks about in the sun. After this he puts himself into prolonged and violent motion at playing ball; for by this sort of exercise, he combats the effect of old age. When he has bathed, he throws himself on his couch and waits dinner a little while, and in the meanwhile, some agreeable and entertaining author is read to him. In this, as in all the rest, his friends are at full liberty to partake; or to employ themselves in any other manner more suitable to their taste. You sit down to an elegant yet frugal repast, which is served up in plain and antique plate. He uses likewise dishes of Corinthian bronze, which is his hobby, not his passion. At intervals of the repast, he is frequently entertained with comedians, that even his very pleasures may be seasoned with letters; and though he continues there, even in summer, till the night is somewhat advanced, yet he prolongs the sitting over the wine with so much affability and politeness, that none of his guests ever think it tedious. By this method of living, he has preserved his sight and hearing entire, and his body active and vigorous to his 78th year, without discovering any appearance of old age, but the wisdom.

This is the sort of life which I ardently aspire after; as I purpose to enjoy it, when I shall arrive at those years which will justify a retreat from business. In the meanwhile, I am harassed with a thousand affairs, in which Spurius is at once my support and my example. For he too, as long as it became him, fulfilled the duties of public life, held the various offices of state, governed provinces, and by indefatigable toil merited the repose he now enjoys. I propose to myself the same course and the same term; and I give it to you under my hand that I do so, in order that, should you see me carried beyond that limit, you may produce this letter against me; and sentence me to repose whenever I can enjoy it without being charged with indolence. Farewell.

Source: *Pliny: Letters*. Translated by William Melmoth, with revisions by W.M.L. Hutchinson. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1915.

27. The Right Time for an Orator to Retire

The first-century A.D. Roman educator and author Quintilian describes in the following excerpt from his writings the ideal retirement for an orator, including some comments on the warning signs that an orator should heed that indicate that the proper time to retire has arrived.

Having practiced these excellences of speaking in courts, councils, assemblies, and the Senate, . . . our orator will also bring his career to an end in a manner worthy of a

good man and of this most revered of professions, not because one can ever have enough of doing good, or because a man endowed with this degree of intellect and capacity should not pray to have as long a time as possible for his glorious work, but because he ought also to take precautions against performing worse than he has performed in the past. The orator depends not only on his knowledge, which increases with the years, but on his voice, lungs, and stamina. If these are broken or impaired by age or illness, he must take care not to fall short of the standards expected of a great orator, to become halting in his speech through fatigue, to realize that his words are no longer listened to, or to look in vain for his former self...

So, before he is ambushed by age, the orator should sound the retreat; he should make for the harbor while his ship is still sound. This done, the fruits of his studies will remain with him undiminished. He will either write a record for posterity, or...offer legal advice to inquirers, compose a treatise on oratory, or give fitting expression to the noblest precepts of morality. Promising young men will frequent his house, as in the old days, and learn the road to true oratory from him as from an oracle. The father of eloquence will educate them, and, like a veteran pilot teach them the coasts and harbors and the signs of the weather, what reason prescribes when the wind is fair and what when it is contrary. His motive will be not only the common duty of humanity, but a love of the work, for no one likes to see the field diminished in which he was once supreme. And what occupation is more honorable than teaching what you know best?...Perhaps indeed one ought to regard this as the happiest time in an orator's life, when, retired and greatly revered, free from envy and far from strife, he has safely secured his reputation, is conscious in his own lifetime of a veneration that commonly comes only after death, and can see what he will mean to future ages.

Source: *Quintilian: The Orator's Education*. Edited and translated by Donald A. Russell. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 2001.

28. Old Age Does Not Automatically Equate to a Loss of Vitality

In the following passage, the Roman orator Cicero (106–43 B.C.) refutes the notion that old age inevitably brings lethargy, illness, and disability.

I find four reasons why old age appears to be unhappy. First, that it pulls us away from active pursuits; second, that it weakens the body; third, that it deprives us of almost all physical pleasures; and, fourth, that it is not far removed from death. Let us, if you please, examine each of these reasons separately, and see how much truth they contain.

“Old age pulls us away from active pursuits.” From what pursuits? Is it not from those which are followed because of youth and vigor? [Cicero next gives numerous examples from Roman history of elderly but still vigorous statesmen, politicians, and orators.] Those, therefore, who claim that old age is devoid of useful activity have no case, and are like those who would say that the captain does nothing in the sailing of a ship, because, while others are climbing the masts, or running about the gangways, or working at the pumps, he sits quietly in the stern and simply holds the tiller. He may not be doing what younger members of the crew are doing, but what he does is better and

much more important. It is not by muscle, speed, or physical dexterity that great things are achieved, but by reflection, force of character, and judgment. In these qualities, old age is usually not only not poorer, but is even richer . . .

[As for the argument that old age weakens the body]: It may be argued that many old men are so feeble that they can perform no function that duty, or indeed any position life demands. True, but that is not necessarily caused by age. Generally, it is a characteristic of ill health [which also affects young people]. What wonder, then, that the aged are sometimes weak, when even the young cannot escape the same fate? It is our duty to resist old age: to compensate for its defects by a watchful care; to fight against it as we would fight against disease; to adopt a healthy lifestyle; to practice moderate exercise; and to take just enough food and drink to restore our strength and not to overburden the body. Nor are we to give our attention exclusively to the body. Much greater care is due to the mind and soul, for they too, like lamps, grow dim with time, unless we keep them supplied with oil . . . intellectual activity gives buoyancy to the mind . . .

We come now to the third alleged disadvantage of old age, and that is, that it is devoid of sensual pleasures. O what a glorious gift, if it does indeed free us from youth's most vicious fault! . . . The fact that old age feels little longing for sensual pleasures not only is no cause for complaint, but rather is ground for the highest praise. Old age lacks the heavy banquet, the loaded table, and the often-filled cup. Therefore, it also lacks drunkenness, indigestion, and loss of sleep . . . If reason and wisdom did not enable us to reject pleasure, we should be very grateful to old age for taking away the desire to do what we ought not to do. Carnal pleasure hinders deliberation, is at war with reason, blindfolds the eyes of the mind, and has no fellowship with virtue . . .

It remains now to consider the fourth reason: . . . the nearness of death . . . Wretched indeed is that old man who has not learned in the course of his long life that death should not be feared. Death is clearly negligible, if it utterly annihilates the soul, or even desirable, if it conducts the soul to some place where it is to live forever . . . What, then, should I fear, if after death I am destined to be either not unhappy, or happy? And yet is there anyone so foolish, even though he is young, as to feel absolutely sure that he will be alive when evening comes? Youth, much more than old age, is subject to the accident of death: the young fall sick more easily, their sufferings are more intense, and they are cured with greater difficulty. Therefore, few arrive at old age . . . It is in old men that reason and good judgment are found, and had it not been for old men, no state would have existed at all.

Source: Cicero: *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione*. Translated by William Armistead Falconer. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1923.

Travel

Travel in the ancient world was generally a dangerous and expensive proposition. This was especially true of overland travel, even after the Romans constructed the world's first network of paved roads; indeed, many of the roads built by the Romans still exist, at least in stages, and some still carry traffic. The Roman poet Horace (65–8 B.C.) describes the annoyances—lack of decent accommodations; bad water; intestinal “issues”; noisy, inebriated fellow-travelers; insects—confronting a traveler on the so-called Queen of Roman Roads, the *Appian Way* (Document 33). Plutarch recounts

overland travel problems of a more serious nature—murder and robbery (Document 31). Perhaps these problems could have been avoided altogether had one followed the rather severe travel restrictions proposed by Plato (Document 30), including a requirement that no one under the age of 40 should ever be permitted to travel abroad.

Travel could be undertaken for any number of purposes, as, for example, a trip to *Olympia* to view the Olympic Games (Document 32), a quadrennial event that attracted hundreds of athletes and thousands of spectators from every corner of the Greek world. Some people, like Pliny the Younger, traveled on official business, as his correspondence with the Roman emperor *Trajan* indicates (Documents 34–36). Tourism, then as now, was attractive (Document 29). Occasionally, a sea voyage, with its therapeutic qualities, was recommended by physicians to their ailing patients (Document 37).

EGYPT

29. A Roman Tourist Is Coming!

A papyrus dated 112 B.C. contains instructions, in the form of a letter from one Egyptian official to another, about travel arrangements for a Roman politician who wants to make a trip from Alexandria to the Arsinoite district.

From Hermias . . . to Asclepiades. Lucius Memmius, a Roman senator who occupies a position of great dignity and honor, is sailing up from Alexandria to the Arsinoite district to see the sights. Let him be received with special magnificence, and take care that at the proper spots the guest chambers be prepared and the landing places to them be completed, and that the gifts [refreshments] be presented to him at the landing place, and that the furniture of the guest chamber . . . and the conveniences for viewing the Labyrinth [a temple near one of the pyramids], and the offerings and sacrifices be provided. In general, take the greatest pains in everything to see that the visitor is satisfied.

Source: *Select Papyri: Non-literary Papyri: Public Documents*. Volume II. Translated by A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

GREECE

30. Plato Suggests Travel Restrictions

*The fourth-century B.C. Greek philosopher Plato, in his treatise entitled *Laws*, suggests the following fairly severe restrictions for persons traveling outside the boundaries of their city-state.*

In regard, therefore, to the question of going abroad to other lands and places and of the admission of foreigners we must act as follows: First, no man under forty years shall be permitted to go abroad to any place whatsoever; next, no man shall be permitted to go abroad in a private capacity, but in a public capacity permission shall be granted to heralds, embassies, and certain commissions of inspections. Military expeditions in war

it would be improper to reckon among official visits abroad. It is right that embassies should be sent to Apollo at Pytho, and Zeus at Olympia, and to Nemea and the Isthmus [of Corinth], to take part in the sacrifices and games in honor of these gods. And it is right also that the ambassadors thus sent should be...as numerous, noble, and good as possible...And these men, when they return home, will teach the youth that the political institutions of other countries are inferior to their own...

If any of the citizens desire to survey the doings of the outside world in a leisurely fashion, no law shall prevent them. For a State that is without experience of bad men and good would never be able (owing to its isolation) to become fully civilized, and perfect, nor would it be able to safeguard its laws...

It is always right for one who dwells in a well-ordered state to go forth on a voyage of inquiry by land and sea, if so be that he himself is incorruptible, so as to confirm thereby such of his native laws as are rightly enacted, and to amend any that are deficient. For without this inspection and inquiry, a State will not permanently remain perfect, nor again if the inspection be badly conducted.

Source: *Plato Laws*. Volume II. Translated by R. G. Bury. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1926.

31. Watch Out for the Wagon-Rollers!

Plutarch describes one of the dangers always faced by overland travelers in the ancient Greek (and Roman) world—murderers and robbers. The following account, from Plutarch's Moralia, takes place in Megara, a city-state not far from Athens.

Where did the clan of “Wagon-rollers” in Megara come from?

In the time of the unbridled democracy...a sacred mission of Peloponnesians passed through Megarian territory, on its way to Delphi [site of a famous shrine of the god Apollo] and had encamped, as chance dictated, in their wagons, with their wives and children...beside [a] lake. But the boldest spirits among the Megarians, inflamed with wine, in their insolence and savagery rolled back the wagons and pushed them into the lake, so that many members of the mission were drowned. Now because of the unsettled state of their government, the Megarians took no notice of the crime; but the Amphictyonic Assembly [a league of city-states], since the mission was sacred, took cognizance of the matter and punished some of the guilty men with banishment and others with death. The descendants of these men were called “Wagon-rollers.”

Source: *Plutarch's Moralia*. Volume IV. Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1936.

32. Making a Pilgrimage to Olympia

Pilgrimages to Olympia, to view the Olympic Games or to worship there at the shrine of Zeus, were undertaken by many ancient Greeks. In the following excerpt, the historian Xenophon (c. 430–c. 354 B.C.), in his Memorabilia, recounts one such journey.

“Have you ever considered, then, which deserves the more stripes, the master or the man?”

When someone was afraid of the journey to Olympia, he said:

“Why do you fear the distance? When you are at home, don’t you spend most of the day in walking about? On your way there, you will take a walk before lunch, and another before dinner, and then take a rest. Don’t you know that if you put together the walks you take in five or six days, you can easily cover the distance from Athens to Olympia? It is more comfortable, too, to start a day early rather than a day late, since to be forced to make the stages of the journey unduly long is unpleasant; but to take a day extra on the way makes easy going. So it is better to hurry over the start than on the road.”

When another said that he was worn out after a long journey, he asked him whether he had carried a load.

“Oh no,” said the man; “only my cloak.”

“Were you alone, or had you a footman with you?”

“I had.”

“Empty-handed, or carrying anything?”

“He carried the rugs and the rest of the baggage, of course.”

“And how has he come out of the journey?”

“Better than I, so far as I can tell.”

“Well, then, if you had been forced to carry his load, how would you have felt, do you suppose?”

“Bad, of course; or rather, I couldn’t have done it.”

“Indeed! Do you think that a trained man ought to be so much less capable of work than his slave?”

Source: Xenophon: *Memorabilia and Oeconomicus*. Volume IV. Translated by E. C. Marchant. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1923.

ROME

33. A Trip Down the Appian Way

Overland travel in Roman times was greatly facilitated by the expansive network of paved super highways that the Romans constructed. Perhaps the most famous of these roads was the Via Appia, or Appian Way, extending from Rome to the southern Italian port city of Brundisium, about 360 miles distant. Travel on the roads could be carried out on foot, on the back of a four-footed animal, in a wagon, or in a litter. However, to hear the poet Horace tell it in the following passage from his fifth Satire (Book II), traveling down the Via Appia was anything but a pleasure trip!

Leaving mighty Rome, I found shelter in a modest inn at Aricia, having for a companion Heliodorus the rhetorician, far the most learned of all Greeks. Next came Appii Forum, crammed with boatmen and stingy tavern keepers. This stretch we lazily cut in two, though smarter travelers make it in a single day; the Appian Way is less tiring if taken slowly. Here, owing to the water, for it was villainous, I declare war against my stomach, and wait impatiently while my companions dine.

Already night was beginning to draw her curtain over the earth and to sprinkle the sky with stars. Then slaves loudly rail at the boatmen, boatmen at slaves. “Bring to here!” “You’re packing in hundreds!” “Stay, that’s enough!” What with collecting fares and harnessing the mule [to pull the boat from shore], a whole hour slips away. Cursed gnats and frogs of the fen drive off sleep, the boatman, soaked in sour wine, singing the while of the girl he left behind, and a passenger taking up the refrain. The passenger at last tires and falls asleep, and the lazy boatman turns his mule out to graze, ties the reins to a stone, and drops snoring on his back. Day was now dawning when we find that our craft was not under way, until one hot-headed fellow jumps out, and with a willow cudgel bangs mule and boatman on the back and head.

At last, by ten o’clock we barely landed, and washed our hands and faces . . . Then we breakfasted, and crawling on three miles, climbed up to Anxur, perched on her far-gleaming rocks. Here Maecenas [Horace’s literary patron] was to meet us, and noble Cocceius, envoys both on business of importance, and old hands at settling feuds . . . Here I put black ointment on my sore eyes. Meanwhile, Maecenas and Cocceius arrived, and with them Fonteius Capito . . .

[Next stop]: Fundi, with its [local official] Aufidius Luscus. [We] laugh[ed] at the crazy clerk’s cheap trinkets, his bordered robe, broad stripe, and pan of charcoal. Next, tired out, we stopped in the city of the Mamurrae, [where] Murena provid[ed] shelter, and Capito, the larder. Most joyful was the next day’s rising, for at Sinuessa, we met up with Plotius, Varius, and Virgil, purest souls earth ever bore, to whom none can be more deeply attached than I am . . . Nothing, so long as I am in my senses, would I compare to the joy a friend may bring.



The Appian Way was the most important ancient Roman road. It connected Rome to Brundisium, Apulia in southeast Italy. © Pierdelune/Dreamstime.com.

The little house close to the Campanian bridge put a roof over our heads... Next, at Capua [the major city in the district of Campania, south of Rome], our mules laid aside their saddlebags at an early hour. Maecenas went off to play ball, but Virgil and I took a nap; ball playing is hard on the sore-eyed and the dyspeptic. Another stage, and we were taken in at the well-stocked villa of Cocceius...

From there, we traveled straight to Brundisium, where our bustling host was nearly burned out while cooking lean thrushes over the fire. For as the fire slipped out through the old kitchen, the wandering flame hastened to lick the roof. Then you might have seen the hungry guests and the frightened slaves all snatching up the dinner, and all trying to put out the blaze.

From this point, Apulia begins to show to my eyes her familiar hills [Horace hailed from Apulia, in southeastern Italy], and over which we would have never crawled had not a villa near Trivicum taken us in—but not without smoke that brought tears, as green wood, leaves and all, was burning in the stove. Here I, total fool that I was, awaited a faithless girl right up to midnight...

From here, we are whirled in carriages four and twenty miles, to spend the night in a little town I cannot name in verse... Here water, nature's cheapest product, is sold, but the bread is far the best to be had, so that the knowing traveler generally shoulders a load for stages beyond.; for at Canusium... it is gritty, and as to water, the town is no better off...

From there, we came to Rubi, very weary after covering a long stage much marred by the rain. Next day's weather was better, but the road worse, right up to the walls of Barium, a fishing town. Then Gnatia... brought us laughter and mirth in its effort to convince us that frankincense melts without fire at the temple's threshold... Brundisium is the end of a long story and of a long journey.

Source: *Horace: Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*. Translated by H. Rushton Fairclough. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1926.

34. Pliny Reports to Trajan on His Journey to Bithynia

The following three documents (34–36) are excerpts from the correspondence between Pliny the Younger and the emperor Trajan and date from the first decade of the second century A.D. The letters begin with an update to Trajan on the progress Pliny had made en route to Bithynia, in Asia Minor, the province that he had been assigned to govern, and then continue with discussion of Pliny's travel problems.

I feel sure, sir, that you will be interested to hear that I have rounded Cape Malea and arrived at Ephesus [in Greece] with my complete staff, after being delayed by contrary winds. My intention now is to travel on to my province partly by coastal boat and partly by carriage. The intense heat prevents my traveling entirely by road, and the prevailing winds make it impossible to go all the way by sea.

Source: *Pliny: Letters and Panegyricus*. Volume II. Translated by Betty Radice. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1969.

35. *Trajan's Reply to Pliny*

You did well to send me news, my friend Pliny, for I am very interested to know what sort of journey you are having to your province. You are wise to adapt yourself to local conditions and travel either by boat or carriage.

Source: *Pliny: Letters and Panegyricus*. Volume II. Translated by Betty Radice. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1969.

36. *Pliny's Response to Trajan*

I kept in excellent health, Sir, throughout my voyage to Ephesus, but I found the intense heat very tiring when I went on to travel by road and developed a touch of fever which kept me at Pergamum [in Greece, north of Ephesus]. Then, when I had resumed my journey by coastal boat, I was further delayed by contrary winds, so that I did not reach Bithynia until September 17th. I had hoped to arrive earlier, but I cannot complain of the delay, as I was in time to celebrate your birthday [September 18th] in my province, and this should be a good omen.

Source: *Pliny: Letters and Panegyricus*. Volume II. Translated by Betty Radice. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1969.

37. *You Should Let Them Take You on a Sea Cruise*

In the following excerpt from his only extant work, De Medicina, the first-century A.D. Roman physician and encyclopedist Celsus recommends a sea voyage as a possible course of treatment for seriously ill patients.

If there is more serious illness and a true wasting away [possibly tuberculosis], it is necessary to counter it immediately at the very outset, for when of long standing, it is not readily overcome. If the patient's strength allows it, a long sea voyage is requisite, with a change of air, of such a kind that a denser climate should be sought than that which the patient leaves. Hence, the most suitable is the voyage to Alexandria from Italy... If the patient's weakened condition does not allow this, the best thing for him is to be rocked in a ship without going far away. If anything prevents a sea voyage, the body is to be rocked in a litter, or in some other way.

Source: *Celsus: De Medicina*. Volume I. Translated by W. G. Spencer. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1935.

Making a Living

"Work with work upon work." With those words, the Greek poet Hesiod (Document 41) summed up life on the farm in Greece. But his words probably described the workday generally in the ancient world. Texts from Egypt (Documents 38 and 39)

suggest that the life of a scribe might be tolerable, but other occupations seemingly did not have much to recommend them, such as carpenter, cobbler, potter, farmer, artisan, mason, barber, reed cutter, construction worker, weaver, porter, and fisherman, all of which required their practitioners to put in long days of backbreaking labor. In Document 40, the historian Diodorus Siculus noted that in Egypt, craftsmen and other artisans inherited those professions from their parents, and they were forbidden by law to pursue other livelihoods.

The Roman orator Cicero thought that farm work was pleasant enough (Document 43), but he had a distinctly negative attitude toward various other occupations, especially menial jobs involving mostly manual labor (Document 44). The situation was different in Periclean Athens in the fifth century B.C., when *Pericles's* ambitious public works programs created good-paying jobs for all sorts of workers, including carpenters, metal workers, stone cutters, dyers, painters, embroiderers, wagon makers, rope makers, leather workers, road builders, and miners (Document 42). In Document 45, Pliny the Elder addressed the last occupation in that list—mining—calling it dangerous and noting that mining operations were very expensive.

EGYPT

38. *Be a Scribe!*

The following lugubrious passage from an Eighteenth Dynasty work entitled Instruction of the Scribe Any lists the various drawbacks and disadvantages of many occupations, with the notable exception of the scribe's profession.

See for yourself with your own eye. The occupations lie before you.

The washerman's day is going up, going down. All his limbs are weak, [from] whitening his neighbors' clothes every day, from washing their linen.

The maker of pots is smeared with soil, like one whose relations have died. His hands, his feet, are full of clay; he is like one who lives in the bog.

The cobbler mingles with vats. His odor is penetrating. His hands are red with madder, like one who is smeared with blood. He looks behind him for the kite, like one whose flesh is exposed.

The watchman prepares garlands and polishes vase-stands. He spends a night of toil just as one on whom the sun shines.

The merchants travel downstream and upstream. They are as busy as can be, carrying goods from one town to another. They supply him who has wants. But the tax collectors carry off the gold, that most precious of metals.

The ships' crews from every house [of commerce], they receive their loads. They depart from Egypt for Syria, and each man's god is with him. [But] not one of them says: "We shall see Egypt again!"

The carpenter who is in the shipyard carries the timber and stacks it. If he gives the output of yesterday, woe to his limbs! The shipwright stands behind him to tell him evil things.

His outworker who is in the fields, his is the toughest of all the jobs. He spends the day loaded with his tools, tied to his tool-box. When he returns home at night, he is loaded with the tool-box and the timbers, his drinking mug, and his whetstones.

The scribe, he alone, records the output of all of them. Take note of it!

Let me also expound to you the situation of the peasant, that other tough occupation... By day, he attends to his equipment. By day he cuts his farming tools; by night he twists rope. Even his midday hour he spends on farm labor. He equips himself to go to the field as if he were a warrior. The dried field lies before him; he goes out to get his team. When he has been after the herdsman for many days, he gets his team and comes back with it. He makes for it a place in the field. Comes dawn, he goes to make a start and does not find it in its place. He spends three days searching for it; he finds it in the bog. He finds no hides on them; the jackals have chewed them. He comes out, his garment in his hand, to beg for himself a team.

...He spends time cultivating, and the snake is after him. It finishes off the seed as it is cast to the ground. He does not see a green blade. He does three plowings with borrowed grain. His wife has gone down to the merchants and found nothing for barter. Now the scribe lands on the shore. He surveys the harvest. Attendants are behind him with staffs, Nubians with clubs. One says to [him]: "Give grain." "There is none." He is beaten savagely. He is bound, thrown in the well, submerged head down. His wife is bound in his presence. His children are in fetters. His neighbors abandon them and flee. When it's over, there's no grain.

If you have any sense, be a scribe. If you have learned about the peasant, you will not be able to be one. Take note of it!

Source: Lichtheim, Miriam. *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Volume II: The New Kingdom*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

39. Yes, by All Means Be a Scribe!

Many of the themes put forth in Document 38 are echoed in this set of instructions for a young child named Pepi, who is on his way to school. Pepi is told to take his studies seriously, so that he would not find himself laboring in a menial or dirty job for the rest of his life.

Beginning of the Instruction composed by a man from Sile, Khety, Duauf's son, for his son, whose name was Pepi... And he said to Pepi:

I have seen defeated, abject men!
You must give yourself whole-heartedly to learning,
discover what will save you from the drudgery of underlings.
Nothing is so valuable as education; it is a bridge over troubled waters.
Just read the end of the *Book of Kemyt*, where you will find these words:
"A scribe in any position whatsoever at the royal palace will never be needy there"...
Let me urge you to love learning more than your mother;
have its perfections enter your mind.
It is more distinguished than any other occupation.
There is nothing like it upon earth!

Good fortune grows for the scribe even from childhood,
 and people will respect him.
 They will commission him to handle their affairs,
 nor will he go about dressed merely in a loincloth.
 I do not see carvers sent on missions
 or goldsmiths in places where the scribe is sent.
 But I have seen the coppersmith at work
 at the entrance to his kiln.
 His fingers are like crocodile claws,
 and he stinks more than the spawn of fish.
 Any sort of artisan who takes up tools—
 he is as weary as the hoeman
 whose fields are full of sticks and troubles for the axe;
 only darkness saves him.
 He has worked his arms to dropping in his labors,
 and it is nightfall when he lights his fire out there.
 The mason cutting with his chisel
 in all sorts of hard and costly stone—
 after he finishes two cubic feet of work,
 his arms are dead and he himself is weary.
 He sits there until supertime,
 knees cramped and with an aching back.
 The barbers barber far into evening,
 to earn a bit to swallow, a covering for his shoulders,
 taking himself from street to street,
 to hunt down any who are ripe for barbering.
 He is strong of arm to fill his belly
 just like the honeybee at work.
 The reed cutter goes down into the marshes
 to gather shafts for arrows.
 He has worked his arms to dropping in his labors,
 bugs and ticks have bitten him to death,
 sickness has laid him low;
 he fares no better than the damned.
 The potter with his earth and clay,
 he rises early with the servants.
 Weeds and swine hinder his efforts
 until he manages to fire his pots.
 His clothing is stiff with slime
 and his leather apron is in tatters.
 The air which enters up his nose
 spews directly from his kiln.
 He makes a pestle of his feet,
 to stamp the clay down flat,
 hacking up the courtyards of the houses,
 unwelcome in public places.
 Let me tell you about the builder of walls:
 Life for him is pitiful.
 Should he be outdoors in a cutting wind,
 he must keep on working in his loincloth.
 His apron is mere rags
 and the rest-house far behind him.

His arms are dead from wielding the chisel,
and every measurement is wrong.
He eats food with his fingers
and washes once a day.
The carpenter is wretched as he grasps his plan:
the finishing of a chamber, an area in a tomb of six by ten.
A month goes by; its woodwork is torn down, its matting strewn about
and all that was so carefully constructed has been ruined.
As for providing for his own house,
he cannot even feed his children . . .
The farmer, he complains incessantly,
his cry more raucous than the raven's.
His fingers go about their duties
through all the raging of the storm.
Wearied beyond reward down in the marshes,
he becomes a living wreck.
His storehouse is depleted by the lions,
worse ills from hippopotami are his.
His creatures there lack dwellings
so he must leave them unprotected.
He reaches home exhausted
and the taxman cuts him down.
The mat-maker in his tiny cubicle:
He is more wretched than a woman.
With his knees pressed against his stomach
he can hardly breathe.
If he wastes the day not weaving,
he is beaten with the leather, fifty blows.
He must offer food to the door guard
just to let him see the sun.
The arrow maker is already spent
as he goes into the desert uplands.
What he must pay for donkeys is more costly
than their toil will profit in return.
And costly too his pay to country people
to point him on his way.
When he comes home at evening,
the walking has exhausted him.
The porter who treks to foreign lands
has assigned his meager assets to his children.
Fearful alike of lions and of nomads,
he has his wits about him only in Egypt.
He comes back home all woebegone.
The journey has done him in.
He dresses in a loincloth for his clothing,
and contentment never comes . . .
The laundry man washing on the riverbank
bows low in the presence of the crocodile god.
"Father, let me go down to the edge of the water!"
clamor his son and daughter.
Oh, there is no profession that satisfies like this,
distinguished above any other calling!

He kneads all sorts of excrement,
 with not a limb left clean.
 He does the undergarments of a woman...; tears are his,
 daylong at the hot washing bowls, or as he heaves the pounding stone.
 The tub of dirty water whispers, "Come to me
 and let me overflow because of you!"
 Let me tell you also of the fisherman.
 He is worse off than any other occupation,
 as he pursues his work on the River
 mingling with the crocodiles.
 If he overestimates his harvest,
 he is in despair.
 He cannot say, "The crocodiles did this!"
 It was his own fear that blinded him.
 As he goes forth upon the waters of the torrent,
 he cries, "This is the very wrath of God!"
 There is no occupation without its bosses,
 except for the scribe: he is the boss.
 Now, if you will learn writing,
 it will be better
 than any of these trades which I have set before you.

Source: From *Ancient Egyptian Literature: An Anthology*. Translated by John L. Foster. Copyright © 2001.
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40. *Farmers and Craft Workers in Ancient Egypt*

In the following excerpt, the first-century B.C. Greek historian Diodorus Siculus recounts the various duties and responsibilities of rural and urban workers in ancient Egypt.

The farmers rent on moderate terms the arable land held by the king and the priests and the warriors, and spend their entire time in tilling the soil. And since from their infancy, they are brought up in connection with the various tasks of farming, they are far more experienced in such matters than the farmers of any other nation. Out of all mankind, they acquire the most exact knowledge of the nature of the soil, the use of water in irrigation, the times of sowing and reaping, and the harvesting of crops in general, some details of which they have learned from the observations of their ancestors and others in the school of their own experience.

And what has been said applies equally well to the herdsmen, who receive the care of animals from their parents as if by a law of inheritance, and follow a pastoral life all the days of their existence. They have received, it is true, much from their ancestors relative to the best care and feeding of grazing animals, but to this they add not a little by reason of their own interest in such matters. The most astonishing fact is that, by reason of their unusual application to such matter, those who are in charge of poultry and geese, in addition to producing them in the natural way, universally known, raise them by their own hands, by virtue of a skill peculiar to them, in numbers beyond telling. For they do not use the birds for hatching the eggs, but, in bringing this about themselves artificially,



Three scribes at work, painted limestone from the tomb of the official Ty, Saqqara, fifth dynasty, 2450–2325 B.C. The Art Archive/Gianni Dagli Orti.

by their own wit and skill in an astounding manner, they are not surpassed by the operations of nature.

Furthermore, one may also see that the crafts among the Egyptians are very diligently cultivated and brought to their proper development. They are the only people where all the craftsmen are forbidden to follow any other occupation or belong to any other class of citizens than those stipulated by the laws and handed down to them from their parents; the result is that neither ill-will towards a teacher nor political distractions nor any other thing interferes with their interest in their work. Whereas among all other peoples it can be observed that the artisans are distracted in mind by many things, and through the desire to advance themselves do not stick exclusively to their own occupation—some try their hands at agriculture, some dabble in trade, and some cling to two or three crafts, and in states having a democratic form of government, vast numbers of them,

trooping to the meetings of the Assembly, ruin the work of government, while they make a profit for themselves at the expense of others who pay their wages, yet among the Egyptians, if any artisan takes part in public affairs or pursues several crafts, he is severely punished.

Source: *Diodorus of Sicily*. Volume I. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1933.

GREECE

41. *The Farmer's Long Day . . . and Year*

“Work with work upon work.” With those words, the eighth-century B.C. Greek poet Hesiod summed up the nature of life on the farm in ancient Greece. And farming was undoubtedly the primary occupation. Since most ancient Greek authors whose work survives were city-dwellers, there is a dearth of primary source material about farm life. Hesiod, who came from an agrarian family, was an exception. His long epic poem, “Works and Days,” is filled with advice to farmers, including his brother, Perses, on how to succeed and prosper.

When the Atlas-born Pleiades rise [in May], start the harvest—the plowing, when they set [late October, early November, . . . I bid you take notice of how to clear your debts and how to ward off famine: a house first of all, a woman, and an ox for plowing—the woman one you purchase, not marry, one who can follow with the oxen—and arrange everything well in the house, lest you ask someone else and he refuse and you suffer want, and the season passes by, and the fruit of your work will be diminished. Do

not postpone until tomorrow and the next day; for the futilely working man does not fill his granary, nor does the postponer; industry fosters work, and the work-postponing man is always wrestling with calamities.

[In late September], wood that is cut with the iron is least bitten by worms, and its leaves fall to the ground and it ceases putting forth shoots. So at that time be mindful and cut wood, a seasonable work: cut a mortar three feet long, and a pestle three cubits long [four and one-half feet], and an axle seven feet long, for this way things will fit together very well. If you cut a length eight feet long, you could cut a mallet-head from it too... Toil hard to lay up a pair of plows in your house, one of a single piece and one put together, since it is much better this way; if you broke one, you could set the other one upon your oxen... Acquire two oxen, nine years old, male, that have reached the measure of puberty, for their strength has not been drained away yet; they are best at working... Together with these, a strong, forty-year old man should follow with the plow... someone who puts care into his work and will drive a straight furrow, no longer gaping after his age-mates, but keeping his mind on his work. And another man, not a bit younger than him, is better for scattering the weeds and avoiding over-seeding; for a younger man is all aflutter for his age-mates...

When the plowing-time first shows itself to mortals, set out for it, both your slaves and yourself, plowing by dry and by wet in the plowing season, hastening very early, so that your fields will be filled. Turn the soil over in the spring; land left fallow in the summer will not disappoint you; sow the fallow land while the field is still brittle. Fallow land is an averter of death, a soother of children.

Pray to Zeus... and to hallowed Demeter... as you begin plowing at the very start, when you have taken the end of the plow-tail in your hand and have come down with the goad upon the oxen's backs while they draw the yoke-pole by its leather strap. Just a little behind, let another man, slave holding a mattock, make toil for the birds by covering up the seed; for good management is the best for mortal human beings, bad management the worst. In this way the ears of corn will bend towards the ground in their ripeness... You will arrive at bright spring in good shape and will not gape at other people, but some other man will stand in need of you.

Pass by the bronze-worker's bench and his warm lounge in the wintry season, when the cold holds men back from fieldwork but an unhesitating man could greatly foster his household—lest a bad, intractable winter catch you up together with Poverty, and you rub a swollen foot with a skinny hand. A man who does not work, waiting upon an empty hope, in need of the means of life, says many evil things to his spirit. Hope is not good at providing for a man in need who sits in the lounge and does not have enough of the means of life. Point out to the slaves while it is still mid-summer: "It will not always be summer, make huts for yourselves."

As for you, Perses, be mindful of all kinds of work in good season, but above all regarding seafaring. Praise a small boat, but place your load in a big one; for the cargo will be bigger, and your profit will be bigger, profit on profit—if the winds hold back their evil blasts.

Source: *Hesiod: Theogony/Works and Days/Testimonia*. Translated by Glenn W. Most. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 2006.

42. An Unrivaled Public Works Program

Even though most ancient Greeks made their livings as farmers, other kinds of employment were also available. In the mid-fifth century B.C., when the politician/statesman Pericles initiated a massive construction program in Athens, city jobs were plentiful, as Plutarch attests in the following excerpt from his Life of Pericles.

In his desire that the unwarlike throng of common laborers should neither have no share at all in the public receipts, nor yet get fees for laziness and idleness, he boldly suggested to the people projects for great constructions, and designs for works which would call many arts into play and involve long periods of time, in order that the stay-at-homes, no whit less than the sailors and sentinels and soldiers, might have a pretext for getting a beneficial share of the public wealth. The materials to be used were stone, bronze, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress-wood; the arts which should elaborate and work up these materials were those of carpenter, moulder, bronze-smith, stone-cutter, dyer, worker in gold and ivory, painter, embroiderer, embosser, to say nothing of the forwarders and furnishers of the material, such as factors, sailors and pilots by sea, and, by land, wagon-makers, trainers of yoked beasts, and drivers. There were also rope-makers, weavers, leather-workers, road-builders, and miners. And since each particular art, like a general with the army under his separate command, kept its own throng of unskilled and untrained laborers in compact array, to be as an instrument unto player and as body unto soul in subordinate service, it came to pass that for every age, almost, and every capacity the city's great abundance was distributed and scattered abroad by such demands.

So then the works arose, no less towering in their grandeur than inimitable in the grace of their outlines, since the workmen eagerly strove to surpass themselves in the beauty of their handicraft.

Source: *Plutarch's Lives*. Volume III. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1916.

ROME

43. Cicero on the Joys of Farming

As with the Greeks, for the ancient Romans, farming was the occupation that employed more workers than any other. In the following passage from his essay "On Old Age," the Roman orator Cicero paints a pleasant picture of the joys of agricultural pursuits.

I come now to the pleasures of agriculture, in which I find incredible delight; they are not one bit checked by old age, and are, it seems to me, in the highest degree suited to the life of the wise man... And yet what I enjoy is not the fruit alone, but I also enjoy the soil itself, its nature and its power...

Why should I mention the origin, cultivation, and growth of the vine? But, that you may know what affords the recreation and delight of my old age, I will say that vine-culture gives me a joy of which I cannot get too much...

Indeed, it is not only the utility of the vine... that gives me joy, but I find joy also in its culture and very nature; in the even-spaced rows of stakes, with strips across the top; in the tying up of the branches; in the propagating of the plants; in the pruning of some branches... and in the leaving of others to grow at will...

Why need I allude to the irrigation, ditching, and frequent hoeing of the soil, whereby its productiveness is so much enhanced? Why need I discuss the advantage of manuring?... Nor does the farmer find joy only in his cornfields, meadows, vineyards, and woodlands, but also in his garden and orchard, in the rearing of his cattle, in his swarms of bees, and in the infinite variety of flowers. And not only does planting delight him, but grafting also, than which there is nothing in husbandry that is more ingenious...

In those days [that is, in the early days of the Roman Republic, especially the fifth century B.C.], senators... lived on farms—if the story is true that Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus was at the plow when he was notified of his election to the dictatorship... It was from the farmhouse that Curius and other old men were summoned to the senate... Well, then, was there cause to pity the old age of these men who delighted in the cultivation of the soil? For my part, at least, I am inclined to think that no life can be happier than that of the farmer... Nothing can be more abounding in usefulness or more attractive in appearance than a well-tilled farm.

Source: Cicero: *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione*. Translated by William Armistead Falconer. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1923.

44. Cicero on Other, Less Joyful Occupations

In his essay "On Duties," Cicero also describes various other occupations, but not in the flattering terms that he reserved for farm work (see Document 43, above).

Now in regard to trades and other means of livelihood, which ones are to be considered becoming to a gentleman and which ones are not, we have been taught, in general, as follows: First, those means of livelihood are rejected as undesirable, and which incur people's ill-will, as those of tax-gatherers and usurers. Unbecoming to a gentleman, too... are the means of livelihood of all hired workmen whom we pay for mere manual labor, not for artistic skill; for in their case, the very wages they receive is a pledge of their slavery. We must consider inappropriate those also who buy from wholesale merchants to retail immediately; for they would get no profits without a great deal of downright lying; and certainly there is no action that is lower than misrepresentation. And all mechanics are engaged in vulgar trades; for no workshop can have anything liberal about it. Least respectable of all are those trades which cater to sensual pleasures...

But the professions in which either a higher degree of intelligence is required or from which no small benefit to society is derived—medicine and architecture, for example, and teaching—these are proper for those whose social position they are appropriate. Trade, if it is on a small scale, is to be considered inappropriate; but if wholesome and on a large scale, importing large quantities from all parts of the world and distributing

to many without misrepresentation, it is not to be greatly disparaged. It even seems to deserve the highest respect, if those who are engaged in it [are]...satisfied with the fortunes they have made, and make their way from the port to a country estate, as they have often made it from the sea into port. But of all the occupations by which gain is secured, none is better than agriculture, none more profitable, none more delightful, none more becoming to a freeman.

Source: *Cicero: De Officiis*. Translated by Walter Miller. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1913.

45. *There's Gold in Those Hills!*

In the following excerpt from his Natural History, the Roman writer Pliny the Younger describes in some detail the labor—and danger—involved with gold mining.

Gold in our part of the world...is obtained in three ways: in the detritus of rivers...by sinking shafts...in the fallen debris of mountains. Each of these methods must be described.

People seeking gold begin by getting up *segellum*—that is the name for earth that indicates the presence of gold. This is a pocket of sand, which is washed, and from the sediment left an estimate of the vein is made. Sometimes by a rare piece of luck a pocket is found immediately, on the surface of the earth...

Gold dug up from shafts is called “channeled”, or “trenched” gold. It is found sticking to the grit of marble,...sparkling in the folds of the marble. These channels of veins wander to and fro along the sides of the shafts, which gives the gold its name, and the earth is held up by wooden props. The substance dug out is crushed, washed, fired, and ground to a soft powder...

The third method will have outdone the achievements of the Giants. By means of galleries driven for long distances, the mountains are mined by the light of lamps; the spells of work are also measured by lamps, and the miners do not see daylight for many months.

The name for this class of mines is *arrugia*. Also, cracks give way suddenly and crush the men who have been at work, so that it actually seems less hazardous to try to get pearls and purple fishes out of the depth of the sea, so much more dangerous have we made the earth! Consequently, arches are left at frequent intervals to support the weight of the mountain above. In both kinds of mining, masses of flint are encountered, which are burst apart by means of fire and vinegar, although more often, since this method makes the tunnels suffocating through heat and smoke, they are broken to pieces with crushing machines carrying 150 pounds of iron, and the men carry the stuff out on their shoulders, working night and day, each man passing them on to the next man in the dark, while only those at the end of the line see daylight. If the bed of flint seems too long, the miner follows along the side of it and goes around it. And yet flint is considered to involve comparatively easy work, as there is a kind of earth consisting of a sort of potter's clay mixed with gravel, called *gangadia*, which it is almost impossible to overcome. They attack it with iron wedges and the hammer machines mentioned

above, and it is thought to be the hardest thing that exists, except greed for gold, which is the most stubborn of all things.

When the work is completely finished, they cut through the supports of the arched roofs at the top, beginning with the last. A crack gives warning of a crash, and the only person who notices it is the sentinel on a pinnacle of the mountain. By shout and gesture, he gives the order for the workmen to be called out, and he himself at the same moment flies down from his pinnacle. The fractured mountain falls apart in a wide gap, with a crash which it is impossible for human imagination to conceive, and at the same time with an incredibly violent blast of air. The miners gaze as conquerors upon the collapse of Nature. But nevertheless even now, there is no gold so far, nor did they positively know there was any when they began to dig. The mere hope of obtaining their coveted object was a sufficient inducement for encountering such great dangers and expenses.

Source: *Pliny: Natural History*. Volume IX. Translated by H. Rackham. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1952.

Part III

ECONOMIC LIFE

Urban Life

One of the most noteworthy cities in the ancient world was *Alexandria*, Egypt. Its broad and well-planned streets, its magnificent palaces, its two renowned libraries, and its harbor were just a few of the amenities to be found there (Document 4). The Greeks excelled in the realm of city planning; in fact, the first city planner was reputedly a fifth-century B.C. political scientist and legal expert named *Hippodamus* (Documents 5 and 6).

Ancient India seemed to have been so heavily urbanized, if the statement of the historian Arrian is to be believed, that it was impossible to count the cities in India because there were so many (Document 3). City administration was well-organized (Document 2), and there did not seem to be the fear of tax collectors that apparently pervaded some places in China (Document 1).

But of all the urban areas of the ancient world, the Eternal City, Rome, was the most magnificent. From its humble beginnings in about 753 B.C. (Document 7), until its downfall as the capital of the Western Empire in A.D. 476, no other ancient city could match it in terms of power, influence, grandeur, and sheer size. The Romans excelled in civil engineering, and the fruits of their labors were to be seen everywhere in the wide expanses of the city (Documents 10 and 11). Not surprisingly, however, there were extremes: the emperor Nero's ostentatious Golden House on the one hand (Document 9), and poorly constructed slums, with their fire-trap tenement houses, on the other (Document 8).

CHINA

1. *Life with the Tax Man*

During the Chou Dynasty (c. 1100–256 B.C.), tax collectors could make life miserable for the common people of China, and whether they lived in villages or on farms, the “Big Rat” with the upturned palm would be sure to find them and demand their taxes.

(1) Big rat, big rat,
 don't eat my millet!
 Three years I've served you
 but you won't care for me.
 I'm going to leave you
 and go to that happy land,
 happy land, happy land
 where I'll find my place.

(3) Big rat, big rat,
 don't eat my sprouts!
 Three years I've served you
 but you give me no comfort.
 I'm going to leave you
 and go to those happy fields,
 happy fields, happy fields,
 who will moan there for long?

Source: From *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. Volume I. Second Edition. Compiled by William Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom. Copyright © 1999 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

INDIA

2. Indian Urban Life

Famous for his 17-volume Geographica, a descriptive history of peoples and regions known to him, the Greek geographer Strabo (c. 64 B.C.—A.D. 21) wrote the following account of the structures and organization of contemporary Indian urban life.

Of the [city] officials, some are market commissioners, others are city commissioners, and others are in charge of the soldiers. Among these, the first keep the rivers improved and the land remeasured, as in Egypt, and inspect the closed canals from which the water is distributed into the conduits, in order that all may have an equal use of it. The same men also have charge of the hunters and are authorized to reward or punish those who deserve either. They also collect the taxes and superintend the crafts connected with the land—those of wood-cutters, carpenters, workers in brass, and miners. And they make roads, and . . . place pillars showing the by-roads and the distances.

The city commissioners are divided into six groups of five each. One group looks after the arts of the craftsmen. Another group entertains strangers, for they assign them lodgings, follow closely their behavior, giving them attendants . . . and they take care of them when they are sick and bury them when they die. The third group is that of those who scrutinize births and deaths, when and how they take place, both for the sake of taxes and in order that births and deaths, whether better or worse, may not be unknown. The fourth group is that which has to do with sales and barter; and these look after the measures and fruits of the season . . . The fifth group is that of those who have charge of the works made by artisans and sell these by stamp, the new apart from the old; and the man who mixes them is fined. The sixth and last group is that of those who

collect a tenth part of the price of the things sold, and death is the penalty for the man who steals. These are the special duties performed by each group, but they all take care jointly of matters both private and public, and of the repairs of public works, of prices, marketplaces, harbors and temples....

All Indians live a simple life, and especially when they are on expeditions, and neither do they enjoy useless disturbances. And on this account, they behave in an orderly manner.

Source: *The Geography of Strabo*. Volume VII. Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1930.

3. Description of Indian Cities

The second-century A.D. Greek historian, philosopher, and public official, Arrian helped make fashionable a primarily military-based history and is known as one of the most important sources for the campaigns of Alexander the Great, including those in India. In the following excerpt, Arrian provides some information about Indian cities.

As for the cities of India, it would be impossible to record their number accurately because there are so many. Those on rivers or on the coast are built of wood. If they were built of brick, they could not last long because of the moisture due to rain, and to the fact that the rivers overflow their banks and fill the plains with water. Only where the cities are situated in commanding and lofty places and these are bare, are they built of brick and clay.

The greatest of the Indian cities is called Palimbothra... And Megasthenes says that the length of the city on either side, where it is longest, extends to 80 stades [about 10 miles], its width to 15, and that a ditch has been dug around the city... The wall has 570 towers and 64 gates.

Source: *Arrian*. Volume II. Translated by E. Iliff Robson, with revisions by P. A. Brunt. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1933.

EGYPT

4. The Wonders of Alexandria

Of all the cities in ancient Egypt, probably the most magnificent was Alexandria, home to two of the finest libraries in antiquity, as well as the lighthouse, or Pharos, which was deemed one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. The Greek geographer Strabo offered the following detailed description of life in this cosmopolitan metropolis.

The advantages of the city's site are various, for, first, the place is washed by two seas, on the north by the Egyptian Sea, as it is called, and on the south by Lake Mareia... This is filled by many canals from the Nile, both from above and on the sides, and through these canals the imports are much larger than those from the sea, so that the harbor on the lake was in fact richer than that on the sea... [T]he salubrity of the

air is also worthy of remark. And this likewise results from the fact that the land is washed by water on both sides and because of the timeliness of the Nile's risings; for the other cities that are situated on lakes have heavy and stifling air in the heats of summer, because the lakes then become marshy along their edges because of the evaporation caused by the sun's rays, and, accordingly, when so much filth-laden moisture rises, the air inhaled is noisome, and starts pestilential diseases, whereas at Alexandria, at the beginning of summer, the Nile, being full, fills the lake also, and leaves no marshy matter to corrupt the rising vapors. At that time, also, the winds blow from the north and from a vast sea, so that the Alexandrians pass their time most pleasantly in summer.

...The city as a whole is intersected by streets practicable for horse-riding and chariot-driving, and by two that are very broad... And the city contains most beautiful public precincts and also the royal palaces, which constitute one-fourth or even one-third of the whole circuit of the city. For just as each of the kings, from love of splendor, customarily added some adornment to the public monuments, so also he would invest himself with a residence, in addition to those already built, so that now, to quote the words of the poet [Homer], "there is building upon building." All, however, are connected with one another and the harbor, even those that lie outside the harbor. The Museum is also a part of the royal palaces. It has a public walk, an exedra with seats, and a large house, in which is the common mess-hall of the men of learning who share the Museum...

Polybius, who visited the city [second century B.C.], is disgusted with the state of things then existing, and he says that three classes inhabited the city: first, the Egyptian or native stock of people, who were quick-tempered and not inclined to civic life; and, secondly, the mercenary class, who were severe and numerous and intractable... and third, the tribe of the Alexandrians, who were also not distinctly inclined to civil life, and for the same reasons, but still they were better than those others, for even though they were a mixed people, still they were Greeks by origin and mindful of the customs common to the Greeks...

Such, then, if not worse, was the state of affairs under the later kings also. But the Romans have, to the best of their ability, I might say, set most things right, having organized the city.

Source: *The Geography of Strabo*. Volume VIII. Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1932.



Pharos, the Lighthouse of Alexandria. On top is the sun god Helios pointing a stick to a spheric object, perhaps symbolizing the light of Christ. In the background another colossal statue erected by Pompey at the Serapeion of Alexandria. Sixth century A.D. Gilles M.

 GREECE

5. The Well-Planned City

In his treatise entitled Politics, the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) provided a survey of the essentials for a well-run and prosperous city. These factors included a favorable location, a strong family structure, a workable set of laws and a constitution, a means for preventing and suppressing civil unrest, an intelligent and engaged citizenry, and a population sufficiently large to ensure that all necessary work is performed. As the following passage indicates, city planning also fell within the purview of Aristotle's work.

It has been said before that the city should so far as circumstances permit be in communication alike with the mainland, the sea, and the whole of its territory. The site of the city itself we must pray that fortune may place on sloping ground, having regard to four considerations: first, as a thing essential, the consideration of health (for cities whose site slopes east or towards the breezes that blow from the sunrise are more healthy, and in the second degree those that face away from the north wind, for these are milder in winter); and among the remaining considerations, a sloping site is favorable both for political and for military purposes. For military purposes, therefore, the site should be easy to exit for the citizens themselves, and difficult for the enemy to approach and to blockade, and it must possess if possible a plentiful natural supply of pools and springs, but failing this, a mode has been invented of supplying water by means of constructing an abundance of large reservoirs for rain water, so that a supply may never fail the citizens when they are debarred from their territory by war. And since we have to consider the health of the inhabitants, and this depends upon the place being well situated both on healthy ground and with a healthy aspect, and secondly upon using wholesome water supplies, the following matter also must be attended to as of primary importance. Those things which we use for the body in the largest quantity, and most frequently, contribute most to health; and the influence of the water supply and of the air is of this nature. Hence, in wise cities, if all the sources of water are not equally pure and there is not an abundance of suitable springs, the water supplies for drinking must be kept separate from those for other requirements. As to fortified positions, what is expedient is not the same for all forms of constitution alike. For example, a citadel hill is suitable for oligarchy and monarchy, and a level site for democracy. Neither is favorable to an aristocracy, but rather several strong positions. The arrangement of the private dwellings is thought to be more agreeable and more convenient for general purposes if they are laid out in straight streets, after the modern fashion... but it is more suitable for security in war if it is on the contrary plan, as cities used to be in ancient times, for their arrangement is difficult for foreign troops to enter and find their way about in when attacking. Hence, it is well to combine the advantages of both plans, ... and not lay out the whole city in straight streets, but only certain parts and districts, for in this way it will combine security with beauty.

As regards walls, those who state that cities which pretend to valor should not have them hold too old-fashioned a view—and that though they see that the cities that indulge in that form of vanity are refuted by experience. It is true that against an evenly matched foe and one little superior in numbers, it is not honorable to try to secure

oneself by the strength of one's fortifications; but as it may possibly happen that the superior numbers of the attackers may be too much for the human courage of a small force, if the city is to survive and not to suffer disaster or insult, the securest fortification of walls must be deemed to be the most warlike, particularly in view of the inventions that have now been made in the direction of precision with missiles and artillery for sieges. To claim not to surround cities with walls is like desiring the country to be easy to invade and stripping it of hilly regions, and similarly not surrounding even private dwellings with house walls on the ground that the inhabitants will be cowardly.

Another point, moreover, that must not be forgotten is that those who have walls around the city can use their cities in both ways, both as walled cities and as open ones, whereas cities not possessing walls cannot be used in both ways. If then this is so, not only must walls be put around a city, but also attention must be paid to them in order that they may be suitable both in regard to the adornment of the city, and in respect to military requirements, especially the new devices recently invented. For just as the attackers of a city are concerned with studying the means by which they can gain the advantage, so also for the defenders some devices have already been invented, and others they must discover and think out; for people do not even start attempting to attack those who are well prepared.

And since the multitude of citizens must be distributed in separate messes, and the city walls must be divided up by guard posts and towers in suitable places, it is clear that these facts themselves call for some of the messes to be organized at these guard posts.

Source: *Aristotle Politics*. Translated by H. Rackham. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1932.

6. Hippodamus: Planner of Cities

Although he does not entirely agree with them, Aristotle also records in the Politics the ideas of a famous Greek city planner of the fifth century B.C., Hippodamus of Miletus.

Hippodamus, son of Euryphon, a Milesian (who invented the division of cities into blocks...and who also became somewhat eccentric in his general mode of life, owing to a desire for distinction, so that some people thought that he lived too fussily, with a quantity of hair and expensive ornaments, and also a quantity of cheap yet warm clothes, not only in winter, but also in summer, and who wished to be a man of learning in natural science generally), was the first man not engaged in politics who attempted to speak on the subject of the best form of constitution. His system was for a city with a population of 10,000, divided into three classes. He made one class of artisans, one of farmers, and the third the class that fought for the city in wars, and was the armed class. He divided the land into three parts: one sacred, one public, and one private: sacred land to supply the customary offerings to the gods, common land to provide the warrior class with food, and private land to be owned by the farmers. He thought that there are only three divisions of the law, since the matters about which lawsuits take place are three in number: outrage, damage, homicide. He also proposed to establish one supreme court of justice, to which were to be carried up all the cases at law thought

to have been decided wrongly, and this court he made to consist of certain selected elders... He proposed a law that those who discovered something of advantage to the city should receive honor, and that the children of those who died in war should have their maintenance from the city, in the belief that this had never yet been provided by law among other people. But as a matter of fact, this law exists at present both at Athens and in other cities.

Source: *Aristotle Politics*. Translated by H. Rackham. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1932.

ROME

7. The Founding of Rome

The legendary founder of Rome was the city's namesake, Romulus. The early second century A.D. Greek essayist and biographer Plutarch, in the following passage from his biography of Romulus, describes the earliest days of the city.

[Romulus] set himself to building his city... A circular trench was dug around what is now the Comitium [in the center of the city], and in this were deposited first-fruits of all things, the use of which was sanctioned by custom as good and by nature as necessary. And finally, every man brought a small portion of the soil of his native land, and these were cast in among the first-fruits, and mingled with them...

Then, taking this as a center, they marked out the city in a circle around it. And the founder, having shod a plough with a bronze ploughshare, and having yoked to it a bull and a cow, himself drove a deep furrow around the boundary lines... With this line, they mark out the course of the wall, and it is called, by contraction, "pomerium," that is, "post murum" *behind or next to the wall*. And where they intended to put in a gate, there they took the share out of the ground, lifted the plough over, and left a vacant space. And this is the reason why they regard all the wall as sacred except the gates. But if they considered the gates sacred, it would not be possible, without religious rituals, to bring into and send out of the city things which are necessary, and yet unclean.

It is agreed that the city was founded on the 21st of April, and this day the Romans celebrate with a festival, calling it the birthday of their country. And at first, as it is said, they sacrificed no living creature at that festival, but thought that they ought to keep it pure and without stain of blood, since it commemorated the birth of their country. However, even before the founding of the city, they had a pastoral festival on that day, and called it Parilia.

Source: *Plutarch's Lives*. Volume I. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1914.

8. Big-City Blues

Life in the big city could be exciting, or it could be dangerous. The latter view is presented below by the satirical poet Juvenal, writing about Rome in the first century A.D. As a satirist,

Juvenal was probably guilty of at least some exaggeration, but there undoubtedly is also a kernel or two of truth in his writing.

Although I'm sad at my old friend's departure [from Rome], yet I praise
 His purpose to make his home in abandoned Cumae and raise
 The count of citizens of the Sibyl by one. For there
 Lies the threshold to Baiae, a welcome resort on a fair
 And pleasant shore. I'd even prefer a desert island,
 Myself, to downtown Rome. For what place have we seen so vile,
 So lonely, that you would not consider that it's much worse
 To dread the constant fires and the tumbling houses, the curse
 Of our terrible city's countless perils, and the verse
 That poets pour out in the month of August in cataracts? . . .
 Umbricius here spoke out: "Since there's no room," he commenced,
 "For honest professions in this city, no recompense
 For work, since my assets are less today than yesterday
 And tomorrow will rub away from what little's left a bit more away,
 I've decided to go where Daedalus shed his exhausted wings,
 While the gray in my hair is new, while erect though entering
 Old age, while some of my life's long thread may still remain
 For Lachesis to spin and I can stand on my feet with no cane
 In hand. Good bye, my homeland! . . .
 What's there in Rome for me to do? I'm not trained to lie.
 I can't praise a book if it's bad, and beg for a copy . . .
 And anyway, what does a poor man's service in Rome afford?
 Even if Numa [an early, revered Roman king] himself [were called upon to testify in court],
 the first question they ask will be about
 His wealth, the last about his character: How many slaves
 Does he keep? How much farmland does he own? How many engraved
 Dessert plates does he eat from? How big are they? A man's word
 Is believed just to the extent of the wealth in his coffers stored.
 Though he swear on all the altars from here to Samothrace,
 A poor man isn't believed . . .
 Anyway, a poor man's the butt of jokes if his cloak has a rip
 Or is dirty, if his toga is slightly soiled, if a strip
 Of leather is split in his shoes and gapes, if coarse thread shows
 New stitches patching not one but many holes. Of the woes
 Of unhappy poverty, none is more difficult to bear
 Than that it heaps men with ridicule. Says an usher: How dare
 You sit there? Get out of the rows reserved for knights to share,
 All of you whose means aren't enough under law! And let sons of pimps,
 Born in brothels, take seats . . .
 What son-in-law here was approved on merits
 If his money was less than the girl's? What poor man ever inherits
 A fortune, or gets appointed as clerk to a magistrate?
 Long ago the penniless Romans ought to have staged a great
 Mass walkout. It's no easy job for a man to advance
 When his talents are blocked by his impoverished circumstance,
 But in Rome, it's harder than elsewhere: high rent for tenements,
 Fat budgets to feed your slaves' lean bellies, and equal expense
 For your own potluck. You're ashamed to eat off earthenware,
 But you wouldn't feel so if suddenly set to country fare

Far off...

We buy too much, to impress. It's a common fault hereabout.

We all live in pretentious poverty. Why not speak out?

Everything in Rome has a price...

In cool Praeneste or the verdant hills of Volsinii [pleasant country towns], who
Has ever feared his house would collapse, as we [in Rome] all do?... Here

We live in a city held up for the greater part by mere

Toothpicks, for thus the janitor props the tottering beams

And patches up the old walls at cracks and gaping seams,

And tells the tenants to rest in peace—well said, R.I.P.,

With rafters ready to cave in on their heads! Not for me!

I must live where there are no fires and no alarms in the night.

Below, some tenant already is shouting in fright

For water, and moving his stuff. From your attic room, smoke pours,

But you don't know it; for if the fire starts on the lower floors,

The last one to burn will be the man with nothing to keep

Him from the rain but the roof tiles, beneath which, in a heap,

The soft rock doves lay eggs. The one bed that Codrus [a poor tenant] owned

Was too small for a dwarf, his cupboard boasted six mugs, a lone

Pitcher... made of the same soft stone,

With an old chest of Greek books, whose lovely poems were chewed

By illiterate mice. Poor Codrus had nothing— isn't it true?—

But still he lost the whole nothing. The straw on the camel's back

Is this: although he's stripped of all and begging a snack,

No one will give him a paltry handout, no one a bed,

Or even offer him shelter, a roof above his head.

But let the great house of Asturicus [a rich man] catch and burn,

The matrons mourn, the nobles wear black, the courts adjourn.

Oh, then we bewail the city's disasters and hate its fires!

The palace is still in flames and someone runs up and desires

To give him marble or building funds, another is pleased

To offer shining nude statues, another a masterpiece... And others will give him books,

Bookshelves, a bust of Minerva, or silver in coin or plate...

If you can be torn from the games, you can buy a fine house and stay

In Sora [a country town], or anywhere else for what you now pay

In Rome, to rent a dark hole one year. You'll have a small lawn,

A garden, a shallow well from which water is easily drawn,

With no need of ropes, to wet your tender plants. Live in peace

With a hoe as companion there, grow a truck garden fit to feast

A vegetarian convention. Remote though your farm may be,

It's something to be the lord of one green lizard—and free.

Here most of the sick die off because they get no sleep

(But the sickness is brought on by the undigested heap

Of sour food in their burning stomachs), for what rented flat

Allows you to sleep? Only rich men in this city have that.

There lies the root of the illness—carts rumbling in narrow streets

And cursing drivers stalled in a traffic jam—it defeats

All hope of rest...

When a rich man has a business appointment, the crowd will make

A path for him to be carried above their heads in a rich

Liburnian litter. He reads or scribbles, no matter which,

As he goes along, or into the downy pillows he sinks,

With the litter's curtains closed, and snatches forty winks.
 But he gets there before us. Though we hurry, we merely crawl.
 We're blocked by a surging mass ahead, a pushing wall
 Of people behind. A man jabs me, elbowing through, one socks
 A chair pole against me, one cracks my skull with a beam, one knocks
 A wine cask against my ear. My legs are caked with splashing
 Mud, from all sides the weight of enormous feet comes smashing
 On mine, and a soldier stamps his hobnails through to my sole...
 Now look at the other and varied perils of the night. What extreme
 Height to the lofty roofs from which a piece of a pot
 Falls down on my head, how often a broken vessel is shot
 From the upper windows, with what a force it strikes and dints
 The cobblestones! If you go out to dinner without long since
 Having made a will, you'll be thought a fool, reckless of fate
 And sudden disaster; for as many sure deaths are lying in wait
 In the night as the open windows you pass beneath on the street.
 So you hope and plaintively pray they may be content to treat
 You to showers of no more than what's in their full slop jars...
 But these aren't your only terrors. For you can never restrain
 The criminal element. Lock up your house, put bolt and chain
 On your shop, but when all's quiet, someone will rob you or he'll
 Be a cutthroat perhaps, and do you in quickly with cold steel."

Source: *The Satires of Juvenal*. Translated by Hubert Creekmore. New York: The New American Library, 1963.

9. A Mansion Fit for a... Human Being!

In contrast to the tenements so bitterly described by Juvenal in the previous document, some people in first-century A.D. Rome lived in the lap of luxury, like the emperor Nero. In the following passage, the biographer Suetonius (c. A.D. 70-c. 140) provides an account of Nero's palace in Rome.

He [Nero] made a palace extending all the way from the Palatine to the Esquiline [two of the seven hills of Rome], which at first he called the House of Passage, but when it was burned shortly after its completion and rebuilt, the Golden House. Its size and splendor will be sufficiently indicated by the following details:

Its vestibule was large enough to contain a colossal statue of the emperor, 120 feet high; and it was so extensive that it had a triple colonnade a mile long. There was a pond, too, like a sea, surrounded with buildings to represent cities, besides tracts of country, varied by tilled fields, vineyards, pastures and woods, with great numbers of wild and domestic animals. In the rest of the house all parts were overlaid with gold and adorned with gems and mother-of-pearl. There were dining rooms with fretted ceilings of ivory, whose panels could turn and shower down flowers and were fitted with pipes for sprinkling the guests with perfumes. The main banquet hall was circular and constantly revolved day and night, like the heavens. He had baths supplied with sea water and sulphur

water. When the edifice was finished in this style and he dedicated it, he deigned to say nothing more than that he was at last beginning to be housed like a human being.

Source: *Suetonius*. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1914.

10. The Extent of Rome (Part I)

In the following excerpt from his Natural History, the Roman writer Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79) describes the size and extent of the city of Rome in the first century A.D.

In the 826th year after the city's foundation [A.D. 73], the walls of Rome, embracing the seven hills, measured 13.2 miles in circumference. The city itself is divided into 14 districts...A measurement running from the milestone set up at the head of the Roman Forum to each of the city gates gives a total of 20.765 miles in a straight line. But the measurement of all the thoroughfares block by block, from the same milestone to the outermost edge of the buildings...totals a little more than 60 miles. And if one should consider in addition the height of the buildings, he would assuredly form a fitting appraisal and would admit that no city has existed in the whole world that could be compared with Rome in size.

Source: From *Roman Civilization Sourcebook II: The Empire*, by Naph-tali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold. Copyright © 1955 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.



A woodcut of Pliny the Elder from the Nuremberg Chronicles, compiled by Dr. Hartmann Schedel in 1493. © (2008) Jupiter-images Corporation.

11. The Extent of Rome (Part II)

In the following passage, the geographer Strabo (c. 64 B.C.–A.D. 21), writing earlier in the first century A.D., amplifies and augments Pliny's remarks in the preceding document regarding the size of the city of Rome.

If the Greeks had the reputé of being most felicitous in the founding of cities, in that they aimed at beauty, strength of position, harbors, and productive soil, the Romans had the best foresight in those matters which the Greeks took but little account of, such as the construction of roads and aqueducts, and of sewers that could wash out the filth of the city into the Tiber...The sewers, vaulted with close-fitting stones, have in some places left room enough for wagons loaded with hay to pass through them. And water is brought into the city through the aqueducts in such

quantities that veritable rivers flow through the city and the sewers; and almost every house has cisterns and service pipes and copious fountains... In a word, the early Romans took but little account of the beauty of Rome, because they were occupied with other—greater and more necessary—matters, whereas the later Romans, and particularly those of today and in my time, have not fallen short in this respect either, but have filled the city with many beautiful structures... The Campus Martius [a large, open field in central Rome] contains most of these, and thus, in addition to its natural beauty, it has received still further adornment as the result of foresight. The size of the Campus is awe-inspiring, since it affords space at the same time for chariot races and every other equestrian exercise unhindered by the great multitude of people exercising themselves by playing ball, trundling hoops, and wrestling; and the works of art situated around the Campus Martius, and the ground covered with grass throughout the year, and the crowns of the hills that rise above the river and extend as far as its bed, presenting the appearance of a stage painting—all this affords a spectacle from which it is hard to tear one's self away. And near this Campus is still another, and colonnades around it in very great numbers, and sacred precincts, and three theaters, and an amphitheater, and very costly temples in close succession to one another... And again, if passing on to the Forum, one should see forum after forum ranged alongside it, and basilicas, and temples, and should see also the Capitol and the works of art there and those on the Palatine and in Livia's Promenade, one would easily forget the things outside. Such is Rome.

Source: From *Roman Civilization Sourcebook II: The Empire*, by Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold. Copyright © 1955 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

Rural Life

Food production is critical to the survival of any civilization. The ancient Indians were particularly adept at raising crops and thereby avoiding famines. The Greek historian Diodorus stated that the reason for their success was the abundance of water, both from the many rivers that crisscrossed the Indian sub-continent and from the frequent rains that fell there (Document 12). Farmers were so revered that even in times of war, when battles were fought near their farms, they were left unharmed to continue their work.

The contrast between rural and urban lifestyles has long been a staple of literature, and, in Document 17, the Roman poet Horace's pleasant poetic discourse on the country and city mouse, that contrast is cleverly and convincingly illustrated. When the farmer came to town in ancient Greece, an event described by the playwright Aristophanes in Document 13, he pined away for his peaceful country home. A grumpier portrayal of country life in Greece is provided in Document 14, an unflattering picture of a rural type, the country bumpkin.

The phenomenon of the gentleman farmer was well known in Roman times, and Pliny the Younger may have been the epitome of the type. He wrote several letters in which he minutely described the features of his comfortable country homes, including the one which is the subject of Document 15. Pliny also helped friends purchase rural property, as is revealed in Document 16.

INDIA

12. The Success of Indian Agriculture

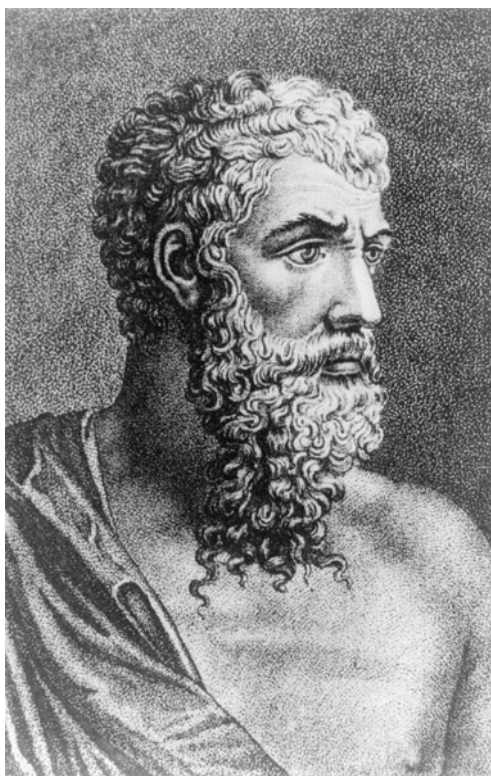
The first-century B.C. Greek historian Diodorus Siculus explains in the following passage why the ancient Indians were so successful at raising crops and avoiding famines.

In addition to wheat, there also grows throughout India much millet, which is irrigated by the abundance of running water supplied by the rivers, pulse in large quantities, and of superior quality, rice also and the plant called *bosporus* [a kind of millet], and in addition to these, many more plants which are useful for food, and most of these are native to the country. It also yields many other edible fruits, but to write about them would be a long task.

This is the reason, they say, why a famine has never visited India... Since there are two rainy seasons in the country each year, ... it is the general practice to plant the rice and *bosporus*, as well as sesame and millet. And in most years, the Indians are successful in both crops, and they never lose everything, since the fruit of one or the other sowing comes to maturity... Practically all the plains of India enjoy the sweet moisture from the rivers and from the rains which come with astonishing regularity, in a kind of fixed cycle, every year in the summer...

Furthermore, the customs of the Indians contribute towards there never being any lack of food among them. Whereas in the case of all the rest of mankind, their enemies ravage the land and cause it to remain uncultivated, yet among the Indians, the workers of the soil are let alone as sacred and inviolable, and those of them who work near battle lines have no fear of any danger. Although both parties to the war kill one another in their hostilities, yet they leave uninjured those who are engaged in tilling the soil, believing that they are the common benefactors of all, nor do they burn the lands of their enemies, or cut down their orchards.

Source: *Diodorus of Sicily*. Volume II. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1935.



Aristophanes, referred to as one of the greatest writers of comedy in literary history. Library of Congress.

GREECE

13. The Farmer Goes to Town

In Aristophanes's (445–380 B.C.) play *Acharnians*, the main character, a farmer named Dicaeopolis, comes to Athens to participate in a meeting of the Assembly, the main legislative unit of the Athenian democracy. He is the first one to show up for the meeting, so, while waiting for the others to arrive, he soliloquizes about the contrasts between city and country life.

O city, city! I am always the very first to come to Assembly and take my seat. Then, in my solitude, I sigh, I yawn, I stretch myself, I fiddle, scribble, pluck my beard, do sums, while I gaze off to the countryside and

pine for peace, loathing the city and yearning for my own deme, that never cried “buy coal,” “buy vinegar,” “buy oil”; it didn’t know the word “buy”; no, it produced everything itself, and the Buy Man was out of sight. So now I’m here, all set to shout, interrupt, revile the speakers, if anyone speaks of anything except peace.

Source: Aristophanes: *Acharnians*; *Knights*. Translated by Jeffrey Henderson. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1998.

14. The Country Bumpkin

The following rather unflattering picture of a rural type is provided by the fourth-century B.C. author Theophrastus, from his Characters.

The farmer is the sort of person who wanders into the assembly drinking wine, and keeps saying that there’s no sweeter perfume than thyme, and wears shoes bigger than his feet, and chatters in a loud voice. He won’t trust his friends and neighbors, but he confides in his own servants about the most important things. And he explains to his paid farmhands everything that went on in the assembly. He sits down with his clothes hitched up over his knees . . . And nothing strikes his attention walking down the street, but just let him catch sight of some cow or donkey or goat and he stands and marvels. Snatching a snack out of the larder, he devours it in a startling manner. And the stronger his drink, the better. While no one’s looking, he tries to tumble the cook. And he feeds the animals while still eating his own breakfast. He answers the door himself. Taking a coin from someone, he bites it, finds it shortweight, and insists on changing it for another. And if he lends someone his plow, or basket, or sickle, or sack, he lies awake all night worrying about it. Coming into town, he asks everyone he meets: how much is leather? And salt fish? And immediately goes on to say that he’s on his way to get his hair cut. And he sings in the bath, and pounds nails into his boots.



Theophrastus, philosopher of the Peripatetic school, successor to Aristotle at the Lyceum. Library of Congress.

Source: Frost, Frank J. *Greek Society*. Third Edition. Lexington, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1987.

ROME

15. A Roman Gentleman Visits His Country Estate

The Roman writer and public official Pliny the Younger (A.D. 62–114), the nephew of Pliny the Elder, was wealthy enough to enjoy the lifestyle of a country gentleman, and he took advantage of whatever opportunities came his way to do exactly that. In the following excerpts from two letters to his friend Fuscus Salinator, he describes his typical day.

You want to know how I plan the summer days I spend in Tuscany. I wake when I like, usually about sunrise, often earlier but rarely later. My shutters stay closed, for in the stillness and darkness I feel myself surprisingly detached from any distractions and left to myself in freedom. My eyes do not determine the direction of my thinking, but, being unable to see anything, they are guided to visualize my thoughts. If I have anything on hand I work it out in my head, choosing and correcting the wording, and the amount I achieve depends on the ease or difficulty with which my thoughts can be marshaled and kept in my head. Then I call my secretary, the shutters are opened, and I dictate what I have put into shape. He goes out, is recalled, and again dismissed. Three or four hours after I first wake (but I don't keep to fixed times), I go according to the weather, either to the terrace or the covered arcade, work out the rest of my subject, and dictate it. I go for a drive, and spend the time in the same way as when walking or lying down. My powers of concentration do not flag and are in fact refreshed by the change. After a short sleep and another walk, I read a Greek or Latin speech aloud and with emphasis, not so much for the sake of my voice as my digestion, though of course both are strengthened by this.

Then I have another walk, I am oiled, take exercise, and have a bath. If I am dining alone with my wife or with a few friends, a book is read aloud during the meal and afterwards we listen to a comedy or some music. Then I walk again with the members of my household, some of whom are well educated. Thus the evening is prolonged with varied conversation, and, even when the days are at their longest, comes to a satisfying end.

Sometimes I vary this routine, for, if I have spent a long time on my couch or taking a walk, after my siesta and reading, I go out on horseback instead of in a carriage so as to be quicker and take less time. Part of the day is given up to friends who visit me from neighboring towns, and sometimes come to my aid with a welcome interruption when I am tired. Occasionally, I go hunting, but not without my notebooks, so that I will have something to bring home even if I catch nothing. I also give some time to my tenants (they think it should be more) and the boorishness of their complaints gives fresh zest to our literary interests and the more civilized pursuits of town.

Source: *Pliny: Letters and Panegyricus*. Volume II. Translated by Betty Radice. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1969.

16. *Buying a Farm*

Pliny the Younger wrote a letter to his friend Baebius, on behalf of another friend, the famous biographer Suetonius, who was desirous of purchasing a small farm.

My friend Suetonius has an inclination to purchase a small farm, of which, I am informed, an acquaintance of yours intends to sell. I ask that you would try to see to it that he may buy it on reasonable terms, a circumstance which will add to his satisfaction in obtaining it. An expensive sale price is always disagreeable, especially since it is a reflection upon the purchaser's judgment. There are several circumstances pertaining to this farm which—supposing my friend had no objection to the price—are appealing

to him: the convenient distance from Rome, the goodness of the roads, the small size of the building, and the very few acres of land around it, which is just enough to amuse him, but not to overwork him. To a man of the studious inclination that Suetonius is, it is sufficient if he has a small place to relieve the mind and divert the eye, where he can amble around his grounds, traverse his single path, become familiar with his two or three vines, and count his little saplings. I mention these details to let you see how much he will be obliged to me, as I will to you, if you can help him towards the purchase of this little getaway, so agreeable to his taste, upon terms of which he will have no reason to regret. Farewell.

Source: *Pliny: Letters*. Volume I. Translated by William Melmoth, with revisions by W.M.L. Hutchinson. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1915.

17. *The Country Mouse and the City Mouse*

The sixth entry in Book II of the poet Horace's (65–8 B.C.) Satires nicely contrasts urban and rural lifestyles. It is not too difficult to discern which kind of life Horace prefers!

This was what I had prayed for: a small piece of land
 With a garden, a fresh-flowing spring of water at hand
 Near the house, and, above and behind, a small forest stand.
 But the gods have done much better for me, and more—
 It's perfect. I ask nothing else, except to implore,
 O son of Maia [the god Mercury], that you make these blessings my own
 For the rest of my life. If my property has not grown
 By my making a series of deals, neither will it shrink
 By my mismanagement. If I'm not one of those who think:
 "If only that corner were mine, that lies adjacent
 To my strip, cutting in in a manner that's really indecent!"
 Or, "if only some luck came my way, like the find which,
 Leading the plowman to buried treasure, made him rich
 Enough to buy the land he formerly plowed for hire,
 Thanks to Hercules!" If what I have is all I desire
 And makes me content, then to this one last wish I aspire:
 Make my herd grow fat, and everything else I lay claim to,
 Except my brains. And, Mercury, still be the same to
 Horace as you have been, his great good guardian. To complete
 My removal from city streets to mountain retreat,
 What else should I do but celebrate it now satirically,
 Dwelling, far from town (and far from lyrically),
 In my pedestrian style, on how far from that bit of hell
 Known as big city life is life in my citadel.
 Social climbing can't get me down here, or the lead-weight blows
 Of siroccos, or for once and for all plague-laden falls
 Lay me out, and enrich the layout in funeral halls.
 Instead, I begin this morning by addressing you, Monarch
 Of Morning, or more openly, Janus, if you prefer it.
 In allegiance to whom men begin all the work of their days—

For so heaven wills it. Be the principal source of my praise.
 At Rome, the mornings are different; you rush me right off
 To court to vouch for a friend. "Hey there! Get going!
 Or some one else will answer this call before you!"
 And I *have* to, whether the north wind is raking the land
 Or winter drags snow-laden days through diminishing curves.
 After saying in court, good and loud, things that may some day
 Incriminate me, I fight my way back through the crowd
 In the streets, tripping over some slowpoke's toes. "What's up,
 You blockhead? What gives?" some stupid assails me. "Oh, Horace,
 It's you, is it, racing back home to Maecenas, so full of
 The fact that you knock over everything blocking your path!"
 Well... the name of Maecenas is honey to me, I admit it.
 But as soon as I reach the depressing Esquiline Quarter [in Rome],
 A hundred conflicting concerns pour down on my head
 And stream around me. "Roscius wants you to meet him tomorrow
 Before seven in the morning, at Libo's Wall." "Oh, Horace,
 The clerks request you to remember to return to the Forum
 Today for a big new matter of mutual interest."
 "Do have Maecenas affix his seal to these papers."
 If I say, "Well, I'll try," he insists, "You can *do* it if you *want* to."
 It is now seven years—actually, nearer the eighth—
 Since Maecenas began to admit me into his company
 Of friends, insofar as a friend is just good company
 On a trip, someone to talk to about such subjects as:
 "What time is it?" ... "Oh, about the [gladiatorial] fight: is the Thracian Bantam
 A match for the Sheik?" ... "These frosty mornings can nip you
 If you don't wrap up." And small-change talk like this,
 Which it's perfectly safe to deposit in leaky ears.
 And the whole time, daily and hourly, our intimate Horace
 Was *envied*. He watched the games from the stands with M.
 He played some ball on the Campus, *and* with M.
 "Fortune's Favorite Son," they thought in unison.
 A hair-raising rumor rolls through the streets from the Rostra [speaker's platform]
 And whoever bumps into me seeks my advice. "Dear fellow,
 You ought to know, you live so much nearer the gods,
 What's up in the Balkans?" "Nothing, as far as I know."
 "Oh, you're still making fun of us!" But may the gods undo me
 If I've heard a word. "What about the veterans' allotments
 Of land Caesar promised? Will they be on the three-cornered isle,
 Or Italian soil?" When I swear I know nothing about it,
 They marvel at me for being the sole human being
 Who knows how to keep an important unfathomable secret.
 Amid such lightweight concerns the light of my day
 Sputters out, leaving me limp, only able to pray:
 Oh, countryside mine, when will I see you again,
 Read my favorite classical authors, and then
 Get some sleep and get back to my lazy routine of life,
 Of pleasure mercifully free from worry and strife?
 When shall we dine on beans, Pythagoras' cousins,
 And eat, cooked in bacon, country greens in their dozens?
 Those nights and feasts of the gods! When friends and I sup

At my home, while the saucy slaves lick up
 What's left untouched on the plates. Each guest drains his cup,
 Big or small, as it suits him. No Prohibition
 To govern his choice except his free disposition
 To toss off heroic amounts and keep a clear head,
 Or gradually mellow with moderate potions instead.
 And then we start talking, not about other men's lives
 And property and assets but of things on which wisdom thrives.
 Not whether Lepos is really a good dancer or not
 But whether happiness comes from the money you've got
 Or, rather, derives from virtue. What makes people friends?
 Self-interest, or rectitude? This subject lends
 Interest to us, the good life and its ends.
 From time to time, my good old neighbor, Cervius,
 Rattles off an old wives' tale, to make a point.
 If someone praises Arellius' wealth, without knowing
 What worries it brings, Cervius starts off like this:
 "Once upon a time, a country mouse
 Welcomed a town mouse in his poor little hole of a house
 In the sticks, both host and guest being quite old friends.
 The country mouse roughed it, of course; he kept a close eye
 On his larder, but not so myopic he couldn't enlarge
 His view, with a view to a friend's entertainment. What else?
 He was not the mouse to begrudge a friend the choice of chick-peas
 Set aside in a special place, or the long grains of oats.
 But, eager to conquer the fastidious disdain of a guest
 Who tended to turn up his tooth after sampling each dainty,
 He brought in by mouth and served, to vary the meal,
 A dried grape seed and some half-nibbled pieces of bacon.
 The master of the house, stretched out on his couch of chaff
 (New chaff), ate spelt and darnel, leaving the best
 For his guest to digest. Finally, the city mouse spoke up:
 'What pleasure can it be for you, my friend,
 Roughing it out here on the edge of a precipitous forest?
 Surely you put people and the city ahead of this wildwood?
 Take my advice, and my road, with me as your guide.
 All earthly creatures, after all, have drawn as their lot
 A mortal life. There is no escape from death
 For large or small. Therefore, while you still can,
 Enjoy a happy career, my good man, live well.
 Live mindful of how short life really is.' When these words
 Dawned on the yokel, he bounced off happily from home,
 And both set out together, according to plan,
 Hoping to sneak through the walls of the city by night.
 And night was poised, midway across the heavens,
 When both set foot in a rich man's house, where crimson
 Coverings blazed against ivory couches, and leftovers
 From last night's feast were stacked up high in the baskets.
 Well, the host then made his rural guest stretch out
 On the crimson covers and began dashing madly about,
 With his clothes tucked up like a waiter's, serving up dish
 After dish and taking a taste, as a proper slave does,

Of each course before serving it. The other mouse meanwhile
Leaned back at ease, delighted with the change in affairs
And with all this good living, and was playing to perfection the part
Of the satisfied guest, when a sudden loud rattling of doors
Shook them both right off of their couches. Frightened, they scampered
Across the whole length of the room, and, even more frightening,
The big house began to ring, at the very same time,
With the barking of colossal hounds. Says the country mouse:
'I have no use for this kind of life. And good-bye!
My woodland and hole, where I'm safe from traps like these,
Will be quite enough, my slim pickings quite food enough.'"

Source: *The Satires and Epistles of Horace*. Translated by Smith Palmer Bovie. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959. Copyright © 1959 by The University of Chicago Press. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

Slavery

Slavery was a widespread, if unfortunate, fact of life in the ancient world. Servile docility was a main concern of slave owners, so teaching the slaves obedience was paramount (Document 22). Otherwise, they might attempt to escape, as did two Egyptian slaves, Hermon and Bion (Document 20), perhaps stealing money and property in the process, or, they might even foment a slave revolt (Document 27).

The Greek philosopher Aristotle offered advice on the treatment of slaves (Document 21), with the hoped-for result of producing ideal slaves, ones who were loyal to their masters, who would not shirk hard work, and who would be steady and reliable (Document 25). Slaves were often employed as tutors for the master's children; in those cases, it was particularly important for the slaves to be trustworthy (Document 23). The attitudes of two famous Roman slave owners—Cato the Elder and Marcus Licinius Crassus—are reflected in Documents 28 and 29, respectively.

Undoubtedly, the ultimate goal of most slaves was freedom. Documents 19 and 24 present examples of the conditions under which slaves might be freed, while in Document 26, Pliny the Elder briefly recounts the financial success of a former slave by the name of Gaius Caecilius Isidorus, who had amassed a fortune in both money and property at the time of his death.

ISRAEL/EGYPT

18. *The Enslavement of the Israelites*

The first-century A.D. Jewish historian Josephus wrote the following account of how the Egyptians came to enslave the Hebrews living in their territory.

The Egyptians, being a voluptuous people and averse to hard work, slaves to pleasure in general and to a love of money in particular, eventually became bitter towards the Hebrews through envy of their prosperity. Seeing the race of the Israelites flourishing, and that their virtues and willingness to work had already gained them abundant

wealth, they believed that their growth in power was to their own detriment. Those benefits which they had received from Joseph, being through the lapse of time forgotten, and the kingdom having now passed to another dynasty, they grossly maltreated the Israelites, and devised for them all manner of hardships. Thus they ordered them to divide the river into numerous canals, to build ramparts for the cities and dikes to hold the waters of the river and to prevent them from forming marshes when they overflowed its banks. And with the constructing of pyramid after pyramid, they exhausted our race, which was being apprenticed to all manner of crafts, and thus immune to toil. For a full 400 years they endured these hardships. It was a contest between them, with the Egyptians striving to kill off the Israelites with hard work, and the Israelites constantly showing themselves superior to their tasks.

Source: *Josephus*. Volume IV. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1930.

19. Hebrew Slaves of Hebrew Masters

In this passage, Josephus briefly recounts the master/slave relationship when both are Hebrews.

A Hebrew sold to another Hebrew shall serve him for six years; in the seventh, let him go free. But if, having had children by a slave woman at the house of the master who bought him, he, out of love and affection for his own [including his family and his master], desires to continue to serve him, then on the coming of the year of jubilee—which returns every 50 years—let him be liberated, taking his children and wife, also free, along with him.

Source: *Josephus*. Volume IV. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1930.

EGYPT

20. Hermon and Bion: Escaped Slaves

When slaves escaped, rewards were often offered for their return, as the following papyrus from Alexandria indicates. The year was 156 B.C.

A slave of Aristogenes, son of Chrysippus...ambassador, has escaped in Alexandria, by name Hermon, also called Nilus, by birth a Syrian...about 18 years old, of medium stature, beardless, with good legs, a dimple on the chin, a mole by the left side of the nose, a scar above the left corner of the mouth, tattooed on the right wrist with two barbaric letters. He has taken with him 3 octadrachmas of coined gold, 10 pearls, an iron ring on which an oil flask and strigils are represented, and is wearing a cloak and loincloth. Whoever brings back this slave shall receive 3 talents of copper; if he points him out in a temple, 2 talents; if in the house of a substantial and actionable man, 5 talents. Whoever wishes to give information shall do so to the agents of the strategus.

There is also another who has escaped with him. Bion, a slave of Callicrates, one of the chief stewards at court, short of stature, broad at the shoulders, stout-legged, bright-eyed, who has gone off with an outer garment and a slave's wrap and a woman's dress worth 6 talents 5000 drachmas of copper. Whoever brings back this slave shall receive rewards as for the above-mentioned. Information about this one also is to be given to the agents of the strategus.

Source: *Select Papyri: Non-Literary Papyri. Public Documents*, Volume II. Translated by A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

GREECE

Slavery was a fact of life in both ancient Greece and Rome. At least five castes of slaves can be identified in Greek society: (1) state-owned slaves who served the public good as law enforcement officials, or clerks in law courts; (2) privately owned slaves who worked at various crafts and trades; (3) household slaves; (4) slaves employed as agricultural workers; and (5) slaves who worked in the mines, the most hazardous kind of labor.

Most slaves, whether Greek or Roman, were acquired from the ranks of prisoners of war; others became slaves through the marketplace, while still others had the misfortune of being born to slave parents. The exact number of slaves in the Greco-Roman world is difficult to gauge; there may have been 100,000 in any given year in Classical Greece. In Rome, the numbers were far larger, perhaps approaching one to two million people.

21. *Treatment of Slaves in Ancient Greece*

In his treatise entitled Economics, the fourth-century B.C. Greek philosopher Aristotle outlined the general attitude in ancient Greece toward slaves, especially in terms of the proper ways to treat them.

Of property, the first and most indispensable kind is that which is also best and most amenable to housecraft; and this is the human chattel. Our first step, therefore, must be to procure good slaves. Of slaves, there are two kinds: those in positions of trust, and the laborers. And since it is a matter of experience that the character of the young can be molded by training, when we need to charge slaves with tasks befitting a free person, we have not only to procure the slaves, but to bring them up [to be trustworthy].

In our dealings with slaves, we must neither allow them to be insolent nor treat them with cruelty. A share of honor should be given to those who are doing more of a freeman's work, and abundance of food to those who are laboring with their hands. And whereas the use of wine renders even free men insolent, so that in many countries, they too refrain from it—as, for instance, the Carthaginians do when they are on military campaigns—it follows that we must either deny wine to slaves altogether, or reserve it for rare occasions.

We may apportion to our slaves (1) work, (2) chastisement, and (3) food. If men are given food, but no chastisement nor any work, they become insolent. If they are

made to work, and are chastised, but given insufficient food, such treatment is oppressive, and saps their strength. The remaining alternative, therefore, is to give them work, and a sufficiency of food. Unless we pay men, we cannot control them; and food is a slave's pay.

Slaves, again, are no exception to the rule that men become worse when better conduct is not followed by better treatment, but virtue and vice remain alike unrewarded. Accordingly, we must keep watch over our workers, matching our rewards to what they deserve, whether it be food, clothing, leisure, or chastisement that we are apportioning. Both in theory and in practice, we must take for our model a physician's freedom in prescribing his medicines, observing at the same time that food differs from medicine in that it requires to be constantly administered.

The best laborers will be furnished by those races of mankind which are neither wholly spiritless, nor too aggressive. Each extreme has its vice; the spiritless cannot endure hard labor, and the high-spirited will not readily tolerate control.

Every slave should have before his eyes a definite goal or term of his labor. To set the prize of freedom before him is both just and expedient, since, having a prize to work for, and a time defined for its attainment, he will put his heart into his labors. We should, moreover, take hostages [for our slaves' loyalty] by allowing them to bear children, and avoid the practice of purchasing many slaves of the same nationality... We should also keep festivals and give treats, more on the slaves' account than on that of the free-men, since the free have a fuller share in those enjoyments for the sake of which these institutions exist.

Source: Aristotle: *Metaphysics*. Translated by Hugh Tredennick. *Oeconomica and Magna Moralia*. Translated by G. Cyril Armstrong. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1935.

22. How to Teach Obedience to Slaves

The Greek writer Xenophon (c. 430–c. 354 B.C.), in his "Oeconomicus," a Socratic dialogue covering mainly household management and agriculture, weighs in below on the subject of appropriate treatment of slaves.

Well, now, Socrates, other creatures learn obedience in two ways—by being punished when they try to disobey, and by being rewarded when they try to serve you. Colts, for example, learn to obey the horsebreaker by getting something they like when they are obedient, and suffering inconvenience when they are disobedient, until they carry out the horsebreaker's intentions. Puppies, again, are much inferior to humans in intelligence and power of expression, and yet they learn to run in circles and turn somersaults and do many other tricks in the same way. For when they obey, they get something they want, and when they are careless, they are punished. And humans can be made more obedient by word of mouth alone, by being shown that it is good for them to obey.

But in dealing with slaves, the training thought suitable for wild animals is also a very effective way of teaching obedience. For you will do much with them by filling

their bellies with the food they hanker after. Those of an ambitious disposition are also spurred on by praise, some natures being hungry for praise as others for meat and drink. Now these are precisely the things that I do myself with a view to making humans more obedient...I [also] have other ways of helping them on. For the clothes that I must provide for my work-people and the shoes are not all alike. Some are better than others, some worse, in order that I may reward the better servant with the superior articles, and give the inferior things to the less deserving. For I think it is very disheartening to good servants, Socrates, when they see that they do all the work, and others who are not willing to work hard and run risks when necessary, get the same as they. For my part, then, I don't choose to put the deserving on a level with the worthless, and when I know that my bailiffs have distributed the best things to the most deserving, I commend them. And if I see that flattery or any other futile service wins special favor, I don't overlook it, but reprimand the bailiff, and try to show him, Socrates, that such favoritism is not even in his own interest.

Source: *Xenophon: Memorabilia and Oeconomicus*. Translated by E. C. Marchant. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1923.

23. Ideal and Inappropriate Slaves to Associate with and Instruct Children

Slaves were sometimes employed as both companions and tutors for the children of their masters, but the second-century A.D. Greek biographer Plutarch urges in the following passage that care be taken in selecting these slaves.

There is another point which should not be omitted, that in choosing the younger slaves, who are to be the servants and companions of young masters, those should be sought out who are, first and foremost, sound in character, who are also Greeks, and distinct of speech, so that the children will not be contaminated by barbarians and persons of low character, and so take on some of their commonness. The proverb makers say, and quite to the point, "If you live with a lame man, you will learn to limp."

When the children become old enough to be put under the care of attendants, then especially great care must be taken in the appointment of these, so as not to entrust one's children inadvertently to slaves taken in war or to barbarians or to those who are unstable. Nowadays, the common practice of many persons is more than ridiculous, for they appoint some of their trustworthy slaves to manage their farms, others they make masters of their ships, others their shops, others they make house stewards, and some even money lenders. But any slave whom they find to be a wine tippler and a glutton, and useless for any kind of business, to him they bring their children and put them in his charge. But the good attendant ought to be a man of such nature as was Phoenix, the attendance of Achilles.

Source: *Plutarch's Moralia*. Volume I. Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

ROME

24. Freedom for Tiro

In Roman society, the two great categories of slaves were city and country slaves, with the former being the more desirable; life on the farm could be challenging and difficult for slave laborers. City slaves were often well educated, or skilled at a particular trade, and, in consequence, were generally treated more kindly by their masters than were their counterparts in the country. A good example is seen in a congratulatory letter written to the orator Cicero by his brother Quintus, upon hearing the news that Cicero had manumitted his longtime slave and secretary, Tiro.

I have just heard about Tiro. He ought never to have been a slave, and now you have decided that he should be our friend instead. My delight at the news is matched only by the longing I have to see you all, your children and my own boy. After reading your letter and Tiro's, I jumped with joy. Thank you for what you have done. And many congratulations. The loyalty which I receive from [my slave] Statius is a sheer delight to me; so how much you will gain, in the same way, from Tiro—and more, because Tiro is a scholar, a conversationalist, a humane man, and these are qualities which count for more than material values. I have innumerable reasons for loving you, but this tops them all, especially because, as was right, you wrote to send me the news. I read your letter, and it was you all over.

Source: Balsdon, J.P.V.D. *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome*. Translated by J.P.V.D. Balsdon. New York: Phoenix Press, 1969.

25. The Ideal Country Slave

The agricultural writings of several Roman authors survive to the present day. In their treatises on farm management, they not surprisingly include the treatment of slaves as one of the topics. One of these authors, Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 B.C.), offered the following as his view of the ideal country slave.

Slaves ought to be neither cowed nor high-spirited. They ought to be supervised by men who know how to read and write, and who have some education, who are dependable and older than the hands whom I have mentioned; for they will be more respectful to these, than to overseers who are younger. Furthermore, it is especially important that the foremen be men who are experienced in farm operations. For the foreman must not only give orders but also take part in the work, so that his subordinates may follow his example, and also understand that there is a good reason for his being over them—the fact that he is superior to them in knowledge. They are not to be allowed to control their men with whips rather than with words, if only you can achieve the same result.

Avoid having too many slaves of the same nation, for this is a fertile source of domestic quarrels. The foremen are to be made more zealous by rewards, and care must

be taken that they have a bit of property of their own, and spouses from among their fellow slaves to bear them children. For by this means, they are made more steady, and more attached to the place. Thus, it is on account of such relationships that slave families of Epirus have the best reputation and bring the highest prices. The good will of the foremen should be won by treating them with some degree of consideration, and those of the hands who excel the others should also be consulted as to the work to be done. When this is done, they are less inclined to think that they are looked down upon, and rather think that they are held in some esteem by the master. They are made to take more interest in their work by being treated more liberally in respect either to food, or to more clothing, or exemption from work, or permission to graze some cattle of their own on the farm, or other things of this kind. So that, if some unusually heavy task is imposed, or punishment inflicted on them in some way, their loyalty and kindly feeling to the master may be restored by the consolation derived from such measures.

With regard to the number of slaves required, Cato [another agricultural writer] has in view two bases of calculation: the size of the place, and the nature of the crop grown. Writing of olive-yards and vineyards, he gives two formulas. The first is one in which he shows how an olive-yard of 300 acres should be equipped. On a place of this size, he says that the following thirteen slaves should be kept: an overseer, a housekeeper, five laborers, three teamsters, one muleteer, one swineherd, one shepherd. The second he gives for a vineyard of 120 acres, on which he says should be kept the following fifteen slaves: an overseer, a housekeeper, ten laborers, a teamster, a muleteer, a swineherd.

Source: Marcus Terentius Varro: *On Agriculture*. Translated by William Davis Hooper, with revisions by Harrison Boyd Ash. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

26. Rags-to-Riches Stories

The first-century A.D. naturalist Pliny the Elder, in discussing some of the wealthiest men in Roman history, noted that sometimes, even former slaves could amass great riches.

[W]e have known . . . of many liberated slaves who have been wealthier [than Marcus Licinius Crassus, a Roman noted for his great wealth], and three not long before our own days [in the first century A.D.] . . . namely Callistus, Pallas, and Narcissus . . . [T]here is also Gaius Caecilius Isidorus, a former slave of Gaius Caecilius, who [in 8 B.C.] executed a will dated January 27 in which he declared that in spite of heavy losses in the civil war, he nevertheless left 4,116 slaves, 3,600 pairs of oxen, 257,000 head of other cattle, and 60 million sesterces in cash [a substantial fortune], and he gave instructions for 1,100,000 to be spent on his funeral.

Source: Pliny: *Natural History*. Volume IX. Translated by H. Rackham. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1968.

27. A Slave Revolt

One disadvantage of the concentration of large numbers of slaves is the ever-present danger of a slave rebellion, especially if the slaves feel unduly mistreated. As the first-century B.C. Greek historian Diodorus Siculus relates in the following passage, such an event occurred in Sicily around 135 B.C.

The Italians who were engaged in agriculture purchased great numbers of slaves, all of whom they marked with brands, but failed to provide them with sufficient food, and by oppressive work, wore them out...

Not only in the exercise of political power should prominent people be considerate towards those of low estate, but so also in private life they should—if they are sensible—treat their slaves gently. Heavy-handed arrogance leads states into civil strife and factionalism between citizens, and in individual households it paves the way for plots of slaves against masters and for terrible uprisings and conspiracies against the whole state... Anyone whom fortune has set in low estate willingly yields to his superiors in point of gentility and esteem, but if he is deprived of due consideration, he comes to regard those who harshly lord it over him with bitter hatred.

There was a certain Damophilus, a native of Enna [in Sicily], a man of great wealth but arrogant in manner who, since he had under cultivation a great area of land and owned many herds of cattle, emulated not only the luxurious lifestyles of the Italian landowners in Sicily, but also the inhumanity and severity which they exhibited towards their troops of slaves... Purchasing a large number of slaves, he treated them outrageously, marking with branding irons the bodies of people who in their own countries had been free, but who through capture in war had come to know the fate of a slave. Some of these he put in chains and thrust into slave pens; others he designated to act as his herdsmen, but neglected to provide them with suitable clothing or food...

Because of his arbitrary and savage temperament, not a day passed that this same Damophilus did not torment some of his slaves without just cause. His wife Metallis, who delighted no less in these arrogant punishments, treated her maidservants cruelly, as well as many other slaves who fell into her clutches. And because of the inhumane punishments received from them both, the slaves were filled with rage against their masters, and believing that they could encounter nothing worse than their present misfortunes, they began to form conspiracies to revolt and to murder their masters.

Approaching Eunus [a charismatic and mystical man, who eventually became the leader of the revolt], who lived not far away, they asked whether their plan had the approval of the gods. He... stated clearly that the gods favored their revolt, provided that they did not delay, but implemented the plan immediately, seeing that it was decreed by fate that Enna, the citadel of the whole island, should be their land. Having heard this, and believing that Providence was assisting them in their objective, they were so enthusiastic for revolt that there was no delay in implementing their plans. Therefore, they immediately set free those in chains, and collecting the others who lived nearby, they assembled about 400 men at a field not far from Enna. After making a mutual agreement and exchanging pledges sworn by night over sacrificial victims, they armed themselves in such ways as the occasion allowed. But they were all equipped with the

best of weapons, fury, which was bent on the destruction of their arrogant masters. Their leader was Eunus. With cries of encouragement to one another, they broke into the city about midnight, and killed many.

There was in Sicily a daughter of Damophilus, a girl of marriageable age, remarkable for her simplicity of manner and her kindness of heart. It was always her practice to do all she could to comfort the slaves who were beaten by her parents, and since she also took the part of any who had been chained, she was wondrously loved by one and all for her kindness. So now at this time, since her past favors enlisted in her service the mercy of those to whom she had shown kindness, no one was so bold as to lay violent hands upon the girl...And selecting suitable men from their number, among them Hermeias, her warmest champion, they escorted her to the home of certain family members in Catana.

Although the rebellious slaves were enraged against the whole household of their masters, and resorted to unrelenting abuse and vengeance, there were yet some indications that it was not from innate savagery but rather because of the inhumane treatment they had themselves received that they now ran wild when they began to avenge themselves on their persecutors.

Even among slaves, human nature needs no instructor in regard to a just repayment, whether of gratitude or of revenge.

Source: *Diodorus of Sicily*. Volume XII. Translated by Francis R. Walton. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1967.



Cato the Elder, a second century B.C. Roman politician, general, and writer noted for his austere way of life and rigid principles. Library of Congress.

28. A Slave Owner's Philosophy: Cato the Elder

The Roman statesman Cato the Elder (234–149 B.C.) owned a large number of slaves, and he had some very firmly entrenched ideas about how to manage them all. In the following excerpts, the biographer Plutarch provides some instances of these ideas.

Cato possessed a large number of slaves, whom he usually bought from among the prisoners captured in war, but it was his practice to choose those who, like puppies or colts, were young enough to be trained and taught their duties. None of them ever entered any house but his own, unless they were sent on an errand by Cato or his wife, and if they were asked what Cato was doing, the reply was always that they did not know. It was a rule of his establishment that a slave must either be doing something about the house, or else be asleep. He much preferred the slaves who slept well, because he believed that they were more even-tempered than the wakeful ones, and that those who had had enough sleep produced better results at any task than those who were short of it. And as he was convinced that slaves were led into mischief more often on account of love affairs than for any other reason, he made it a rule that the men could sleep with the women slaves of the establishment for a fixed price, but must have nothing to do with any others.

At the beginning of his career, when he was a poor man and was frequently on active service, he never complained of anything that he ate, and he used to say that it was ignoble to find fault with a servant for the food that he prepared. But in later life, when he had become more prosperous, he used to invite his friends and colleagues to dinner, and immediately after the meal he would beat with a leather thong any of the slaves who had been careless in preparing or serving it. He constantly contrived to provoke quarrels and dissensions among his slaves, and if they ever arrived at an understanding with one another, he became alarmed and suspicious. If ever any of his slaves was suspected of committing a capital offense, he gave the culprit a formal trial in the presence of the rest, and if he was found guilty, he had him put to death...

He would also lend money to any of his slaves who wished it. They used these sums to buy young slaves, and after training them and teaching them a trade for a year at Cato's expense, they would sell them again. Often Cato would keep these boys for himself, and he would then credit to the slave the price offered by the highest bidder.

Source: *The Rise and Fall of Athens: Nine Greek Lives* by Plutarch. Translated by Ian Scott-Kilvert. New York: Penguin Books, 1960. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

29. A Slave Owner's Philosophy: Marcus Licinius Crassus

Marcus Licinius Crassus (c. 112–53 B.C.) was noted for his great wealth, and, therefore, he owned a large number of slaves, as Plutarch describes below.

Crassus observed how frequent and everyday occurrences in Rome were fire and the collapse of buildings, owing to their size and their close proximity to each other. He therefore bought slaves who were architects and builders, and then, when he had more than 500 of them, he would buy up houses that were either on fire themselves or near the scene of the fire. The owners of these properties, in the terror and uncertainty of the moment, would let them go for next to nothing. In this way, most of Rome came into his possession. Yet although he owned so many workmen, he built no houses for himself except the one in which he lived. He used to say that people who were fond of building needed no enemies; they would ruin themselves by themselves.

He owned countless silver mines, large areas of valuable land, and laborers to work it for him, yet all this, one may say, was nothing compared with the value of his slaves. There were great numbers of them and they were of the highest quality—readers, secretaries, silversmiths, stewards, waiters. He used to direct their education himself and take part in it by giving them personal instructions. Altogether his view was that the chief duty of a master is to care for his slaves who are, in fact, the living tools for the management of a household. And in this he was right if, as he used to say, he believed that the slaves should do the work, but he should direct the slaves. For we observe that the management of a household is a financial activity in so far as it deals with lifeless things, but it becomes a political activity in so far as it deals with human beings.

Source: *Fall of the Roman Republic: Six Lives* by Plutarch. Translated by Rex Warner. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1958.

Trade and Commerce

National and international commerce abounded in the ancient world. Greek and Roman traders penetrated as far as the Black Sea, and even to India, seeking goods and products not available in their part of the world (Document 30). The result was that both Athens and Rome became thriving commercial centers (Documents 33, 34, 35, and 37).

But none of this commercial activity could have occurred without a unit of exchange. The Greek philosopher Aristotle (Document 31) explained how the use of coined money developed. Once individual entrepreneurs learned the “tricks of the trade,” they often used this knowledge to establish monopolies. Aristotle recounted the accomplishments of two of these businessmen, also in Document 31. Successful business managers are described in Document 32.

High finance and global markets did not complete the picture of trade and commerce in the ancient world, however. Mundane transactions such as buying a previously owned horse were undoubtedly common occurrences (Document 36).

EGYPT/INDIA

30. A Rather Lengthy Business Trip

Greek and Roman literature featured a genre of travel writing called the periplous (literally “voyage around”), a description of a sea voyage of some distance, in which the ship stayed close to the coastline. Authors of the various periploi usually included information about cities observed during the voyage; mountains, rivers, and other topographical matters; distance estimates from one port to another; trading, commerce, and trade goods; and many other related topics.

One of the most important of these travelogues is the first-century A.D. Periplous Maris Erythraei (Voyage Around the Red Sea), by an unknown author. It contains much information about the trading contacts between the classical Greek and Roman world, and Egypt, Arabia, the Middle East, and India.

Of the designated ports on the Erythraean [Red] Sea, and the market towns around it, the first is the Egyptian port of Mussel Harbor. To those sailing down from that place, on the right hand, after 1,800 stadia [about 225 miles], there is Berenice [in Egypt]. The harbors of both are at the boundary of Egypt, and are bays opening from the Erythraean Sea.

...Adulis [is] a port established by law, lying at the inner end of a bay that runs in toward the south. Before the harbor lies the so-called Mountain Island, about 200 stadia [about 25 miles] seaward from the very head of the bay, with the shores of the mainland close to it on both sides. Ships bound for this port now anchor here because of attacks from the land. They used formerly to anchor at the very head of the bay, by an island called Diodorus, close to the shore, which could be reached on foot from the land, by which means the barbarous natives attacked the island. Opposite Mountain Island, on the mainland 20 stadia [about two and one-half miles] from the shore, lies Adulis, a fair-sized village, from which there is a three days' journey to Coloe, an inland town and the first market for ivory. From that place to the city of the people called Auxumites there

is a five days' journey more; to that place, all the ivory is brought from the country beyond the Nile, through the district called Cyeneum, and thence to Adulis. Practically the whole number of elephants and rhinoceros that are killed live in the places inland, although at rare intervals they are hunted on the seacoast, even near Adulis. Before the harbor of that market town, out at sea on the right hand, there lie a great many little sandy islands called Alalaei, yielding tortoise shell, which is brought to market there by the Fish-Eaters...

There are imported into these places [in Africa, south of Egypt] undressed cloth made in Egypt for the Berbers; robes from Arsinoe; cloaks of poor quality dyed in colors; double-fringed linen mantles; many articles of flint glass, and others of murrhine, made in Diospolis; and brass, which is used for ornament and in cut pieces instead of coin; sheets of soft copper, used for cooking utensils and cut up for bracelets and anklets for the women; iron, which is made into spears used against the elephants and other wild beasts, and in their wars. Besides these, small axes are imported, and adzes and swords; copper drinking cups, round and large; a little coin for those coming into the market; wine of Laodicea and Italy, not much; olive oil, not much; for the king, gold and silver plate made after the fashion of the country; and for clothing, military cloaks, and thin coats of skin, of no great value. Likewise from the district of Ariaca across this sea, there are imported Indian iron, and steel, and Indian cotton cloth; the broad cloth called monache and that called sagmatogene, and girdles, and coats of skin and mallow-colored cloth, and a few muslins, and colored lac. There are exported from these places ivory, and tortoise shell and rhinoceros horn. The most from Egypt is brought to this market from the month of January to September...but seasonably, they put to sea about the month of September.

From this place, the Arabian Gulf trends toward the east and becomes narrowest just before the Gulf of Avalites. After about 4,000 stadia [about 500 miles], for those sailing eastward along the same coast, there are other Berber market towns, known as the "far-side" ports; lying at intervals one after the other, without harbors but having roadsteads where ships can anchor and lie in good weather. The first is called Avalites; to this place, the voyage from Arabia to the far side coast is the shortest. Here there is a small market town called Avalites, which must be reached by boats and rafts. There are imported into this place flint glass, assorted; juice of sour grapes from Diospolis; dressed cloth, assorted, made for the Berbers; wheat, wine, and a little tin. There are exported from the same place, and sometimes by the Berbers themselves, crossing on rafts...spices, a little ivory, tortoise shell, and a very little myrrh, but better than the rest. And the Berbers who live in the place are very unruly.

After Avalites, there is another market town, better than this, called Malao... The anchorage is an open roadstead, sheltered by a spit running out from the east. Here the natives are more peaceable. There are imported into this place the things already mentioned, and many tunics, cloaks from Arsinoe, dressed and dyed; drinking cups, sheets of soft copper in small quantity, iron, and gold and silver coin, not much. There are exported from these places myrrh, a little frankincense... the harder cinnamon, duaca, Indian copal and macir, which are imported into Arabia; and slaves, but rarely.

Two days' sail, or three, beyond Malao is the market town of Mundus, where the ships lie at anchor more safely behind a projecting island close to the shore. There are

imported into this place the things previously set forth, and from it likewise are exported the merchandise already stated, and the incense called mocrotu. And the traders living here are more quarrelsome.

Beyond Mundus, sailing toward the east, after another two days' sail, or three, you reach Mosyllum, on a beach, with a bad anchorage. There are imported here the same things already mentioned, also silver plate, a very little iron, and glass. There are shipped from the place a great quantity of cinnamon (so that this market town requires ships of larger size), and fragrant gums, spices, a little tortoise shell, and mocrotu... frankincense... ivory and myrrh in small quantities...

Beyond Tabae, after 400 stadia [about 50 miles], there is the village of Pano [in modern Somalia]. And then, after sailing 400 stadia along a promontory, toward which place the current also draws you, there is another market town called Opone, into which the same things are imported as those already mentioned, and in it the greatest quantity of cinnamon is produced... and slaves of the better sort, which are brought to Egypt in increasing numbers; and a great quantity of tortoise shell, better than that found elsewhere.

The voyage to all these farside market towns is made from Egypt about the month of July... And ships are customarily fitted out from the places across this sea... bringing to these farside market towns the products of their own places: wheat, rice, clarified butter, sesame oil, cotton cloth... and girdles, and honey... Some make the voyage especially to these market towns, and others exchange their cargoes while sailing along the coast. This country is not subject to a king, but each market town is ruled by its separate chief.

... Arabia in its length border[s] a great distance on the Erythraean Sea. Different tribes inhabit the country, differing in their speech, some partially, and some altogether. The land next to the sea is similarly dotted here and there with caves of the Fish-Eaters, but the country inland is peopled by rascally men speaking two languages, who live in villages and nomadic camps, by whom those sailing off the middle course are plundered, and those surviving shipwrecks are taken for slaves... Navigation is dangerous along this whole coast of Arabia, which is without harbors, with bad anchorages, foul, inaccessible because of breakers and rocks, and terrible in every way. Therefore, we hold our course down the middle of the gulf and pass on as fast as possible by the country of Arabia until we come to the Burnt Island, directly below which there are regions of peaceful people, nomadic, pasturers of cattle, sheep, and camels...

There are imported into this place [Arabia] from Egypt a little wheat and wine... clothing in the Arabian style, plain and common and most of it spurious; and copper and tin and coral and storax and other things... and for the king, usually wrought gold and silver plate, also horses, images, and thin clothing of fine quality. And there are exported from this place native produce, frankincense and aloes, and the rest of the things that enter into the trade of other ports...

... There is an island... called Dioscorida [near modern Yemen], and [it] is very large, but desert and marshy, having rivers in it and crocodiles and many snakes and great lizards, of which the flesh is eaten and the fat melted and used instead of olive oil. The island yields no fruit, neither vine nor grain. The inhabitants are few, and they live on the coast toward the north... They are foreigners, a mixture of Arabs and Indians and

Greeks, who have emigrated to carry on trade there. The island produces the true sea tortoise, and the land tortoise, and the white tortoise which is very numerous, and preferred for its large shells; and the mountain tortoise, which is largest of all and has the thickest shell, of which the worthless specimens cannot be cut apart on the under side, because they are even too hard. But those of value are cut apart, and the shells made whole into caskets and small plates and cake dishes and that sort of ware. There is also produced in this island cinnabar, that called Indian, which is collected in drops from the trees...

Beyond the gulf of Baraca is that of Barygaza and the coast of the country of Ariaca [India], which is the beginning of the kingdom of Nambanus and of all India... It is a fertile country, yielding wheat and rice and sesame oil and clarified butter, cotton and the Indian cloths made from it, or the coarser sorts. Very many cattle are pastured there, and the men are of great stature and black in color. The metropolis of this country is Minnagara, from which much cotton cloth is brought down to Barygaza. In these places there remain, even to the present time, signs of the expedition of Alexander, such as ancient shrines, walls of forts, and great wells...

For this reason [strong tides and currents], entrance and departure of vessels [to and from Barygaza] is very dangerous to those who are inexperienced or who come to this market town for the first time. For the rush of waters at the incoming tide is irresistible, and the anchors cannot hold against it, so that large ships are caught up by the force of it, turned broadside on through the speed of the current, and so driven on the shoals and wrecked. And smaller boats are overturned. And those that have been turned aside among the channels by the receding waters at the ebb, are left on their sides, and if not held on an even keel by props, the flood tide comes upon them suddenly and under the first head of the current they are filled with water...

Inland from this place and to the east, is the city called Ozene, formerly a royal capital. From this place are brought down all things needed for the welfare of the country about Barygaza, and many things for our trade: agate and carnelian, Indian muslins and mallow cloth, and much ordinary cloth... There are imported into this market town wine, Italian preferred, also Laodicean and Arabian; copper, tin, and lead; coral and topaz; thin clothing and inferior sorts of all kinds; bright colored girdles a cubit wide; storax; sweet clover, flint glass; realgar; antimony; gold and silver coin, on which there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country; and ointment, but not very costly and not much. And for the king there are brought into those places very costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, fine wines, thin clothing of the finest weaves, and the choicest ointments. There are exported from these places spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, agate, and carnelian, lycium, cotton cloth of all kinds, silk cloth, mallow cloth, yarn, long pepper and such other things as are brought here from the various market towns. Those bound for this market town from Egypt make the voyage favorably about the month of July...

The regions beyond these places are either difficult of access because of their excessive winters and great cold, or else cannot be sought out because of some divine influence of the gods.

Source: *Ancient History Sourcebook: The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century.* Translated and edited by W. H. Schoff. London, Bombay & Calcutta: n.p., 1912. <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/periplus.html>.

GREECE

31. The Beginnings of Trade, Commerce, and Money

The fourth-century B.C. Greek philosopher Aristotle traces below the origins of trade and commerce, and the eventual necessity of coined money to replace commodity trading.

But there is another kind of acquisition that is specifically called wealth-getting, and that is rightly so called; and to this kind, it is due that there is thought to be no limit to riches and property... One of [the methods of acquiring things] is natural, the other is not natural, but carried on rather by means of certain acquired skill or art. We may take our starting point for its study from the following consideration: With every article of property, there is a double way of using it. Both uses are related to the article itself, but not related to it in the same manner; one is peculiar to the thing, and the other is not peculiar to it. Take, for example, a shoe. There is its wear as a shoe, and there is its use as an article of exchange. Both are ways of using a shoe, inasmuch as even he that trades a shoe for money or food with the customer that wants a shoe uses it as a shoe, although not for the use proper to a shoe, since shoes have not come into existence for the purpose of trade.

And the same also holds true about the other articles of property, for all of them have a use in exchange related to them, which began in the first instance from the natural order of things, because people had more than enough of some things, and less than enough of others. This consideration also shows that the art of trade is not by nature a part of the art of wealth acquisition, because the practice of trade was necessary only so far as to satisfy human needs. In the primary association, therefore—I mean the household—there is no function for trade, but it only arises after the association has become more numerous. For the members of the primitive household used to share commodities that were all their own, whereas on the contrary, a group divided into several households participated also in a number of commodities belonging to their neighbors, according to their needs for which they were forced to make their interchanges by way of trading, as many barbarian tribes still do. These tribes do not go beyond exchanging actual commodities for actual commodities, for example giving and taking wine for corn, and so with the various other things of the sort. Exchange on these lines, therefore, is not contrary to nature, nor is it any branch of the art of wealth acquisition, for it existed for the replenishment of natural self-sufficiency. But out of it, the art of business arose in due course.

When people had come to supply themselves more from abroad by importing things which they lacked and exporting those of which they had a surplus, the employment of money necessarily came to be devised. The necessities of life are not in every case readily portable, so for the purpose of exchange of goods, people made a mutual compact to give and accept some substance of such a sort as being itself a useful commodity that was easy to handle in use for general life, iron, for instance, silver and other metals, at the first stage defined merely by size and weight, but finally also by impressing a stamp on it, in order that this might relieve them of having to measure it, the stamp having been put on as a token of the amount. So when currency had been now invented as an outcome of the necessary interchange of goods, there came into existence the other form of wealth acquisition, which at first no doubt was carried on in a simple form, but

later became more highly organized as experience discovered the sources and methods of exchange that would result in the most profit. From this arises the idea that the art of wealth acquisition deals especially with money, and that its function is to be able to discern from what source a large supply can be procured, as this art is supposed to create wealth and riches. Indeed, wealth is often assumed to consist of a quantity of money, because money is the thing with which business and trade are employed.

In the following passage, Aristotle goes on to describe some examples of individuals who used their knowledge and intuition to create monopolies.

Thales [of Miletus, a philosopher, and one of the famed Seven Sages of Greek philosophy], so the story goes, because of his poverty was taunted with the uselessness of philosophy. But from his knowledge of astronomy, he had observed while it was still winter that there was going to be a large crop of olives, so he raised a small sum of money and paid deposits for all of the olive presses in Miletus and Chios, which he acquired at a low price because there were no other buyers. When the season arrived, there was a sudden demand for a number of presses all at the same time, and by renting them out on what terms he liked, he earned a large sum of money, in the process proving that it is easy for philosophers to be rich if they choose, but this is not what they care about. Thales, then, is reputed to have thus displayed his wisdom, but as a matter of fact, this strategy of taking an opportunity to secure a monopoly is a universal principle of business.

Even some governments employ this plan of attack as a method of raising revenue when short of funds; they introduce a monopoly of marketable goods. There was a man in Sicily who used a sum of money deposited with him to buy up all the iron from the iron foundries, and afterwards when the dealers came from the trading centers, he was the only seller, although he did not greatly raise the price, but all the same, he made a profit of 100 talents on his capital of 50. When Dionysius [tyrant of Syracuse (405–367 B.C.)] found out about this, he ordered the man to take his money with him, but clear out of Syracuse on the spot, since he was inventing a means of profit which was detrimental to the tyrant's own business affairs. Yet this strategy really is the same as the discovery of Thales, for both men alike contrived to secure themselves a monopoly. An understanding of these strategies is also useful for statesmen, because many states need financial aid and sources of revenue like those just described, just as a household may, but to a greater degree. Therefore, some statesmen even devote their political activity exclusively to finance.

Source: Aristotle: *Politics*. Translated by H. Rackham. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1932.

32. How to Succeed in Business

In the following passage from his essay on management entitled “Oeconomicus,” the fourth-century B.C. writer Xenophon sets forth some of the principles that a successful manager should possess and put into practice.

In private industries, the person in authority—bailiff or manager—who can make the workers enthused, industrious, and persevering, he is the one who gives a lift to the business and swells the profit. But if the appearance of the master in the field, of the

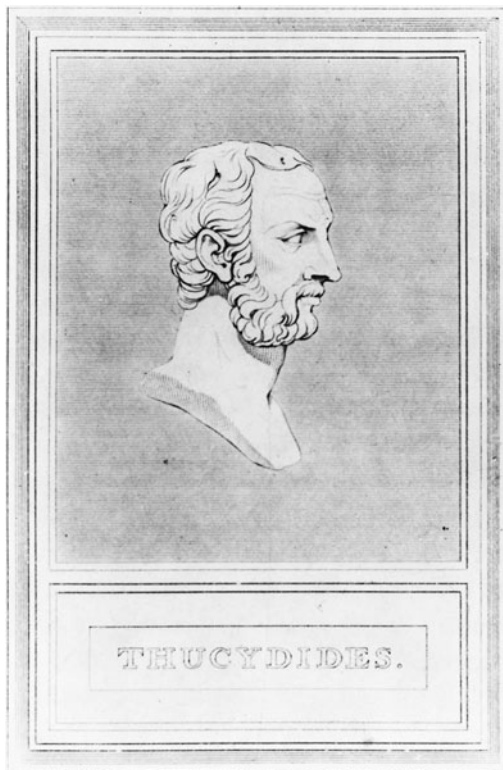
one who has the fullest power to punish the bad and reward the hardworking employees, makes no striking impression on the men at work, I for one cannot envy him. But if at the sight of him, they get busy, and a spirit of determination of rivalry and eagerness to excel falls on every workman, then I would say that this man has a touch of the kingly nature in him. And this, in my judgment, is the greatest thing in every operation that makes any demand on the labor of workers, and therefore in agriculture.

To acquire these powers, a person needs education. He must possess great natural gifts, and above all, he must be a genius [in the sense of being divinely inspired]. For I consider this gift to be not altogether human, but divine, this power to win willing obedience; it is manifestly a gift of the gods.

Source: *Xenophon: Scripta Minora*. Volume VII. Translated by E. C. Marchant. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1925.

33. *The World's Produce Flows to Athens: Thucydides*

Athens was a leading commercial center of ancient Greece, especially in the fifth century B.C., when, as the historian Thucydides attests in the following excerpt, all manner of goods and commodities passed through its port city of Piraeus.



And our city [Athens] is so great that all the products of the earth flow in upon us, and ours is the happy lot to gather in the good fruits of our own soil with no more home-felt security of enjoyment than we do those of other lands.

Source: *Thucydides*. Translated by Charles Forster Smith. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1919.

34. *The World's Produce Flows to Athens: Isocrates*

The fourth-century B.C. orator Isocrates, in this excerpt from his speech "Panegyricus," also describes the abundance of trade that flowed into Athens.

Again, since the different populations did not in any case possess a country that was self-sufficient, each lacking in some things and producing others in excess of their needs, and since they were greatly at a loss where they should dispose of their surplus and whence they should import what they lacked, in these difficulties also our city [Athens] came to the rescue. For she established the Piraeus as a market in the center of Greece—a market of such abundance that the

Thucydides, one of the greatest ancient Greek historians and author of the *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Library of Congress.

articles which it is difficult to get, one here, one there, from the rest of the world, all these it is easy to procure from Athens.

Source: *Isocrates*. Translated by George Norlin. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1928.

35. Athens as a Commercial Center

In this passage from his essay entitled "Ways and Means," the fourth-century B.C. writer Xenophon extols the virtues of Athens as a hub of commercial activity.

I will now say something about the unrivaled amenities and advantages of our city [Athens] as a commercial center.

In the first place, I presume, Athens possesses the finest and safest accommodations for shipping, since vessels can anchor here and ride safe at their moorings in spite of bad weather. Moreover, at most other ports, merchants are compelled to ship a return cargo, because the local currency has no circulation in other states. But at Athens, they have the opportunity of exchanging their cargo and exporting very many classes of goods that are in demand or, if they do not want to ship a return cargo of goods, it is sound business to export silver, because wherever they sell it, they are sure to make a profit on the capital invested.

If prizes were offered to the magistrates of the market [at Piraeus, Athens's port city] for just and prompt settlement of disputes, so that sailings were not delayed, the effect would be that a far larger number of merchants would trade with us and with much greater satisfaction. It would also be an excellent plan to reserve front seats in the theater for merchants and shipowners, and to offer them hospitality occasionally, when the high quality of their ships and merchandise entitles them to be considered benefactors of the state. With the prospect of these honors before them, they would look on us as friends and hasten to visit us to win the honor as well as the profit.

The rise in the number of residents and visitors would, of course, lead to a corresponding expansion of our imports and exports, of sales, rents, and customs...

When funds were sufficient, it would be a fine plan to build more lodging houses for shipowners near the harbors, and convenient places of exchange for merchants, and also hotels to accommodate visitors. And if houses and shops were put up both in the Piraeus and in the city for retail traders, they would be an ornament to the state, and at the same time the source of a considerable revenue...

As for the silver mines, I believe that if a proper system of working were introduced, a vast amount of money would be obtained from them apart from our other sources of revenue. I want to point out the possibilities of these mines to those who do not know. Once you realize the possibilities, you will be in a better position to consider how the mines should be managed.



Isocrates, an anti-Sophist who firmly believed the Greek city-states must unite. Library of Congress.

We all agree that the mines have been worked for many generations. At any rate, no one even attempts to date the beginning of mining operations. And yet, although digging and the removal of the silver ore have been carried on for so long a time, note how small is the size of the dumps compared with the virgin and silver-laden hills. And it is continually being found that, so far from shrinking, the silver-yielding area extends further and further.

As long as the maximum number of workmen was employed in them, no one ever lacked a job; in fact, there were always more jobs than the laborers could deal with. And even at the present day, no owner of slaves employed in the mines reduces the number of his men. On the contrary, every master obtains as many more as he can. The fact is, I imagine, that when there are few diggers and searchers, the amount of metal recovered is small, and when there are many, the total of ore discovered is multiplied. Hence, of all the industries with which I am acquainted, this is the only one in which expansion of business causes no jealousy.

In addition to all this, every farmer can tell just how many yoke of oxen are enough for the farm and how many workers. To put more on the land than the requisite number is counted as a loss. In mining operations, on the contrary, everyone tells you that he is short of labor. Mining, in fact, is quite different from other industries. An increase in the number of coppersmiths, for example, produces a fall in the price of copper work, and the coppersmiths retire from business. The same thing happens in the iron trade. When corn and wine are abundant, the crops are cheap, and the profit from growing them disappears, so that many farmers give up farming and set themselves up as merchants or shopkeepers or moneylenders. But an increase in the amount of silver ore discovered and of the metal won is accompanied by an increase in the number of persons who take up this industry. Nor is silver like furniture, of which a homeowner never buys more when once he has gotten enough for his house. No one ever yet owned so much silver as to want no more. If a person finds himself with a huge amount of it, he takes as much pleasure in burying the surplus as in using it.

Source: *Xenophon: Scripta Minora*. Volume VII. Translated by E. C. Marchant. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1925.

36. In the Market for a Good Used Horse?

In this excerpt from his treatise entitled The Art of Horsemanship, Xenophon takes up the issue of buying a previously owned horse.

In case the intention is to buy a horse already ridden, we will write out some notes that the buyer must thoroughly master if he is not to be cheated over his purchase.

First, then, he must not fail to ascertain the age. A horse that has shed all his milk teeth does not afford much ground for pleasing expectations, and is not so easily got rid of.

If he is clearly a youngster, one must notice further how he receives the bit in his mouth and the harness about his ears. This may be best noticed if the buyer sees the bridle put on and taken off again.

Next, attention must be paid to his behavior when he receives the rider on his back. Many horses will not readily accept a thing if they know beforehand that, if they accept it, they will be forced to work.

Another thing to observe is whether when mounted, he is willing to leave the other horses, or whether in passing standing horses he does not bolt towards them. Some too, as a result of bad training, run away from the riding ground to the paths that lead home...

It is likewise necessary to know whether, when going at full speed, he can be pulled up sharp, and whether he turns readily. And it is well to make sure whether he is equally willing to obey when roused by a blow. A disobedient servant and a disobedient army are, of course, useless. And a disobedient horse is not only useless, but often behaves just like a traitor...

To sum up: the horse that is sound in his feet, gentle and fairly fast, has the will and the strength to stand work and, above all, is obedient, is the horse that will give the least trouble and the greatest measure of safety to his rider in warfare. But those that need a lot of driving on account of their laziness, or a lot of coaxing and attention on account of their high spirit, make constant demands on the rider's hands and rob him of confidence in moments of danger.

Source: Xenophon: *Scripta Minora*. Volume VII. Translated by E. C. Marchant. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1925.

ROME

37. All Roads . . . and Shipping Lanes . . . and Trade Routes Lead to Rome

All roads led to Rome, so the saying went, as did all shipping lanes, and all trade routes, or so it seemed. The second-century A.D. philosopher Aelius Aristides comments on that topic in this passage from his essay "To Rome."

Around [the Mediterranean] lie the continents far and wide, pouring an endless flow of goods to you [Rome]. There is brought from every land and sea whatever is brought forth by the seasons and is produced by all countries, rivers, lakes, and the skills of Greeks and foreigners. So that anyone who wants to behold all these products must either journey through the whole world to see them, or else come to this city. For whatever is raised or manufactured by each people is assuredly always here to overflowing. So many merchants arrive here with cargoes from all over, at every season, and with each return of the harvest, that the city seems like a common warehouse of the world. One can see so many cargoes from India, or, if you wish, from Arabia, that one may surmise that the trees there have been left permanently bare, and that those people must come here to beg for their own goods whenever they need anything. Clothing from Babylonia and the luxuries from the barbarian lands beyond arrive in much greater volume and more easily than if one had to sail from Naxos or Cythnos to Athens, transporting any of their products. Egypt, Sicily, and the civilized part of

Africa are your farms. The arrival and departure of ships never ceases, so that it is astounding that the sea—not to mention the harbor—suffices for the merchants . . . And all things converge here, trade, seafaring, agriculture, metallurgy, all the skills which exist and have existed, anything that is begotten and grows. Whatever cannot be seen here belongs completely to the category of nonexistent things.

Source: From *Roman Civilization Sourcebook II: The Empire*, by Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold. Copyright © 1955 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

Part IV

INTELLECTUAL LIFE

Education

The great civilizations of the world customarily place a high priority on education. In ancient Egypt, priests taught select students reading, writing, arithmetic, and geometry, but most children received a more superficial education (Documents 1 and 2). The ancient Greeks, at least in Athens, taught their children the “three R’s” (reading, writing, and arithmetic), supplemented by history, literature, music, drawing, and athletic training (Documents 3 and 4). In *Sparta*, however, there were different emphases. At the age of seven, young boys were taken from their parents and raised in state-run schools, like military barracks, where the curriculum consisted mostly of subjects and exercises related to military training. Scant attention was paid to reading and writing (Document 5).

Often, children in both Greece and Rome did not attend formal schools but rather were home-schooled, being taught by nurses, educated slaves, private tutors, or even by the parents themselves. Hence, it would come as no surprise that advice on choosing teachers was a common topic in many writings. The Greek biographer Plutarch (Document 6) exhorted parents to make careful choices, and not to worry about the expense involved—better to pay more for an experienced and effective teacher than to pay a bargain basement fee for one who is incompetent. The Roman historian Tacitus echoed that idea, lamenting the fact that children were often taught by “some silly little Greek serving-maid, with a male slave, who may be anyone, to help her” (Document 9). The Roman writer Quintilian subscribed to the notion that every child had the innate ability to learn: “That there are any [children] who gain nothing from education, I absolutely deny” (Document 7). Quintilian also expressed the opinion (Document 8) that children should be taught to read as soon as possible, and that waiting until the customary age of seven was doing a disservice to young minds that were capable of learning to read long before reaching that age.

Perhaps one reason that formal schools were in short supply was the cost that they would entail. Few communities were apparently as fortunate as the northern Italian town of Comum, whose local school was handsomely endowed by Pliny the Younger (Document 10).

EGYPT

1. The Scribal Profession: Learn It!

The unknown author of the following excerpt from the Twentieth Dynasty Papyrus Lansing upbraids a young student who has the potential to become an excellent scribe, but who refuses to take instruction.

Young fellow, how conceited you are! You do not listen when I speak. Your heart is denser than a great obelisk, a hundred cubits high, ten cubits thick...

So also a cow is bought this year, and it plows the following year. It learns to listen to the herdsman; it only lacks words. Horses brought from the field, they forget their mothers. Yoked they go up and down on all his majesty's errands. They become like those that bore them, that stand in the stable. They do their utmost, for fear of a beating.

But though I beat you with every kind of stick, you do not listen. If I knew another way of doing it, I would do it for you, that you might listen. You are a person fit for writing, though you have not yet known a woman. Your heart discerns, your fingers are skilled, your mouth is apt for reciting...

You are busy coming and going, and don't think of writing. You resist listening to me; you neglect my teachings.

You are worse than the goose of the shore, that is busy with mischief. It spends the summer destroying the dates, the winter destroying the seed-grain. It spends the balance of the year in pursuit of the cultivators. It does not let seed be cast to the ground without snatching it in its fall. One cannot catch it by snaring. One does not offer it in the temple. The evil, sharp-eyed bird that does no work!

You are worse than the desert antelope that lives by running. It spends no day in plowing. Never at all does it tread on the threshing floor. It lives on the oxen's labor, without entering among them. But though I spend the day telling you "Write!," it seems like a plague to you. Writing is very pleasant!...

I spend the day instructing you. You do not listen! Your heart is like an <empty> room. My teachings are not in it...

The marsh thicket is before you each day, as a nestling is after its mother. You follow the path of pleasure; you make friends with revelers. You have made your home in the brewery, as one who thirsts for beer. You sit in the parlor with an idler. You hold the writings in contempt... Do not do these things! What are they for? They are of no use. Take note of it!

Source: Lichtheim, Miriam. *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings. Volume II: The New Kingdom.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

2. The Two-Track Egyptian Curriculum

According to the first-century B.C. Greek historian Diodorus Siculus, the Egyptian educational curriculum of the first century B.C. included the following subjects:

In the education of their sons, the priests teach them two kinds of writing, that which is called “sacred” and that which is used in the more general instruction. Geometry and arithmetic are given special attention. For the river, by changing the face of the country each year in many ways, causes many and varied disputes between neighbors over their boundary lines, and these disputes cannot be easily resolved with any exactness unless a geometer works out the truth scientifically by the application of his experience. And arithmetic is useful with reference to the business affairs connected with making a living and also in applying the principles of geometry, and likewise is also of no small assistance to students of astrology . . .

As to the general mass of the Egyptians, they are instructed from their childhood by their fathers or relatives in the practices appropriate to [their] manner of life . . . But as for reading and writing, the Egyptians at large give their children only a superficial instruction in them, and not all do this, but for the most part, only those who are engaged in the crafts. In wrestling and music, however, it is not customary among them to receive any instruction at all. They believe that from the daily exercises in wrestling, their young men will gain, not health, but a vigor that is only temporary and in fact dangerous, while they consider music to be not only useless, but even harmful, since it makes the spirits of the listeners effeminate.

Source: *Diodorus of Sicily*. Volume I. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1933.

GREECE

3. *The Curriculum from Childhood through Adolescence*

A rhetorician and satirist born in the Roman province of Syria, Lucian (A.D. c. 120–c. 200) wrote in Greek. In the following excerpt from his writings, Lucian, speaking through the words of the famous sixth-century B.C. Athenian lawgiver Solon, explains the principles of the ancient Athenian educational system.

We entrust the early upbringing of children to mothers, nurses and tutors, to train and rear them with liberal teachings. But when at length they become able to understand what is right, when modesty, shame, fear and ambition spring up in them, and when at length their bodies seem well-fitted for hard work as they get more muscular and become more strongly compacted, then we take them in hand and teach them, not only prescribing for them certain disciplines and exercises for the mind, but in certain other ways acclimatizing their bodies to hard work. We have not thought it sufficient for each person to be as he was born, either in mind or in body, but we want education and disciplines for them by which their good traits may be much improved, and their bad traits changed for the better. We take farmers as an example, who shelter and enclose their plants while they are small and young, so that they may not be injured by the breeze. But when the stalk at last begins to thicken, they prune away the excessive growth and expose them to the winds to be shaken and tossed, in that way making them more productive.

We fan into flame their minds with music and arithmetic at first, and we teach them to write and read their letters. As they progress, we recite for them sayings of wise men, deeds of long ago times, and helpful fictions, which we have put into meter to help them remember them better. Hearing of certain feats of arms and famous events, little by little they become envious, and are motivated to imitate them, in order that they, too, may be praised and admired by future generations. Both Hesiod and Homer have composed poetry of that sort for us.

Source: *Lucian*. Volume IV. Translated by A. M. Harmon. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1925.

4. Aristotle's Vision of Education

In this passage from his Politics, the fourth-century B.C. Greek philosopher Aristotle offers some thoughts on the importance of education, and the kinds of forms it could take.

No one will doubt that the legislator should direct his attention above all to the education of youth; for the neglect of education does harm to the [state's] constitution. The citizen should be molded to suit the form of government under which he lives...

Again, for the exercise of any faculty or art, a previous training and habituation are required... And since the whole city has one end, it is manifest that education should be one and the same for all, and that it should be public, and not private—not as at present, when everyone looks after his own children separately, and gives them separate instruction of the sort which he thinks best. The training in things which are of common interest should be the same for all. Neither must we suppose that any one of the citizens belongs to himself, for they all belong to the state... In particular... the Spartans are to be praised, because they take the greatest pains about their children, and make education the business of the state.

That education should be regulated by law and should be an affair of the state is not to be denied, but what should be the character of this public education, and how young persons should be educated, are questions which remain to be considered. As things are, there is disagreement about the subjects. For people by no means agree about the things to be taught, whether we look to virtue or the best life. Neither is it clear whether education is more concerned with intellectual or with moral virtue. The existing practice is perplexing; no one knows on what principle we should proceed—should the useful in life, or should virtue, or should the higher knowledge, be the aim of our training? All three opinions have been considered... There can be no doubt that children should be taught those useful things which are really necessary, but not all useful things; for occupations are divided into liberal and illiberal; and to young children should be imparted only such kinds of knowledge as will be useful to them... Any occupation, art, or science, which makes the body or soul or mind of the freeman less fit for the practice or exercise of virtue, is vulgar...

The customary branches of education are in number four; they are: (1) reading and writing, (2) gymnastic exercises, (3) music, to which is sometimes added (4) drawing.

Of these, reading and writing and drawing are regarded as useful for the purposes of life in a variety of ways, and gymnastic exercises are thought to infuse courage. Concerning music, a doubt may be raised—in our own day, most people cultivate it for the sake of pleasure, but originally it was included in education, because nature itself, as has been often said, requires that we should be able, not only to work well, but to use leisure well. For, as I must repeat once again, the first principle of all action is leisure. Both are required, but leisure is better than occupation...

It is clear, then, that there are branches of learning and education which we must study merely with a view to leisure spent in intellectual activity, and these are to be valued for their own sake, whereas those kinds of knowledge which are useful in business are to be deemed necessary, and exist for the sake of other things. And therefore our forbears included music in education, not because of its necessity or utility, for it is not necessary nor indeed useful in the same manner as reading and writing, which are useful in money making, in the management of a household, in the acquisition of knowledge and in political life, nor like drawing, useful for a more correct judgment of the works of artists, nor again like gymnastics, which gives health and strength, for neither of these is to be gained from music. There remains, then, the use of music for intellectual enjoyment in leisure, which is evidently the reason of its introduction, this being one of the ways in which it is thought that a free person should pass his leisure...

It is evident, then, that there is a sort of education in which parents should train their children, not as being useful or necessary, but because it is liberal or noble... This much we are now in a position to say, that the ancients witness to us; for their opinion may be gathered from the fact that music is one of the received and traditional branches of education. Further, it is clear that children should be instructed in some useful things, for example, in reading and writing, not only for their usefulness, but also because many other sorts of knowledge are acquired through them. With a similar view, they may be taught drawing, not to prevent their making mistakes in their own purchases, or in order that they may not be imposed upon in the buying or selling of articles, but perhaps rather because it makes them judges of the beauty of the human form. To be always seeking after the useful is not appropriate to free and exalted souls.

Source: ROSS, ARISTOTLE SELECTIONS, 1st, © 1976. Reproduced by permission of Pearson Education, Inc., Upper Saddle River, New Jersey.



A fifteenth-century painting of the famous philosopher Aristotle, by Justus van Gent. © (2008) Jupiter-images Corporation.

5. The Differing Spartan Vision of Education

The Spartans had their own ideas on education, as the Greek biographer Plutarch (A.D. c. 45–c. 120) shows in this passage from his biography of Lycurgus, Sparta's legendary seventh-century B.C. lawgiver.

Lycurgus would not put the sons of Spartans under the supervision of purchased or hired tutors, nor was it lawful for every father to raise or train his son as he pleased, but as soon as they were seven years old, Lycurgus ordered them all to be taken by the state and enrolled in companies, where they were put under the same discipline and training, and so became accustomed to share one another's sports and studies. The boy who excelled in judgment and was the most courageous in fighting, was made captain of his company. All the rest kept their eyes on him, obeying his orders, and submitting to his punishments, so that their boyish training was a practice of obedience...

Of reading and writing, they learned only enough to serve their turn. All the rest of their training was calculated to make them obey commands well, endure hardships, and conquer in battle.

Source: *Plutarch's Lives*. Volume I. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1914.

6. Choosing a Teacher

In this excerpt from his Moralia, Plutarch offers parents advice for choosing a teacher for their children, a decision not to be taken lightly.

I come now to a point which is more important and more serious than anything I have said so far. Teachers must be sought for the children who are free from scandal in their lives, who are unimpeachable in their manners, and in experience the very best that may be found. To receive a proper education is the source and root of all goodness. As farmers place stakes beside the young plants, so do competent teachers with all care set their instruction and encouragement beside the young, in order that their characters may grow to be upright.

Nowadays, there are some parents who deserve utter contempt, who, before examining prospective teachers, either because of ignorance or sometimes because of inexperience, hand over their children to untried and untrustworthy men. And this is not so ridiculous if their action is due to inexperience, but there is another case which is absurd to the highest degree. What is this? Sometimes, even with knowledge and with information from others, who tell them of the inexperience and even of the depravity of certain teachers, they nevertheless entrust their children to them. Some yield to the flatteries of those who would please them, and there are those who do it as a favor to insistent friends. Their action resembles that of a person who, if he were afflicted with bodily disease, would reject that man who by his knowledge might save his life and, as a favor to a friend, would prefer one who by his inexperience might cause his death. Or another example, that of a person who would dismiss a most excellent ship's captain, and accept the very worst, because of a friend's insistence. Heaven help us! Do parents...think more of gratifying those who ask favors than they think of the education of their children?

And did not Socrates often say, very fittingly, that if it were in any way possible, one should go up to the highest part of the city and cry out loud: "Citizens, where is

your course taking you, who give all possible attention to the acquisition of money, but give small thought to your children to whom you are to leave it?" To this I would like to add that such parents act nearly as one would act who should give thought to his shoe but pay no regard to his foot. Many parents, however, go so far in their devotion to money as well as in animosity to their children that in order to avoid paying a larger fee, they select as teachers for their children individuals who are not worth any wage at all...Hence Aristippus, not inelegantly, but very cleverly, criticized a father who lacked both mind and sense, for when this man asked him what fee he would require for teaching his child, Aristippus replied, "A thousand drachmas." When the other exclaimed, "Great heavens! What an excessive demand! I can buy a slave for a thousand," Aristippus replied, "Then you will have two slaves, your son and the one you buy."

In general, is it not ridiculous for people to accustom children to take their food with their right hand and if one puts out his left, to scold him, and yet take no forethought that their children will hear right and proper words of instruction?

Source: *Plutarch's Moralia*. Volume I. Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

ROME

7. Quintilian's Prescription for Educating a Child

The ancient Romans had a high regard for formal training and education, especially for a young person who might one day embark upon a career in public service, including oratory. The educator/philosopher Quintilian (A.D. c. 35–c. 100), in this excerpt from his Institutes of Oratory, offers his thoughts on the kind of educational experience most appropriate for a child who might one day grow up to be the next Demosthenes or Cicero.

There is one point which I must emphasize before I begin, which is this. Without natural gifts, technical rules are useless. Consequently, the student who is devoid of talent will derive no more profit from this work than barren soil from a treatise on agriculture. There are, it is true, other natural aids, such as the possession of a good voice and robust lungs, sound health, powers of endurance and grace, and if these are possessed only to a moderate extent, they may be improved by methodical training. In some cases, however, these gifts are lacking to such an extent that their absence is fatal to all such advantages as talent and study can confer while, similarly, they are of no profit in themselves unless cultivated by skillful teaching, persistent study, and extensive practice in writing, reading, and speaking.

I would, therefore, have a father conceive the highest hopes of his son from the moment of his birth. If he does so, he will be more careful about the groundwork of his education. For there is absolutely no foundation for the complaint that but few men have the power to take in the knowledge that is imparted to them, and that the majority are so slow of understanding that education is a waste of time and labor. On the contrary, you will find that most are quick to reason and ready to learn. Reasoning comes

as naturally to human beings as flying to birds, speed to horses and ferocity to beasts of prey; our minds are endowed by nature with such activity and sagacity that the soul is believed to proceed from heaven. Those who are dull and unteachable are as abnormal as prodigious births and monstrosities, and are but few in number. A proof of what I say is to be found in the fact that boys commonly show promise of many accomplishments, and when such promise dies away as they grow up, this is plainly due not to the failure of natural gifts, but to the lack of the requisite care.

But, it will be urged, there are degrees of talent. Undoubtedly, I reply, and there will be a corresponding variation in actual accomplishment. But that there are any who gain nothing from education, I absolutely deny. The man who shares this conviction must, as soon as he becomes a father, devote the utmost care to fostering the promise shown by the son whom he destines to become an orator.

Above all, see that the child's nurse speaks correctly. The ideal... would be that she should be a philosopher. Failing that... the best should be chosen, as far as possible. No doubt the most important point is that they should be of good character, but they should speak correctly as well. It is the nurse that the child first hears, and her words that he will first attempt to imitate. And we are by nature most tenacious of childish impressions, just as the flavor first absorbed by vessels when new persists, and the color imparted by dyes to the primitive whiteness of wool is indelible.

Further, it is the worst impressions that are most durable. For, while what is good readily deteriorates, you will never turn vice into virtue. Do not, therefore, allow the child to become accustomed, even in infancy, to a style of speech which he will subsequently have to unlearn.

As regards parents, I should like to see them as highly educated as possible, and I do not restrict this remark to fathers alone. We are told that the eloquence of the Gracchi [brothers Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, noted second century B.C. politicians and orators] owed much to their mother Cornelia, whose letters even today testify to the cultivation of her style. [The examples of two daughters of noted orators are cited next.] Laelia, the daughter of Gaius Laelius, is said to have reproduced the elegance of her father's language in her own speech, while the oration delivered before the triumvirs by Hortensia, the daughter of Quintus Hortensius, is still read and not merely as a compliment to her sex. And even those who have not had the fortune to receive a good education should not for that reason devote less care to their child's education, but should, on the contrary, show all the greater diligence in other matters where they can be of service to their children...

If any of my readers regards me as somewhat exacting in my demands, I would ask that reader to reflect that it is no easy task to create an orator, even though his education be carried out under the most favorable circumstances, and that further and greater difficulties are still before us. For continuous application, the very best of teachers, and a variety of experiences are necessary. Therefore, the rules which we lay down for the education of our pupil must be of the best. If anyone refuses to be guided by them, the fault will lie not with the method, but with the individual. Still, if it should prove impossible to secure the ideal nurse, the ideal companions, or the ideal *paedagogus* [literally, "child-leader," a trusted slave who escorted children to and from school], I would

insist that there should be one person at any rate attached to the child who has some knowledge of speaking, and who will, if any incorrect expression should be used by the nurse or *paedagogus* in the presence of the child under their charge, at once correct the error and prevent its becoming a habit. But it must be clearly understood that this is only a remedy, and that the ideal course is that indicated above.

Source: *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*. Translated by H. E. Butler. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1920.

8. At What Age Should a Child Be Taught to Read?

In this later passage from his Institutes of Oratory (see also Document 7, above), Quintilian addresses the subject of the ideal age when children should be taught to read.

Some believe that children should not be taught to read till they are seven years old, that being the earliest age at which they can derive profit from instruction and endure the strain of learning. Most of the them attribute this view to Hesiod, . . . [and] other authorities, among them Eratosthenes, give the same advice. Those, however, who argue that that a child's mind should not be allowed to lie fallow for a moment are wiser . . . Since children are capable of moral training [at an early age], should they not be capable of literary education? . . . Still, those who disagree with me seem in taking this line to spare the teacher rather than the student. What better occupation can a child have as soon as he is able to speak? And he must be kept occupied somehow or other. Or why should we despise the profit to be gained before the age of seven, small though it may be? Although the knowledge absorbed in the previous years may be slight, yet the child will be learning something more advanced during that year, in which he would otherwise have been occupied with something more elementary. Such progress each successive year increases the total, and the time gained during childhood is clear profit to the period of youth . . . Let us not, therefore, waste the earliest years. There is all the less excuse for this, since the elements of literary training are solely a question of memory, which not only exists even in small children, but is especially retentive at that age.

Source: *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*. Translated by H. E. Butler. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1920.

9. An Orator's Education

The Roman historian Tacitus (A.D. c. 55–c. 117), who wrote an essay on oratory entitled, appropriately enough, "A Dialogue on Oratory," discusses, in this passage from the essay, the proper education for the would-be orator.

I pass by the first rudiments of education, though even these are taken too lightly. It is in the reading of authors, and in gaining a knowledge of the past, and in making acquaintance with things and persons and occasions that too little solid work is done. Recourse is had instead to the so-called rhetoricians...

Well, then, in the good old days, the young man who was destined for the oratory of the bar, after receiving the rudiments of a sound training at home and storing his mind with liberal culture, was taken by his father, or his relations, and placed under the care of some orator who held a leading position at Rome. The youth had to get the habit of following his patron about, of escorting him in public, of supporting him at all his appearances as a speaker, whether in the law courts or on the platform, hearing also his word-combats at first hand, standing by him in his duels, and learning, as it were, to fight in the fighting line. It was a method that secured at once for the young students a considerable amount of experience, great self-possession, and a goodly store of sound judgment. For they carried on their studies in the light of open day, and amid the very shock of battle, under conditions in which any stupid or ill-advised statement brings prompt retribution in the shape of the judge's disapproval, taunting criticism from the opponent—yes, and from your own supporters, expressions of dissatisfaction.

So it was a genuine and unadulterated eloquence that they were initiated in from the very first. And though they attached themselves to a single speaker, yet they got to know all the contemporary members of the bar in a great variety of both civil and criminal cases. Moreover, a public meeting gave them the opportunity of noting marked divergences of taste, so that they could easily detect what commended itself in the case of each individual speaker...

Nowadays, on the other hand, our children are handed over at their birth to some silly little Greek serving-maid, with a male slave, who may be anyone, to help her—quite frequently the most worthless member of the whole establishment, incompetent for any serious service. It is from the foolish tittle-tattle of such persons that the children receive their earliest impressions, while their minds are still pliant and unformed. And there is not a soul in the whole house who cares a jot what he says or does in the presence of his baby master. Yes, and the parents themselves make no effort to train their little ones in goodness and self-control. They grow up in an atmosphere of laxity and pertness, in which they come gradually to lose all sense of shame, and all respect both for themselves and for other people.

Again, there are the peculiar and characteristic vices of this metropolis of ours, taken on, as it seems to me, almost in the mother's womb: the passion for play actors, and the mania for gladiatorial shows and horseracing. And when the mind is engrossed in such occupations, what room is left over for higher pursuits? How few are to be found whose home talk runs to any other subjects than these? What else do we overhear our younger men talking about whenever we enter their lecture halls? And the teachers are just as bad. With them, too, such topics supply material for gossip with their classes more frequently than any others.

Source: *Tacitus: Dialogus, Agricola, Germania*. Translated by Sir W. Peterson, revised by M. Winterbottom. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1914.

10. Pliny the Younger Endows a School

The Roman writer Pliny the Younger (A.D. 62–114) was shocked to learn that children in his hometown of Comum had to travel to Milan, about 25 miles away, for schooling. In this letter to his friend, the historian Cornelius Tacitus (A.D. c. 55–c. 117), Pliny describes what he decided to do about the situation.

Having recently been to my hometown, a young boy, son of one of my fellow townsmen, paid me a visit. “Do you go to school?” I asked him. “Yes,” he said. “And where?” He told me, “At Milan.” “And why not here?” “Because,” said his father, who was present, and had in fact brought the boy with him, “we have no teachers.” “How is that?” I said. “Surely it must concern you who are fathers”—and very opportunely several in the group were so—“that your children should receive their education here, rather than anywhere else. Where can they be placed more agreeably than in their own town, or maintained in more modest habits and at less expense than at home and under the eye of their parents? By a general contribution, you could procure teachers on very favorable terms, if you would only apply towards their salaries what you now spend on your children’s room, board and travel expenses, and whatever else must be paid for when traveling, which means paying for everything. I, who have as yet no children myself, am ready to give a third part of any sum you would think proper to raise for this purpose, for the benefit of our country, whom I regard as a daughter or a parent. I would take upon myself the whole expense, were I not concerned that my endowment might be abused at some future time, and be perverted for private ends, as I have observed to be the case in several places where teachers are hired by the local authorities. The one way to prevent this kind of mismanagement is to leave the choice of the teachers entirely up to the discretion of the parents, who will be so much more careful to determine properly, since they will be obligated to share the expense of maintaining them. Although they may be careless in disposing of someone else’s wealth, they will certainly be cautious about how they apply their own, and will see to it that no teachers except those who deserve it will receive my money, when they must at the same time receive theirs, too.”

“Let my example, then, encourage you to unite enthusiastically in the plan, and be assured that the greater the sum my share will amount to, the more agreeable it will be to me. You can undertake nothing more advantageous to your children, nor more acceptable to your country. By this means, they will receive their education where they were born, and be accustomed from infancy to live in and love their hometown. I hope that you can hire teachers of such distinguished abilities that neighboring towns will be glad to obtain their learning here, and just as now you send your children to another town for education, maybe out-of-towners will in the future flock here for their instruction.

“I thought it proper to explain this whole matter to you, so that you might better understand how agreeable it would be to me, if you perform the task which I request. I ask you, therefore, with all the seriousness a matter of so much importance deserves, to look out among the great numbers of men of letters which your reputation brings to you, teachers whom we may approach for this purpose. But it must be understood that I cannot make a binding agreement with any of them. I would leave it entirely up to

the parents to judge and choose as they see fit. The only share that I pretend to claim is that of contributing my interest and my money. If anyone therefore is found who relies on his own talents, he may go there, on this condition: that that reliance is all he can count upon, as far as I am concerned. Farewell.”

Source: *Pliny: Letters*. Volume I. Translated by William Melmoth, with revisions by W.M.L. Hutchinson. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1915.

Respect for Writing, Language, and Literature

All ancient cultures respected the power of the written word, and, by extension, the people sufficiently gifted to express themselves in writing. Poetry was highly prized in India (Document 11) and in Greece, although the philosopher Plato thought that poetic topics should be limited to “hymns to the gods and paeans in praise of good citizens” (Document 13). The scribal profession was highly valued in ancient Egypt because of its prestige and because it freed its practitioners from the burdens of manual labor (Document 12). An ancient Greek style manual offers hints and suggestions about syntax and word usage, including the creation of neologisms (Document 15).

Possibly one of the most difficult literary genres was history, at least if the ancient historians are to be believed. The Greek historian Polybius, among others, described the frustrations that await authors of historical texts (Document 16). The Roman orator Cicero did a survey of Greek historians. Not surprisingly, perhaps, he ranked Herodotus and Thucydides as two of the best, with Xenophon not far behind (Document 14).

The name of the Roman architect Vitruvius is generally not connected with literary criticism, but in *De Architectura*, his treatise on architecture, he included a short commentary on the contributions of writers to a society, remarking that even though writers are more important than champion athletes, it was the athletes who almost always received far more public acclaim (Document 18). And Cicero, who greatly respected Greek and Roman literature, selected a rather unusual and irregular venue in which to make a strong case for its importance—the middle of a courtroom speech on a case involving Roman citizenship (Document 17).

INDIA

11. The Delights of Poetry

The “treasury” of Sanskrit poetry compiled by the eleventh-century Buddhist abbot Vidya-kara includes a selection in praise of poets; the following excerpt from that selection contains some generous accolades for the poetic art.

Vagura was well versed in the path of speech
trod by former master poets.
Yogesvara knew how to make words blossom
when he wrote of the Reva and the Vindhya,
of Pulindra and of Pamara girls,

and of a message carried by the monsoon wind.
 Would you drink elixir with your ear
 or fashion phrases which the wise approve;
 would you reach the height of learning
 or the farther shore of the stream of sentiments;
 would you eat the sweetest fruit that the tree of life can give?
 Then, brother, hear the nectar-dripping speech
 of the poet Rajasekhara...
 These phrases of Murari are like a trough beside a well;
 the well: the nectar of Valmiki's verse,
 deep and delicious from its praise
 of a dynasty so brilliant as was Rama's.
 Out upon those literary styles
 that pain one with exertion!
 Out on fruitless speech, in which does not appear
 the nectareous delight produced by Vallana,
 whose verses are a dancing ground for sentiments of love,
 a moonrise for the high tide of our tears,
 a cause of pride's annihilation
 in all his literary rivals...
 What delights is when the soul of what one says
 appears not in the words themselves
 but in the way the words are put together;
 this, rather than a flavor that is obvious;
 just as a woman's breast excites us
 when but a glimpse of it is seen
 as her silken garment flutters in the wind;
 this, rather than the breast laid bare...
 Your words are such that there is none
 but lies in the common road of thought,
 nor do you take a word in another sense
 than what runs on the highway of our speech.
 How different is the frigidly contrived
 and arbitrary joining of the word and sense
 by which these other cursed poets
 exhaust our minds.
 Supreme stands Kalidasa,
 an ornament for the throats of poets,
 who, having reaped the field of simile
 with the sickle of his mind,
 has left all other poets to glean.
 Kalidasa and the rest were poets,
 poets too are we;
 a mountain and an atom
 are both substances...
 When a special nectar, made up of the workings
 of word and meaning, with its delightful current bathes
 the minds of men of taste, we have true poetry;
 but the finest subtlety therein
 is that which bursts upon our inner sense
 although not designated by the words.
 The words of a good poet

even before one proves their excellence
pour sweetness in the ear.
A jasmine garland
attracts the eye
before one knows its scent...
It took me a long time
to fathom, as it were,
the deep, sweet flood
of Kalidasa's muse...
Valmiki dammed the sea with rocks
put into place by monkeys,
and Vyasa filled it with the arrows shot by Partha;
yet neither is suspected of hyperbole.
On the other hand, I weigh both word and sense
and yet the public sneers and scorns my work.
O reputation, I salute thee!...
No one rides before, no one comes behind
and the path bears no fresh prints.
How now, am I alone? Ah yes, I see:
the path which the ancients opened up by now is overgrown
and the other, that broad and easy road, I've surely left...
Those who scorn me in this world
have doubtless special wisdom,
so my writings are not made for them;
but are rather with the thought that some day will be born,
since time is endless and the world is wide,
one whose nature is the same as mine...
As long as the left side of Siva's body
is graced with woman's breast,
as long as Visnu's arms are busy
in clasping Laksmi's neck;
as long as Brahma's hands keep moving
to the accents of his Vedic hymns:
so long may last the verses of good poets,
sweet potion for the conch shell of the ear!

Source: Reprinted by permission of the publisher from SANSKRIT POETRY FROM VIDYAKARA'S "TREASURY," by Daniel H. H. Ingalls, pp. 314–317, Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, Copyright © 1965, 1968 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

EGYPT

12. The Scribal Profession: Be One!

In the following passage, the unknown author of the Papyrus Lansing, which dates to the Twentieth Dynasty (1190–1077 B.C.), praises the noble pursuits and activities of scribes.

Love writing, shun dancing; then you become a worthy official. Do not long for the marsh thicket. Turn your back on throw stick and chase. By day write with your fingers; recite by night. Befriend the scroll, the palette. It pleases more than wine. Writing for

him who knows it is better than all other professions. It pleases more than bread and beer, more than clothing and ointment. It is worth more than an inheritance in Egypt, than a tomb in the west...

The scribe of the army and commander of the cattle of the houses of Amun, Nebmare-nakht, speaks to the scribe Wenemdianun, as follows: Be a scribe! Your body will be sleek; your hand will be soft. You will not flicker like a flame, like one whose body is feeble. For there is not the bone of a man in you. You are tall and thin. If you lifted a load to carry it, you would stagger, your legs would tremble. You are lacking in strength; you are weak in all your limbs; you are poor in body.

Set your sight on being a scribe; a fine profession that suits you. You call for one; a thousand answer you. You stride freely on the road. You will not be like a hired ox. You are in front of others.

...I instruct... you [to] become one whom the king trusts; to make you gain entrance to treasury and granary. To make you receive the ship-load at the gate of the granary. To make you issue the offerings on feast days. You are dressed in fine clothes; you own horses. Your boat is on the river; you are supplied with attendants. You stride about inspecting. A mansion is built in your town. You have a powerful office, given you by the king. Male and female slaves are about you. Those who are in the fields grasp your hand, on plots that you have made. Look, I make you into a staff of life! Put the writings in your heart, and you will be protected from all kinds of toil. You will become a worthy official.

Do you not recall the (fate of) the unskilled man? His name is not known. He is ever burdened <like an ass carrying> in front of the scribe who knows what he is about.

Writing is more enjoyable than enjoying a basket of... beans; more enjoyable than a mother's giving birth, when her heart knows no distaste. She is constant in nursing her son; her breast is in his mouth every day. Happy is the heart [o]> him who writes; he is young each day.

Source: Lichtheim, Miriam. *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings. Volume II: The New Kingdom.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

GREECE

13. *The Place of Poetry in Plato's Ideal Republic*

In this excerpt from his famous book on the ideal state, The Republic, the Greek philosopher Plato (428–347 B.C.) discusses the role of literature, especially poetry.

“And so, Glaucon,” I continued, “when you meet people who admire Homer as the educator of Greece, and who say that in social and educational matters, we should study him and model our lives on his advice, you must feel kindly towards them as good men within their limits, and you may agree with them that Homer is the best of poets and the first of tragedians. But you will know that the only poetry that should be allowed in a state is hymns to the gods and paeans in praise of good citizens; once you go beyond



Plato, often referred to as one of the greatest philosophers of all time. © (2008) Jupiterimages Corporation.

that and admit the sweet lyric or epic muse, pleasure and pain become your rulers instead of law and the principles commonly accepted as best.”

Source: *Plato: The Republic*. Translated by H.D.P. Lee. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955.

14. A Ciceronian Survey of Greek Historians

In this passage from his treatise on oratory, the first-century B.C. Roman orator Cicero evaluates the Greek writers of history, and notes that none of them ever achieved prominence as orators.

Not one of us Romans seeks after eloquence, except for the purpose of a career as a lawyer and as a public speaker, whereas in Greece, the most eloquent were strangers to forensic advocacy, and applied themselves chiefly to reputable studies in general, and particularly to writing history. Indeed, even of the renowned Herodotus, who first imparted distinction to such work, we have heard that he was in no way concerned with lawsuits, and yet his eloquence is of such quality as to afford intense pleasure, to me at any rate, so far as I can comprehend what is written in Greek.

After his day, Thucydides, in my judgment, easily surpassed all others in dexterity of composition. So abounding is he in fullness of material that in the number of his ideas, he practically equals the number of his words, and furthermore, he is so exact and clear in expression that you cannot tell whether it be the narrative that gains illumination from the style, or the diction from the thought. Yet even of him, although he was a man of public affairs, we are not told that he was numbered among forensic speakers. And it is related that when writing the volumes in question, he was far away from civic life, having in fact been driven into exile, as generally happened at Athens to anyone of excellence.

He was succeeded by Philistus of Syracuse who . . . spent his leisure in writing history and, to my thinking, was above all else an imitator of Thucydides. Afterwards, however, from what I may call that most famous factory of rhetoricians [i.e., Athens], there arose a pair of outstanding talent in Theopompus and Ephorus, who applied themselves to historical writings at the insistence of their teacher, Isocrates. They never handled lawsuits at all.

And at length historians appeared who had begun as philosophers, first Xenophon, that notable follower of Socrates, afterwards Callisthenes, Aristotle’s disciple and Alexander’s friend, the latter approaching the rhetorical school in method, while his predecessor adopted a gentler kind of tone, lacking the characteristic vigor of oratory and

possibly less animated, but in my view, at any rate, somewhat more pleasing. Timaeus, the most recently born of all these, but as well as I can judge, by far the best informed, the most amply endowed in wealth of material and range of thought, and a man whose very style had some polish, brought to authorship abounding eloquence, but no experience of public speaking.

Source: Cicero: *De Oratore*. Volume I. Translated by E. W. Sutton, with revisions by H. Rackham. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1942.

15. An Ancient Style Manual

A (likely) third-century B.C. treatise entitled On Style, by an author named Demetrius, is a manual on the proper writing of prose. In the following excerpt, the author provides examples of good writing from the annals of Greek literature.

We all remember in a special degree, and are stirred by, words that come first and the words that come last, whereas those that come between them have less effect upon us, as though they were obscured or hidden among the others. This is clearly seen in Thucydides, whose verbal dignity is almost in every instance due to the long syllables used in his rhythms. It may indeed be said that, while the stateliness of that writer has many sides, it is this marshalling of words which, alone or chiefly, secures his greatest elevation... Composition makes style impressive in the same way as a rugged word does. Instances of rugged words are “shrieking” in place of “crying,” and “bursting” in place of “charging.” Thucydides uses all expressions of this kind, assimilating the words to the composition, and the composition to the words.

Words should be ordered in the following way. First should be placed those that are not especially vivid; in the second or last place should come those that are distinctly so. In this way, what comes first will strike the ear as vivid, and what follows as more vivid still. Failing this, we shall seem to have lost vigor, and, so to speak, to have lapsed from strength to weakness. An illustration will be found in a passage of Plato: “when a man allows music to play upon him and to flood his soul through his ears.” Here the second expression is far more vivid than the first. And farther on he says: “but when he ceases not to flood it, or even throws a spell over it, thereupon he causes it to melt and waste away.” The word “waste” is more striking than the word “melt,” and approaches more nearly to poetry. If Plato had reversed the order, the verb “melt,” coming later, would have appeared too weak...

Homer impresses his readers greatly by his employment of words resembling inarticulate sounds, and by their novelty above all. He is not making use of existing words, but of words then coming into existence. Moreover, the creation of a fresh word on the model of words already in use is regarded as a kind of poetic gift. As a word maker, Homer seems, in fact, to resemble those who first gave things their names...

Impressiveness may result from verbal repetitions, such as those of Xenophon, who says: “the chariots rushed, some of them right through the ranks of friends, some right

through the ranks of foes.” Such a sentence is far more striking than if Xenophon had put it in this way: “right through the ranks both of friends and foes.”...

When Sappho sings of beauty, she does so in lines that are themselves beautiful and sweet. So too when she sings of love, and springtime, and the halcyon. Every lovely word is interwoven with the texture of her poetry. And some are of her own invention.

Source: *Demetrius: On Style*. Translated by W. Rhys Roberts. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

16. The Frustrations and Rewards of Writing History

In the course of his book on Roman history, the Greek historian Polybius (c. 205–123 B.C.) tries to explain to his readers the difficulties faced by historians as they endeavor to create a work that is both readable and accurate, with due attention paid to chronology.

Now that I have arrived at a place that is suitable both chronologically and historically, I will shift the scene to Asia, and turning to the doings there during this same Olympiad [218 B.C.] will again confine my narrative to that field... I am perfectly aware that at the date I chose for breaking off my narrative of events in Greece, this war [in Asia] was on the point of being decided and coming to an end, but I deliberately resolved to make a break here in this history and open a fresh chapter for the following reasons. I am confident that I have provided my readers with sufficient information to prevent them from going wrong about the dates of particular events by my parallel recapitulations of general history, in which I state in what year of this Olympiad and contemporaneously with what events in Greece each episode elsewhere began and ended. But in order that my narrative may be easy to follow and clear, I think it most essential as regards this Olympiad not to interweave the histories of different countries, but to keep them as separate and distinct as possible until, upon reaching the next and subsequent Olympiads, I can begin to narrate the events of each year in chronological order. Since my plan is to write the history not of certain particular matters, but of what happened all over the world, and indeed... I have undertaken, I may say, a vaster task than any of my predecessors, it is my duty to pay particular attention to the matter of arrangement and treatment, so that both as a whole and in all its details, my work may have the quality of clarity.

I will therefore on the present occasion also go back a little,... to take some generally recognized and accepted starting point for my narrative, the most necessary thing to provide for. For the ancients, saying that the beginning is half of the whole [i.e., the importance of engaging the reader from the outset], advised that in all matters, the greatest care should be taken to make a good beginning. One may indeed confidently affirm that the beginning is not merely half of the whole, but reaches as far as the end.

How is it possible to begin a thing well without having present in one's mind the completion of the project, and without knowing its scope, its relation to other things,

and the object for which one undertakes it? And again, how is it possible to sum up events properly without referring to their beginnings, and understand how and why the final solution was brought about? So we should think that beginnings not only reach half way, but reach to the end, and both writers and readers of a general history should pay the greatest attention to them. And I will attempt to do this.

I am well aware that several other writers make the same boast as I do, that they write general history and have undertaken a vaster task than any predecessor...I will avoid criticizing at length or mentioning by name any of the others, but will simply say this much, that certain writers of my own time, after giving an account of the war between Rome and Carthage in three or four pages, claim that they write universal history [while neglecting important details of that event]...But some of those who write about it, after giving a more superficial sketch of it even than those worthy citizens who jot down occasional scribbles of events on the walls of their houses, claim to have included in their work all events in Greece and abroad. This is because it is a very simple matter to engage by words in the greatest undertakings, but by no means easy to attain actual excellence in anything. Promise, therefore, is open to anyone and is the common property of all, one may say, who have nothing beyond a little audacity, while performance is rare and falls to few in this life.

I have been led into making these remarks by the arrogance of those authors who extol themselves and their own writings, and I will now return to the subject which I proposed to deal with.

Source: Polybius: *The Histories*. Volume III. Translated by W. R. Paton. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1923.

ROME

17. Cicero Argues the Case of the Importance of Literature

One of the best expressions of Roman respect for literature is to be found, oddly enough, in the text of one of Cicero's court cases. In 62 B.C., the famous lawyer and orator defended the claim to Roman citizenship of the Greek poet Archias. In the course of his address to the jury, Cicero paid tribute to the importance of literature and scholarship to the overall strength of any city, including Rome.

You will be no doubt asking me, Gratus [the prosecutor], why I feel such an affection for this man Archias. The answer is that he provides my mind with refreshment after this din of the courts; he soothes my ears to rest when they are wearied by angry disputes. How could I find material, do you suppose, for the speeches I make every day on such a variety of subjects, unless I steeped my mind in learning? How could I endure the constant strains if I could not distract myself from them by this means? Yes, I confess that I am devoted to the study of literature. If people have buried themselves in books, if they have used nothing they have read for the benefit of their fellow citizens, if they have never displayed the fruits of such reading before the public eye, well, let them by

all means be ashamed of the occupation. But why, gentlemen, should I feel any shame? Seeing that not once throughout all these years have I allowed myself to be prevented from helping anyone in the hour of need because I wanted a rest...

I cannot therefore, I submit, be justly rebuked or censured if the time which others spend in advancing their own personal affairs, taking vacations and attending games, indulging in pleasures of various kinds or even enjoying mental relaxation and bodily recreation, the time they spend on protracted parties and gambling and playing ball, proves in my case to have been taken up with returning over and over again to these literary pursuits. And I have all the more right to engage in such studies because they improve my capacity as a speaker; and this, for what it is worth, has unfailingly remained at the disposal of my friends whenever prosecutions have placed them in danger. Even if some may regard my ability as nothing very great, at least I realize the source from which the best part of it has come. For unless I had convinced myself from my earliest years, on the basis of lessons derived from all I had read, that nothing in life is really worth having except moral decency and reputable behavior, and that for their sake, all physical tortures and all perils of death and banishment must be held of little account, I should never have been able to speak up for the safety of you all in so many arduous clashes, or to endure these attacks which dissolute rogues launch against me every day. The whole of literature, philosophy, and history is full of examples which teach this lesson—but which would have been plunged into utter darkness if the written word had not been available to illuminate them. Just think of the number of vividly drawn pictures of valiant men of the past that Greek and Latin writers have preserved for our benefit, not for mere inspection only, but for imitation as well. Throughout my public activities, I have never ceased to keep these great figures before my eyes, and have modeled myself heart and soul on the contemplation of their excellence.

It might be objected that these great men, whose noble deeds have been handed down in the literary record, were not themselves by any means thoroughly well versed in the learning which I praise so highly. Certainly, it would be difficult to make a categorical assertion that they were... Nevertheless, I do also maintain that, when noble and elevated natural gifts are supplemented and shaped by the influence of theoretical knowledge, the result is then something truly remarkable and unique... [Many of the most outstanding individuals in Roman history] would certainly never have spent their time on literary studies if these had not helped them to understand what a better life could be, and how to bring that ideal into effect for themselves.

And yet let us leave aside for a moment any practical advantage that literary studies may bring. For even if their aim were pure enjoyment and nothing else, you would still, I am sure, feel obliged to agree that no other activity of the mind could possibly have such a broadening and enlightening effect. For there is no other occupation on earth which is so appropriate to every time and every age and every place. Reading stimulates the young and diverts the old, increases one's satisfaction when things are going well, and when they are going badly provides refuge and solace. It is a delight in the home; it can be fitted in with public life; throughout the night, on journeys, in the country, it is a companion which never lets me down...



A Roman wallpainting of Cicero speaking to the Senate, by nineteenth-century artist Cesare Maccari. Scala/Art Resource, NY.

We have it on eminent and learned authority that, whereas other arts need to be based upon study and rules and principles, poets depend entirely on their own inborn gifts and are stimulated by some internal force, a sort of divine spark within the depths of their own souls... Even the most barbarous of races never treated the name of poet with disrespect. How imperative, therefore, it is that you yourselves, with all your noble culture should regard it as holy indeed! The very rocks and deserts echo the poet's song. Many is the time when ferocious beasts have been enchanted and arrested in their tracks as these strains come to their ears. Shall we, then, who have been nurtured on everything that is fine, remain unmoved at a poet's voice?...

Archias is a Greek poet. But it would be entirely wrong to suppose that Greek poetry ranks lower than Latin in value. For Greek literature is read in almost every country in the world, whereas Latin is understood only within its own boundaries... Our deeds, it is true, extend to all the regions of the earth. But the effect of this should be to inspire us with the determination that every country where the strong arm of Rome has carried its weapons should also be given an opportunity to learn of our illustrious achievements. For literary commemoration is a most potent factor in enhancing a country's prestige. And to those who risk their lives for the sake of glory, such literature is a vigorous incentive, stimulating them to risk fearful perils and perform noble endeavors.

Source: Cicero's *Pro Archia Poeta*, from *Selected Political Speeches of Cicero*. Translated by Michael Grant. New York: Penguin Books, 1977. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

18. Another Case for Literature

As an architect, Vitruvius (fl. first century B.C.) might not seem to be a likely source when it comes to praising literature, but in Book IX of his treatise on architecture, he does exactly that.

Famous athletes who win victories at Olympia, Corinth, and Nemea, have been assigned such great distinctions by the ancestors of the Greeks that they not only receive praise publicly at the games, as they stand with palm and crown, but also, when they go back victorious to their own people, they ride triumphantly with their four-horse chariots into their native cities, and enjoy a pension for life from the state. When I observe this, I am surprised that similar or even greater distinctions are not granted to those authors who confer infinite benefits to mankind throughout the ages. This is the more worthy of note, in that while athletes make their own bodies stronger, authors not only cultivate their own perceptions, but by the information in their books, they prepare the minds of all to acquire knowledge, and thus stimulate their talents.

In what respect could Milo of Croton benefit mankind because he was undefeated [in Olympic wrestling] or others who won victories of the same kind, except that in their lifetime they enjoyed fame among their fellow citizens? But the daily teachings of Pythagoras, Democritus, Plato, Aristotle and other thinkers, elaborated as they were by unbroken application, furnish ever-fresh and flowering harvests, not only to their fellow citizens, but also to all mankind. Those who from the earliest years are fulfilled with an abundance of knowledge acquire the best habits of thought, institute civilized manners, equal rights, laws without which no state can be secure. Since, therefore, such advantages have been conferred upon individuals and communities by wise writers, not only do I think that palms and crowns should be awarded to them, but that triumphs also should be decreed and that they should be canonized in the mansions of the gods.

Source: *Vitruvius: On Architecture*. Volume II. Translated by Frank Granger. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

Health and Medicine

In some ways, ancient ideas about health and medicine seem startlingly modern, and, in other ways, hopelessly naïve. The documents in this section offer a mixture of both kinds of attitudes.

Perhaps the most famous medical writing from ancient times is the physician's code of ethics, the Hippocratic Oath (Document 23). Hippocrates and his associates gathered data from many case studies (Document 24) as they strove to enlarge their understanding of disease and how to treat it. In a similar vein, the *Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* from ancient Egypt, the earliest known scientific document in the history of the Western world, reads like a millennia-old medical textbook (Document 22). Other Egyptian medical practices, including the prohibition of payments of fees by patients

to their physicians (who received their financial support from the government) are recounted in Document 21. Several clauses in the Code of Hammurabi (Document 19) specify penalties for medical malpractice.

The classic Chinese view of medicine, or of the entire universe for that matter, was the principle of Yin and Yang, co-existing opposite forces of nature. The way in which this principle applied to medicine is described in the *Yellow Emperor's Classic of Medicine* (Document 20).

Most terrifying of all may have been the contagious plagues for which there was neither known cause nor effective treatment. One such plague swept through Athens at the outset of the Peloponnesian War around 430 B.C. (Document 26). Less lethal, but still bothersome, was the common cold, manifested by coughing spells. Cures are suggested in Document 29. In some cases, gold may have had curative properties (Document 30). Or, a patient might hope for a miraculous healing (Document 25).

The hypochondriacal Roman emperor *Augustus* (63 B.C.-14 A.D.) suffered throughout his life from various nagging illnesses, but still managed to live to the age of 76 (Document 31). Perhaps he drank too much water from lead cups or jugs, or water that had flowed into his residences through lead pipes. Interestingly, the Romans knew of the dangerous properties of lead, as the architect Vitruvius explains in Document 32. The best way, then as now, to avoid illness is to maintain a healthy lifestyle, as suggested by the Roman medical writer Celsus, author of a history of medicine (Documents 27 and 28).

SUMERIA

19. Medical Strictures from the Code of Hammurabi

The following clauses from the eighteenth-century B.C. Code of Hammurabi pertain to medical practice, and, in some cases, malpractice.

215. If a physician makes a large incision with an operating knife and cures it, or if he opens a tumor [over the eye] with an operating knife, and saves the eye, he shall receive ten shekels in money.

216. If the patient is a freed man, he receives five shekels.

217. If he is the slave of someone, his owner shall give the physician two shekels.

218. If a physician makes a large incision with the operating knife, and kills the patient, or opens a tumor with the operating knife, and cuts out the eye, his hands shall be cut off.

219. If a physician makes a large incision in the slave of a freed man, and kills him, he shall replace the slave with another slave.

220. If he had opened a tumor with the operating knife, and put out his eye, he shall pay half his value.

Source: *The Code of Hammurabi*. Translated by L. W. King. The Avalon Project at Yale Law School: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/medieval/hamcode.htm>.

CHINA

20. The Principle of Yin and Yang

The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Medicine serves as the basis for medical knowledge and practice in ancient China. Authorship is unknown. Tradition states that the document was written in the third millennium B.C. by a legendary figure known only as the Yellow Emperor. Although it may have had its origins in the earliest days of ancient China, the work probably appeared in written form no earlier than the Han Dynasty (c. 206 B.C.—A.D. 220).

The Yellow Emperor said: "The principle of Yin and Yang is the foundation of the entire universe. It underlies everything in creation. It brings about the development of parenthood; it is the root and source of life and death; it is found within the temples of the gods. In order to treat and cure diseases, one must search for their origins.

"Heaven was created by the concentration of Yang, the force of light; Earth was created by Yin, the force of darkness. Yang stands for peace and serenity; Yin stands for confusion and turmoil. Yang stands for destruction; Yin stands for conservation. Yang brings about disintegration; Yin gives shape to things...

"The pure and lucid element of light is manifested in the upper orifices, and the turbid element of darkness is manifested in the lower orifices. Yang, the element of light, originates in the pores. Yin, the element of darkness, moves within the five viscera. Yang, the lucid force of light, truly is represented by the four extremities; and Yin, the turbid force of darkness, stores the power of the six treasures of nature. Water is an embodiment of Yin, as fire is an embodiment of Yang. Yang creates the air, while Yin creates the senses, which belong to the physical body. When the physical body dies, the spirit is restored to the air, its natural environment. The spirit receives its nourishment through the air, and the body receives its nourishment through the senses...

"If Yang is overly powerful, then Yin may be too weak. If Yin is particularly strong, then Yang is apt to be defective. If the male force is overwhelming, then there will be excessive heat. If the female force is overwhelming, then there will be excessive cold. Exposure to repeated and severe cold will lead to fever. Exposure to repeated and severe heat will induce chills. Cold injures the body, while heat injures the spirit. When the spirit is hurt, severe pain will ensue. When the body is hurt, there will be swelling. Thus, when severe pain occurs first and swelling comes on later, one may infer that a disharmony in the spirit has done harm to the body. Likewise, when swelling appears first and severe pain is felt later on, one can say that a dysfunction in the body has injured the spirit... Yin and Yang should be respected to an equal extent..."

The Yellow Emperor asked: "Is there any alternative to the law of Yin and Yang?"

Ch'i Po answered: "When Yang is the stronger, the body is hot, the pores are closed, and people begin to pant. They become boisterous and coarse and do not perspire. They become feverish, their mouths are dry and sore, their stomachs feel tight, and they die of constipation. When Yang is the stronger, people can endure winter, but not summer. When Yin is the stronger, the body is cold and covered with perspiration. People realize they are ill; they tremble and feel chilly. When they feel chilled, their spirits become rebellious. Their stomachs can no longer digest food and they die. When Yin

is the stronger, people can endure summer but not winter. Thus Yin and Yang alternate. Their ebbs and surges vary, and so does the character of their diseases.” . . .

The Yellow Emperor asked: “Can anything be done to harmonize and adjust these two principles of nature?”

Ch’i Po answered: “If one has the ability to know the seven injuries and the eight advantages, one can bring the two principles into harmony. If one does not know how to use this knowledge, his life will be doomed to early decay. By the age of 40, the Yin force in the body has been reduced to one-half of its natural vigor, and an individual’s youthful prowess has deteriorated. By the age of 50, the body has grown heavy. The ears no longer hear well. The eyes no longer see clearly. By the age of 60, the life-producing power of Yin has declined to a very low level . . .

“Those who seek wisdom beyond the natural limits will retain good hearing and clear vision. Their bodies will remain light and strong. Although they grow old in years, they will stay able-bodied and vigorous and be capable of governing to great advantage. For this reason the ancient sages did not rush into the affairs of the world. In their pleasures and joys, they were dignified and tranquil. They did what they thought best and did not bend their will or ambition to the achievement of empty ends. Thus their allotted span of life was without limit, like that of Heaven and Earth. This is the way the ancient sages controlled and conducted themselves . . .

“By observing myself, I learn about others, and their diseases become apparent to me. By observing the external symptoms, I gather knowledge about the internal diseases. One should watch for things out of the ordinary. One should observe minute and trifling things, and treat them as if they were big and important. When they are treated, the danger they pose will be dissipated. Experts in examining patients judge their general appearance; they feel their pulse and determine whether it is Yin or Yang that causes the disease . . . To determine whether Yin or Yang predominates, one must be able to distinguish a light pulse of low tension from a hard, pounding one. With a disease of Yang, Yin predominates. With a disease of Yin, Yang predominates. When one is filled with vigor and strength, Yin and Yang are in proper harmony.”

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EGYPT

21. Egyptian Medical Practices

The first-century B.C. Greek historian Diodorus Siculus describes Egyptian medical practices in the following excerpt from his writings.

In order to prevent sicknesses, [the Egyptians] look after the health of their bodies by means of drenches, fastings, and emetics, sometimes every day and sometimes at intervals of three or four days. They say that the larger part of the food taken into the body is superfluous, and it is from this superfluous part that diseases arise. Consequently,

the treatment just mentioned, by removing the beginnings of disease, would be most likely to produce health.

On their military campaigns and their journeys in the country, they all receive treatment without the payment of any private fee, because the physicians' salaries come from public funds, and they administer their treatments in accordance with a written law which was composed in ancient times by many famous physicians. If they follow the rules of this law as they read them in the sacred book and yet are unable to save their patient, they are absolved from any charge and go unpunished. However, if they go contrary to the law's prescriptions in any respect, they must submit to a trial, with death as the penalty, the lawgiver believing that few physicians would ever show themselves wiser than the method of treatment which had been closely followed for a long period and had been originally prescribed by the ablest practitioners.

Source: *Diodorus of Sicily*. Volume I. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1933.

22. Treatments for Fractured Skulls and Broken Collarbones

The earliest known scientific document in the history of the Western world is the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, written sometime during the Old Kingdom in Egypt. The following excerpts from the Papyrus deal with treating head wounds and broken clavicles.

Case 1: A wound in the head penetrating to the bone.

Examination: If you examine a man having a wound in his head, penetrating to the bone of his skull, but not having a gash, you should palpate the wound. Should you find his skull uninjured, not having a perforation, a split, or a smash in it:

Diagnosis: You should say regarding him: "One having a wound in his head, while his wound does not have two lips [...] nor a gash, although it penetrates to the bone of his head. An ailment which I will treat."

Treatment: You should bind it with fresh meat the first day and treat afterward with grease, honey, and lint every day until he recovers...

Case 4: A gaping wound in the head penetrating to the bone and splitting the skull.

Examination: If you examine a man having a gaping wound in his head, penetrating to the bone, and splitting his skull, you should palpate his wound. Should you find something disturbing therein under your fingers, and he shudders exceedingly, while the swelling which is over it protrudes, he discharges blood from both his nostrils and from both his ears, he suffers with stiffness in his neck, so that he is unable to look at his two shoulders and his chest:

Diagnosis: You should say regarding him: "One having a gaping wound in his head, penetrating to the bone, and splitting his skull; while he discharges blood from both his nostrils and from both his ears, and he suffers with stiffness in his neck. An ailment with which I will contend."

Treatment: When you find that the skull of that man is split, you should not bind him, but moor him at his mooring stakes [i.e., put him on his customary diet] until the

period of his injury passes by. His treatment is sitting. Make for him two supports of brick, until you know he has reached a decisive point. You should apply grease to his head, and soften his neck and both his shoulders. You should do likewise for every man whom you find having a split skull...

Case 35: A fracture of the clavicle.

Examination: If you examine a man having a break in his collarbone, and you should find his collarbone short and separated from its fellow:

Diagnosis: You should say concerning him: "One having a break in his collarbone. An ailment which I will treat."

Treatment: You should place him prostrate on his back, with something folded between his two shoulder blades. You should spread out with his two shoulders in order to stretch apart his collarbone until that break falls into its place. You should make for him two splints of linen, and you should apply one of them both on the inside of his upper arm and the other on the under side of his upper arm. You should bind it... and treat it afterward with honey every day, until he recovers.

Source: *Readings in Ancient History From Gilgamesh to Diocletian*. Bailkey, Nels, *Readings in Ancient History*. Copyright © 1969 by Houghton Mifflin Company. Reprinted with permission.

GREECE

23. The Hippocratic Oath

Widely believed to have been written by the Greek physician Hippocrates in the fourth century B.C., the Hippocratic Oath, the oath traditionally taken by physicians as a promise of ethical practice, is perhaps the most renowned medical document from the ancient world.

I swear by Apollo Physician, by Asclepius, by Health, by Panacea and by all the gods and goddesses, making them my witnesses, that I will carry out, according to my ability and judgment, this oath and this indenture. To hold my teacher in this art equal to my own parents; to make him partner in my livelihood; when he is in need of money, to share mine with him; to consider his family as my own brothers, and to teach them this art, if they want to learn it, without fee or indenture; to impart precept, oral instruction, and all other instruction to my own sons, the sons of my teacher, and to indentured pupils who have taken the physician's oath, but to nobody else. I will use treatment to help the sick according to my ability and judgment, but never with a view to injury and wrongdoing. Neither will I administer a poison to anybody when asked to do so, nor will I suggest such a course. Similarly, I will not give to a woman a device to cause abortion. But I will keep pure and holy both my life and my art. I will not use the knife, not even on sufferers from stone, but I will give place to such as are craftsmen therein. Into whatever houses I enter, I will enter to help the sick, and I will abstain from all intentional wrongdoing and harm, especially from abusing the bodies of man or woman, slave or free. And whatever I will see or hear in the course of my profession, as well as outside my profession in my dealings with others, if it be what should not be disseminated, I will never divulge, holding such things to be holy secrets. Now if I carry out this oath, and

do not break it, may I gain forever a reputation from all others for my life and for my art; but if I transgress it and break my oath, may the opposite befall me.

Some additional excerpts from the Hippocratic corpus:

And I believe that of all the powers, none hold less sway in the body than cold and heat. My reasons are these. So long as the hot and cold in the body are mixed up together, they cause no pain. For the hot is tempered and moderated by the cold, and the cold by the hot. But when either is entirely separated from the other, then it causes pain. And at that season, when cold comes upon a man and causes him some pain, for that very reason internal heat first is present quickly and spontaneously, without needing any help or preparation. The result is the same, whether the patient is diseased or in good health. For instance, if a man in health will cool his body in winter, either by a cold bath, or in any other way, the more he cools it (provided that his body is not entirely frozen) the more he becomes hotter than before when he puts his clothes on and enters his shelter. Again, if he will make himself thoroughly hot by means of either a hot bath or a large fire, and afterwards wear the same clothes and stay in the same place as he did when chilled, he feels far colder and besides more shivery than before. Or if a man fans himself because of the stifling heat and makes coolness for himself, on ceasing to do this in this way, he will feel ten times the stifling heat felt by one who does nothing of the sort.

Now the following is much stronger evidence still. All who go afoot through snow or great cold, and become over-chilled in feet, hands or head, suffer at night very severely from burning and tingling when they come into a warm place and wrap up. In some cases, blisters arise like those caused by burning in fire. But it is not until they are warmed that they experience these symptoms. So ready is cold to pass into heat, and heat into cold. I could give a multitude of other proofs. But in the case of sick people, is it not those who have suffered from shivering in whom breaks out the most acute fever? And not only is it not powerful, but after awhile does it not subside, generally without doing harm all the time it remains, hot as it is? And passing through all the body it ends in most cases in the feet, where the shivering and chill were the most violent and lasted unusually long. Again, when the fever disappears with the breaking out of the perspiration, it cools the patient, so that he is far colder than if he had never been attacked at all. What important or serious consequence, therefore, could come from that thing on which quickly supervenes in this way its exact opposite, spontaneously annulling its effect? Or what need has it of elaborate treatment?

Source: *Hippocrates*. Translated by W.H.S. Jones. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1923.

24. Case Studies from the Writings of Hippocrates

This section of the work entitled Epidemics by the fourth-century B.C. Greek physician Hippocrates contains a number of case studies.

Book I, Case 10. The man of Clazomenae, who lay sick by the well of Phrynichides, was seized with fever. Pain at the beginning in head, neck, and loins, followed

immediately by deafness. No sleep; seized with acute fever; hypochondrium swollen, but not very much; distension; tongue dry.

Fourth day. Delirium at night.

Fifth day. Painful.

Sixth day. All symptoms exacerbated.

About the eleventh day, slight improvement. From the beginning to the fourteenth day, there were from the bowels thin discharges, copious, of a watery biliousness; they were well supported by the patient. Then the bowels were constipated. Urine throughout thin, but of good color. It had much cloud spread through it, which did not settle in a sediment. About the sixteenth day, the urine was a little thicker, and had a slight sediment. The patient became a little easier, and was more rational.

Seventeenth day. Urine thin again; painful swelling by both ears. No sleep; wandering; pain in the legs.

Twentieth day. A crisis left the patient free from fever; no sweating; quite rational. About the twenty-seventh day, violent pain in the right hip, which quickly ceased. The swellings by the ears neither subsided nor suppurated, but continued painful. About the thirty-first day, diarrhea with copious, watery discharges and signs of dysentery. Urine thick; the swellings by the ears subsided.

Fortieth day. Pain in the right eye; sight rather impaired; recovery.

Book III, Case 10. In Abdera, Nicodemus after sexual indulgence and drunkenness was seized with fever. At the beginning, he had nausea and heart pain; thirst; tongue parched; urine thin and black.

Second day. The fever increased; shivering; nausea; no sleep; bilious yellow vomits; urine the same; a quiet night; sleep.

Third day. All symptoms less severe; relief. But about sunset, he was again somewhat uncomfortable; painful night.

Fourth day. Rigor; much fever; pains everywhere; urine thin, with floating substance in it; the night, on the other hand, was quiet.

Fifth day. All symptoms present, but relieved.

Sixth day. Same pains everywhere; substance floating in urine; much delirium.

Seventh day. Relief.

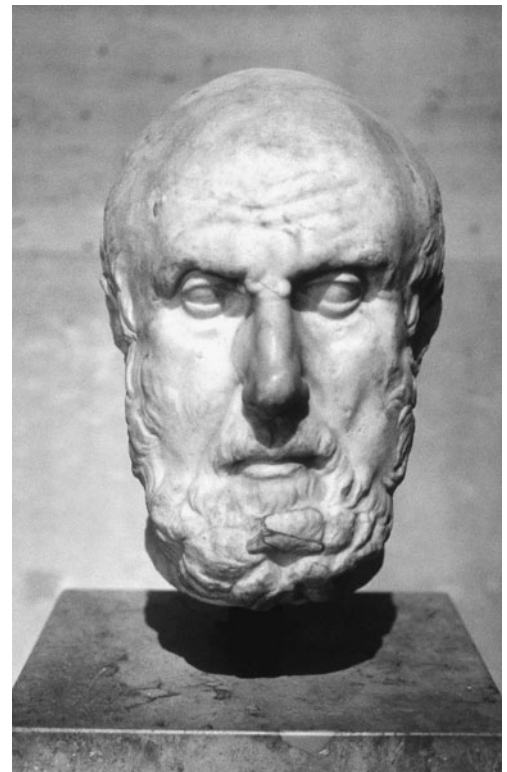
Eighth day. All the other symptoms less severe.

Tenth day and following days. The pains were present, but all less severe. The exacerbations and the pains in the case of this patient tended throughout to occur on the even days.

Twentieth day. Urine white, having consistency; no sediment on standing. Copious sweating; seemed to lose his fever, but towards evening, grew hot again, with pains in the same parts; shivering; thirst; slight delirium.

Twenty-fourth day. Much white urine, with much sediment. Hot sweating all over; the fever passed away in a crisis.

Source: *Hippocrates*. Translated by W.H.S. Jones. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1923.



Hippocrates, the “father of medicine,” in recognition of his lasting contributions to the field, as the founder of the Hippocratic school of medicine. © (2008) Jupiterimages Corporation.

25. A Miraculous Healing

Construction accidents were probably fairly common in the ancient world. In the following passage, the Greek biographer Plutarch relates a story about the miraculous recovery of a worker who took a nasty spill during the construction of the Propylaea (gates to the Athenian Acropolis) in the fifth century B.C.

The Propylaea, or portals of the Acropolis, of which Mnesicles was the architect, were finished in the space of five years. While they were being built, a miraculous incident took place, which suggested that the goddess Athena herself, so far from standing aloof, was taking a hand and helping to complete the work. One of the workmen, the most active and energetic among them, slipped and fell from a great height.

He lay for some time severely injured, and the doctors could hold out no hope that he would recover. Pericles was greatly distressed at this, but the goddess appeared to him in a dream and ordered a course of treatment, which he applied, with the result that the man was easily and quickly healed. It was to commemorate this that Pericles set up the bronze statue of Athena the Healer near the altar dedicated to that goddess.

Source: *The Rise and Fall of Athens: Nine Greek Lives* by Plutarch. Translated by Ian Scott-Kilvert. New York: Penguin Books, 1960. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

26. The Great Plague of Athens

In the early days of the Peloponnesian War (c. 430 B.C.), a deadly plague swept through Athens; its cause and cure were unknown. One of its victims was the famous orator and statesman Pericles. The Greek historian Thucydides, in this excerpt from his history of the war, describes the symptoms of the disease.

There seemed to be no reason for the attacks. People in perfect health suddenly began to have burning feelings in the head. Their eyes became red and inflamed; inside their mouths, there was bleeding from the throat and tongue, and the breath became unnatural and unpleasant. The next symptoms were sneezing and hoarseness of voice, and before long the pain settled on the chest and was accompanied by coughing. Next the stomach was affected with stomach aches and with vomitings of every kind of bile that has been given a name by the medical profession . . . In most cases, there were attacks of ineffectual retching, producing violent spasms . . . Inside there was a feeling of burning, so that people could not bear the touch even of the lightest linen clothing, but wanted to be completely naked, and indeed most of all would have liked to plunge into cold water. Many of the sick who were uncared for actually did so, plunging into the water tanks in an effort to relieve a thirst which was unquenchable, for it was just the same with them whether they drank much or little. Then all the time they were afflicted with insomnia, and the desperate feeling of not being able to keep still.

Source: *History of the Peloponnesian War* by Thucydides, translated by Rex Warner, with an introduction and notes by M. I. Finley. Penguin Classics 1954, revised edition 1972. Translation copyright © Rex Warner, 1954. Introduction and Appendices copyright © M. I. Finley, 1972. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd. and Curtis Brown Group, Ltd., London, on behalf of the Estate of Rex Brown.

ROME

27. A History of Ancient Medicine

The name most often associated with the history and practice of medicine in ancient Rome is Celsus, to whom the work On Medicine is attributed. Little is known of his life; he may have been born around 25 B.C. In this passage from the introductory section of his work, Celsus provides a long explication of the history of ancient medicine.

Just as agriculture promises nourishment to healthy bodies, so does the Art of Medicine promise health to the sick. Nowhere is this Art lacking, for the most uncivilized nations have had knowledge of herbs, and other things to hand for the aiding of wounds and diseases. This Art, however, has been cultivated among the Greeks much more than in other nations—not, however, even among them from their first beginnings, but only for a few generations before ours. Hence, Aesculapius is celebrated as the most ancient authority, and because he cultivated this science, as yet rude and vulgar, with a little more than common refinement, he was numbered among the gods. After him, his two sons, Podalirius and Machaon, . . . gave no inconsiderable help to their comrades [in the Trojan War]. Homer stated, however, not that they gave any aid in the pestilence or in the various sorts of diseases, but only that they relieved wounds by the knife and by medicaments. Hence it appears that by them those parts only of the Art were attempted, and that they were the oldest. From the same author, it can be learned that diseases were then ascribed to the anger of the immortal gods, and from them, help used to be sought. And it is probable that with no aids against bad health, nonetheless health was generally good because of good habits, which neither indolence more luxury had vitiated, since it is these two which have afflicted the bodies of human beings, first in Greece, and later among us. And hence this complex Art of Medicine, not needed in former times, nor among other nations even now, scarcely protracts the lives of a few of us to the verge of old age . . .

At first, the science of healing was held to be a part of philosophy, so that treatment of disease and contemplation of the nature of things began through the same authorities . . . Hence, we find that many who professed philosophy became expert in medicine, the most famous being Pythagoras, Empedocles and Democritus. But it was, as some believe, a student of the last, Hippocrates of Cos, a man first and foremost worthy to be remembered, notable both for professional skill and for eloquence, who separated this branch of learning from the study of philosophy.

Source: Celsus: *De Medicina*. Translated by W. G. Spencer. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1935.

28. Health Maintenance

In this excerpt from Book I of On Medicine, the Roman physician Celsus offers some thoughts about how to maintain good health.

A person in health, who is both vigorous and his own master, should be under no obligatory rules, and have no need, either for a medical attendant, or for a rubber and

anointer. His kind of life should afford him variety; he should sometimes be in the country, sometimes in town, and more often on the farm. He should sail, hunt, rest sometimes, but more often exercise. For while inaction weakens the body, work strengthens it; the former brings on premature old age, whereas the latter prolongs youth.

It is well also at times to go to the bath, and at times to make use of cold waters; to sometimes undergo anointment with oils, sometimes to neglect that same; to avoid no kind of food in common use; to attend at times a banquet, and at other times to avoid banquets; to eat more than sufficient at one time, at another, no more; to eat food twice rather than once a day, and always as much as one wants, provided one digests it...

People in poor health, however, among whom are a large portion of townspeople, and almost all those who are fond of reading and studying, need to take greater precautions, so that a health care regimen may re-establish what the character of their constitution or of their study detracts. Anyone, therefore, of these who has digested well may safely arise early; if too little, he must go to sleep again; he who has not digested, should lie up altogether, and neither work, nor exercise, nor attend to business...

He should also live in a house that is light and airy in summer, sunny in winter, and avoid the midday sun, the morning and evening chill, and also exhalations from rivers and marshes. And he should not often go outside when the sky is cloudy but when the sun may break through... lest he should be affected alternately by cold and heat...

On waking, one should lie still for while, then, except in the winter, bathe the face freely with cold water. When the days are long, a nap should be taken before the midday meal, when short, after it. In winter, it is best to rest in bed the whole night long. If there must be study by lamplight, it should not be done immediately after eating, but after digestion. He who has been engaged in business affairs during the day... ought to reserve some portion of the day for the care of the body. The primary care in this respect is exercise, which should always precede eating...

Useful exercises are: reading aloud, drill, handball, running, walking. But walking is not by any means most useful on the level, since walking up and down hills varies the movement of the body... It is better to walk in the open air rather than under cover, better, when the head allows it, in the sun than in the shade, better under the shade of a wall or of trees than under a roof; better a straight than a winding walk. But the exercise ought to come to an end with sweating, or at any rate fatigue, which should be well this side of exhaustion... The proper sequel to exercise is: at times an anointing, whether in the sun or in front of a fire; at times a bath, which should be in a chamber as lofty, well lighted, and spacious as possible... There is need of a short rest afterwards.

Source: *Celsus: De Medicina*. Translated by W. G. Spencer. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1935.

29. Cures for the Common Cough

In this passage from Book IV of On Medicine, the Roman physician Celsus suggests some cures for coughing.

Coughing is generally caused by ulceration of the throat. This is incurred in many ways, and so, when the throat is healed, the cough is ended. Nevertheless, at times cough is a trouble by itself, and when it has become chronic, is difficult to get rid of. Sometimes the cough is dry, sometimes it excites phlegm. Hyssop should be taken every other day; the patient should run while holding the breath, but not where there is dust. He should practice reading loudly, which may at first be impeded by the cough, but later overcomes it. Next, walking, and then manual exercises also, and the chest should be rubbed for a long while. After such exercises, he should eat three ounces of very juicy figs, cooked over charcoal. Besides the above, when the cough is moist, smart rubbings with some kind of heating substance are good, provided that the head, too, is briskly rubbed when dry. In addition, cups are applied to the chest, mustard put on the outside over the throat until there is slight excoriation, and a drink taken, composed of mint, almonds, and starch. First of all, dry bread should be eaten, and then any kind of bland food. But if the cough is dry and very troublesome, it is relieved by taking a cup of dry wine, provided that this is done only three or four times at rather long intervals. Further, there is need to swallow a little of the best laser [gum resin], to take juice of leeks or horehound, to such a squill, to sip vinegar of squills, or at any rate sharp vinegar, or two cupfuls of wine with a bruised clove of garlic. In every case of cough, it is useful to travel, take a long sea voyage, live at the seaside, swim, sometimes to eat bland food, such as mallows or nettle-tops, sometimes bitter food; milk cooked with garlic; gruels to which laser has been added, or in which leeks have been boiled to pieces; a raw egg to which sulphur has been added; at first warm water to drink, then, in turn, one day water, the next day wine.

Source: *Celsus: De Medicina*. Translated by W. G. Spencer. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1935.

30. *The Medicinal Properties of Gold*

Gold is generally not thought of in terms of its usefulness as a cure for various physical ailments, but in this excerpt the first-century A.D. Roman writer Pliny the Elder offers some examples to the contrary.

Gold is effective as a remedy in a variety of ways, and is used as an amulet for wounded people and for infants, to render less harmful poisonous charms that may be directed against them. . . . As a remedy, it is smeared on, then washed off and sprinkled on the persons you wish to cure. Gold is also heated twice its weight of salt, and three times its weight of copper pyrites, and again with two portions of salt and one of the stone they call *schiston*, “splitable.” Treated in this way, it draws poison out; when the other substances have been burned up with it in an earthenware crucible, it remains pure and uncorrupted itself. The ash remaining is kept in an earthenware jar, and eruptions on the face may well be cleansed away by being smeared with this lotion from the jar. It also cures fistulas and . . . hemorrhoids. With the addition of ground pumice stone, it relieves putrid and foul smelling sores, while boiled down in honey and git [member of

the buttercup family], and applied as a liniment to the navel, it acts as a mild laxative. According to Marcus Varro, gold is a cure for warts.

Source: *Pliny: Natural History*. Volume IX. Translated by H. Rackham. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1952.

31. *The Ills of the Emperor Augustus*

The Roman emperor Augustus (63 B.C.-A.D. 14), who may have been a borderline hypochondriac, suffered from a number of ailments, as the biographer Suetonius (A.D. c. 70–c. 140) relates in this excerpt from his biography of the emperor.

He was not very strong in his left hip, thigh and leg, and even limped slightly at times. But he strengthened them by treatment with sand and reeds [apparently some sort of topical application]. He sometimes found the forefinger of his right hand so weak, when it was numb and shrunken with the cold, that he could hardly use it for writing... He complained of his bladder, too, and was relieved of the pain only after passing stones in his urine.

In the course of his life, he suffered from several severe and dangerous illnesses, especially after the subjugation of Cantabria [23 B.C.], when he was in such a desperate plight from abscesses of the liver that he was forced to submit to an unprecedented and hazardous course of treatment. Since hot fomentations gave him no relief, he was led by the advice of his physician, Antonius Musa, to try cold ones. He also experienced some disorders which recurred every year at definite times. He was commonly ailing just before his birthday, and at the beginning of spring, he was troubled with an enlargement of the diaphragm, and when the wind was from the south, with catarrh. Hence, his constitution was so weakened that he could not readily endure either cold or heat.

Source: *Suetonius*. Volume I. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1913.

32. *Don't Drink the Water (If It Comes Via Lead Pipes)*

The ancient Romans knew that lead water pipes and drinking cups could be dangerous to one's health, as the first-century B.C. architect Vitruvius points out in this excerpt from his writings.

Water supplied by earthenware pipes has these advantages. First, if any fault occurs in the work, anybody can repair it. Also, water is much more wholesome from earthenware pipes than from lead pipes. It seems to be made injurious by lead, because white lead is produced by it, and this is said to be harmful to the human body. Thus, if what is produced by anything is injurious, it is not doubtful that the thing is not wholesome in itself.

We can take examples by the workers in lead who have complexions affected by pallor. For when, in casting, the lead receives the current of air, the fumes from it occupy the members of the body, and burning them, rob the limbs of the virtues of the blood. Therefore, it seems that water should not be brought in lead pipes if we desire to have it healthy for drinking. Our daily meals may show that the flavor from earthenware pipes is better, because everybody, even when they pile up their dining tables with silver vessels, for all that, uses earthenware to preserve the flavor of water.

Source: *Vitruvius: On Architecture*. Volume II. Translated by Frank Granger. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

Oratory

Well-honed oratorical skills were a *sine qua non* for ancient political, military, and religious leaders, just as for their counterparts in the modern world, whether in public settings (Document 33), or in the courtroom (Document 34). Accomplished Greek orators like *Pericles* and *Demosthenes* obviously understood the keys to oratorical success (Document 35), but philosophers too, like *Socrates*, could expound upon the essentials of effective oratory (Document 36). It is not surprising that the name of Demosthenes often surfaces when the subject of Greek oratory is discussed (Document 38), nor is it unusual for his name to be linked to the greatest Roman orator, Cicero (Document 37). Cicero wrote several detailed treatises about the art of oratory (Document 40), and yet the entire subject could be summed up in just a few words: “instruct, delight, and move,” the orator’s three goals (Document 42).

ISRAEL

33. Moses Uses the Power of Oratory to Avoid a Stoning

When Moses led the Jewish people out of bondage in Egypt, the journey turned out to be long and difficult, with many hardships. At one point, the Israelites were so incensed with their condition, and what they viewed as Moses’s failure of leadership, that they were ready to stone him. It took all of Moses’s powers of oratory to prevent that from happening, as the first-century A.D. Jewish historian Josephus relates in this passage from his book Jewish Antiquities.

They viewed their general [Moses] with indignation and were eager to stone him, as the man answerable for their instant distress.

But he, before this mob so excited and embittered against him, confident in God and in the consciousness of his own care for his countrymen, advanced into their midst and, as they clamored upon him and still held the stones in their hands, he, with that winning presence of his and that extraordinary influence in addressing a crowd, began to pacify their wrath. He exhorted them not, with present discomforts engrossing all their thoughts, to forget the benefits of the past, nor because they suffered now to banish

from their minds the favors and bounties, so great and unlooked for, which they had received from God. Rather, they ought to expect relief also from their present straits to come from God's solicitude, for it was probably to test their manhood, to see what fortitude they possessed, what memory of past services, and whether their thoughts would not revert to those services because of the troubles now in their path, that He was testing them with these trials of the moment. But now they were convicted of failure, both in endurance and in recollection of benefits received, by showing at once such contempt of God and of His purpose, in accordance with which they had left Egypt, and such demeanor towards himself, God's minister, although he had never proved false to them in anything that he had said, or in any order that he had given them at God's command.

He then enumerated everything, how the Egyptians had been destroyed in attempting to detain them by force in opposition to the will of God, how the same river had for those become bloody and undrinkable while remaining for themselves drinkable and sweet, how through the waters of the sea retiring far before them they had departed by a new road, finding in it salvation for themselves while seeing their enemies perish, how, when they lacked arms, God had abundantly provided them even with these. He further recounted all the other occasions on which, when they seemed on the verge of destruction, God had delivered them by ways unlooked for, such as lay within His power.

So they should not despair even now of His providence, but should await it without anger, not thinking that His help was late in coming, even if it did not come immediately and before they had some experience of discomfort, but rather believing that it was not from negligence that God delayed in this way, but to test their manhood and their delight in liberty... He added that, if he feared anything, it was not so much for his own safety—for it would be no misfortune to him to be unjustly done to death—as for them, lest in flinging those stones at him they should be thought to be pronouncing sentence upon God. Thus he calmed them, restraining that impulse to stone him, and moving them to repent of their intended action.

Source: *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities*. Volume IV. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1930.

EGYPT

34. Courtroom Oratory

The maxims of the twenty-fourth-century B.C. vizier Ptah-hotep provide advice and information about a wide variety of topics. In the following excerpt, the vizier advises his son, Ptah-hotep the Younger, on courtroom oratory.

The beginning of the wise maxims spoken by... the Vizier Ptahhotep, to teach the ignorant about knowledge and about the principles of good conduct, things such as are profitable to him who will listen, but a source of sorrow to him who disregards them. Thus he spoke to his son, Ptahhotep the Younger:

Do not be haughty because of your knowledge
But take counsel with the unlearned man as well as with the learned,

For no one has ever attained perfection of competence,
 And there is no craftsman who has acquired (full) mastery.
 Good advice is rarer than emeralds,
 But yet it may be found even among women at the grindstones.
 If you come up against an aggressive adversary (in court),
 One who has influence and is more excellent than you,
 Lower your arms and bend your back,
 For if you stand up to him, he will not give in to you.
 By not opposing him in his vehemence.
 The result will be that he will be called boorish,
 And your control of temper will have equaled his babble.
 If you come up against an aggressive adversary,
 Your equal, one who is of your own social standing,
 You will prove yourself more upright than he by remaining silent,
 While he speaks vengefully.
 The deliberation by the judges will be somber,
 But your name will be vindicated in the decision of the magistrates.
 If you come up against an aggressive adversary,
 A man of low standing, one who is not your equal,
 Do not assail him in accordance with his lowly estate.
 Leave him be, and he will confound himself.
 Do not answer him in order to vent your frustration.
 Do not alleviate your anger at the expense of your adversary.
 Wretched is he who persecutes one who is inept.
 Things will turn out in accordance with your will,
 And you will defeat him through the censure of the magistrates.

Source: *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. Third Edition. Edited by William Kelly Simpson. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003. Copyright © 2003 by Yale University Press. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

GREECE

35. *The Keys to Success for an Orator*

In this excerpt from The Art of Rhetoric, the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) describes the essential characteristics of a successful orator.

Now the proofs furnished by the speech are of three kinds. The first depends upon the moral character of the speaker, the second upon putting the hearer into a certain frame of mind, the third upon the speech itself, in so far as it proves or seems to prove.

The orator persuades by moral character when his speech is delivered in such a manner as to render him worthy of confidence. For we feel confidence in a greater degree and more readily in persons of worth in regard to everything in general, but where there is no certainty and there is room for doubt, our confidence is absolute. But this confidence must be due to the speech itself, not to any preconceived idea of the speaker's character. For it is not the case, as some writers of rhetorical treatises [claim]... that the worth of the orator in no way contributes to his powers of persuasion. On the contrary, moral character, so to say, constitutes the most effective means of proof. The orator persuades by means of his hearers, when they are roused to emotion

by his speech. For the judgments we deliver are not the same when we are influenced by joy or sorrow, love or hate. And it is to this alone, as we have said, the present day writers of treatises endeavor to devote their attention . . . Lastly, persuasion is produced by the speech itself, when we establish the true or apparently true from the means of persuasion applicable to each individual subject.

Source: *Aristotle: The "Art" of Rhetoric*. Translated by John Henry Freese. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1926.

36. Socrates Discusses the Essentials of Effective Oratory

In this passage from his dialogue entitled Phaedrus, the Greek philosopher Plato (428–347 B.C.) reports the words of his mentor Socrates (469–399 B.C.) on the topic of oratory.

Since it is the function of speech to lead souls by persuasion, he who is to be a rhetorician must know the various forms of soul. Now, they are so and so many, and of such and such kinds; therefore, people also are of different kinds, and we must classify these. Then, there are various classes of speeches, to one of which every speech belongs. So people of a certain sort are easily persuaded by speeches of a certain sort for a certain reason to actions or beliefs of a certain sort, and people of another sort cannot be so persuaded. The student of rhetoric must, accordingly, acquire a proper knowledge of these classes and then be able to follow them accurately with his senses when he sees them in the practical affairs of life. Otherwise, he can never have any profit from the lectures he may have heard. But when he has learned to tell what sort of person is influenced by what sort of speech, and is able, if he comes upon such a person, to recognize him and to convince himself that this is the man and this now actually before him is the nature spoken of in a certain lecture, to which he now must make a practical application of a certain kind of speech in a certain way to persuade his hearer to a certain action or belief—when he has acquired all this, and has added to it a knowledge of the times for speaking and for keeping silence, and has also distinguished the favorable occasions for brief speech or pitiful speech or intensity and all the classes of speech which he has learned, then, and not till then, will his art be fully and completely finished.

Source: *Plato: Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus*. Translated by Harold North Fowler. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1914.

37. A Comparison of Two Oratorical Heavyweights: Demosthenes and Cicero

In this excerpt from the introductory sections of Plutarch's biography of the famous fourth-century B.C. Athenian orator Demosthenes, he compares Demosthenes with the first-century B.C. Roman orator Cicero, who is the consensus choice among historians as the greatest orator in Roman history.

In the case of Demosthenes and Cicero, then, it would seem that the Deity originally fashioned them on the same plan, implanting in their natures many similarities, such as their love of distinction, their love of freedom in their political activities, and their lack of courage for wars and dangers, and uniting in them also many similarities of fortune. For in my opinion, two other orators could not be found who, from small and obscure beginnings, became great and powerful; who came into conflict with kings and tyrants; who each lost a daughter; who were banished from their native cities and returned with honor.

Source: *Plutarch's Lives*. Volume VII. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1919.

38. *How Demosthenes Became Interested in Oratory*

In this excerpt, the Greek biographer Plutarch recounts how the fourth-century B.C. Athenian Demosthenes became interested in the art of oratory.

The origin of his eager desire to be an orator . . . was as follows. Callistratus the orator was going to make a plea in court . . . and the trial was eagerly awaited, not only because of the ability of the orator, who was then at the very height of his reputation, but also because of the circumstances of the case . . . Accordingly, when Demosthenes heard the teachers and tutors agreeing among themselves to be present at the trial, with great importunity he persuaded his own tutor to take him to the hearing. This tutor . . . succeeded in procuring a place where the boy could sit unseen and listen to what was said. Callistratus won his case and was extravagantly admired, and Demosthenes conceived a desire to emulate his fame, seeing him escorted by the multitude and congratulated by all. But he had a more wondering appreciation of the power of his oratory . . . Therefore, bidding farewell to his other studies and to the usual pursuits of boyhood, he practiced laboriously in declamation, with the idea that he, too, was to be an orator . . .

When Demosthenes came of age he began to bring suits against his guardians, and to write speeches attacking them [because they had swindled him out of much of his property and inheritance]. They devised many evasions and new trials, but Demosthenes, after practicing in these exercises . . . not without toil and danger, won his cause, although he was able to recover not even a small fraction of his patrimony. However, he acquired sufficient skill and confidence in speaking, and got a taste of the distinction and power that go with forensic contests, and he therefore came forward and engaged in public matters . . . So Demosthenes, after applying himself to oratory in the first place for the sake of recovering his private property, by this means acquired ability and power in speaking, and at last in public business . . .

And yet, when he first addressed the people, he was interrupted by their shouting, and laughed at for his inexperience, since his speeches seemed to them to be confus[ing] . . . and immoderately tortured by formal arguments. He had also, as it would appear, a certain weakness of voice and indistinctness of speech and shortness of breath which disturbed the sense of what he said by disjoining his sentences . . .

At another time . . . when he had been rebuffed by the people and was going home disconcerted and in great distress, Satyrus the actor, who was a good friend of his, followed after, and went indoors with him. Demosthenes complained to him that although he was the hardest-working of all the orators, and had almost used up the strength of his body in this profession, he had no popularity among the people, whereas debauchees, sailors, and illiterate speakers were listened to . . . while he himself was ignored. "You are right, Demosthenes," said Satyrus, "but I will quickly remedy the cause of all this, if you will consent to recite off-hand for me some narrative speech from Euripides or Sophocles." Demosthenes did so, whereupon Satyrus, taking up the same speech after him, gave it such a form and recited it with such appropriate sentiment and disposition that it appeared to Demosthenes to be quite another.

Persuaded now how much ornament and grace action lends to oratory, he considered it of little or no use to an orator to practice speaking if he neglected the delivery and disposition of his words. After this, we are told, he built a subterranean study . . . and into this he would descend every day without exception in order to form his action and cultivate his voice, and he would often remain there even for two or three months, shaving one side of his head in order that shame might keep him from going abroad, even though he greatly wished to do so.

Nor was this all, but he would make his interviews, conversations, and business with those outside the foundation and the starting point for hard work. For as soon as he left his associates, he would go down into his study, and there he would go over his transactions with them in due order, and the arguments used in defense of each course . . . Consequently, it was thought that he was not a man of good natural talent, but that his ability and power were the products of hard work . . . Demosthenes was rarely heard to speak on the spur of the moment, but although the people often called upon him by name as he sat in the assembly, he would not come forward unless he had given thought to the question and was prepared to speak on it . . .

For his bodily deficiencies, he adopted exercises . . . The indistinctness and lisping in his speech he used to correct and drive away by stuffing pebbles in his mouth and then reciting speeches. He used to exercise his voice by speaking while running or going up steep places, and by reciting speeches or verses in a single breath. Moreover, he had in his house a large mirror, and in front of this, he used to stand and go through his oratorical exercises.

Source: *Plutarch's Lives*. Volume VII. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1919.

ROME

39. A Historian Writes about Oratory

The Romans, like the Greeks, had a high regard for oratorical skills, and, indeed, it would be impossible for a politician who lacked such skills to succeed in either society. Not surprisingly, then, Roman literature abounds with writings about the art of oratory. The Roman historian Tacitus (A.D. c. 55–c. 117) covers the subject in this passage from his "A Dialogue on Oratory."

At Rome, so long as the constitution was unsettled, so long as the country kept wearing itself out with factions and dissensions and disagreements, so long as there was no peace in the forum, no harmony in the senate, no restraint in the courts of law, no respect for authority, no sense of propriety on the part of the officers of the state, the growth of eloquence was doubtless sturdier, just as untilled soil produces certain vegetation in greater luxuriance...

In the same way, what little our orators have left them of the old forensic activities goes to show that our civil condition is still far from being ideally perfect. Does anyone ever call us lawyers to his aid unless he is either a criminal or in distress? Does any country town ever ask for our protection except under pressure either from an aggressive neighbor or from internal strife? Are we ever retained for a province except where robbery and oppression have been at work? Yet surely it would be better to have no grievances than to need to seek redress. If a community could be found in which nobody ever did anything wrong, orators would be just as superfluous among saints as are doctors among those that need no physician. Just as the healing art, I repeat, is very little in demand and makes very little progress in countries where people enjoy good health and strong constitutions, so oratory has less prestige and smaller consideration where people are well behaved and ready to obey their rulers.

What is the use of long arguments in the senate, when good citizens agree so quickly? What is the use of one harangue after another on public platforms, when it is not the ignorant multitude that decides a political issue, but a monarch who is the incarnation of wisdom? What is the use of taking a prosecution on one's own shoulders when misdeeds are so few and so trivial, or of making oneself unpopular by a defense of inordinate length, when the defendant can count on a gracious judge meeting him halfway? Believe me, my friends, you who have all the eloquence that the times require. If you had lived in bygone days, or if the orators who rouse our admiration had lived today; if some deity, I say, had suddenly made you change places in your lives and epochs, you would have attained to their brilliant reputation for eloquence just as surely as they would show your restraint and self-control. As things are, since it is impossible for anybody to enjoy at one and the same time great renown and great repose, let everyone make the most of the blessings his own times afford without disparaging any other age.

Source: Tacitus: *Dialogus, Agricola, Germania*. Translated by Sir W. Peterson, revised by M. Winterbottom. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1914.

40. The Orator Nonpareil Discusses His Art

In this excerpt from his book Concerning the Orator, the first-century B.C. Roman orator Cicero provides some information about the requirements that must be fulfilled to become a successful orator.



An engraving of the Roman historian Tacitus. Library of Congress.

To begin with, a knowledge of very many matters must be grasped, without which oratory is nothing but an empty and ridiculous swirl of verbiage. And the distinctive style has to be formed, not only by the choice of words, but also by the arrangement of the same. And all the mental emotions, with which nature has endowed the human race, are to be intimately understood, because it is in calming or kindling the feelings of the audience that the full power and science of oratory are to be brought into play. To this there should be added a certain humor, flashes of wit, the culture befitting a gentleman, and readiness and terseness alike in repelling and in delivering the attack, the whole being combined with a delicate charm and urbanity.

Further, the complete history of the past and a store of precedents must be retained in the memory, nor may a knowledge of statute law and our national law in general be omitted. And why should I go on to describe the speaker's delivery? That needs to be controlled by bodily carriage, gesture, play of features and changing intonation of voice; and how important that is wholly by itself, the actor's trivial art and the stage proclaim. For there, although all are laboring to regulate the expression, the voice, and the movements of the body, everyone knows how few actors there are, or ever have been, whom we could bear to watch! What need to speak of that universal treasure house, the memory? Unless this faculty be placed in charge of the ideas and phrases which have been thought out and well weighed, even though as conceived by the orator they were of the highest excellence, we know that they will all be wasted...

And indeed in my opinion, no one can be an orator complete in all points of merit, who has not attained a knowledge of all important subjects and arts. For it is from knowledge that oratory must derive its beauty and fullness, and unless there is such knowledge, well-grasped and comprehended by the speaker, there must be something empty and almost childish in the utterance.

Source: *Cicero: De Oratore*. Volume I. Translated by E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1942.

41. *Isaeus Has No Equal*

In this letter to his friend Nepos, the Roman writer Pliny the Younger (A.D. 62–114) extols the oratorical skills of the rhetorician Isaeus.

We had received very favorable accounts of Isaeus, before his arrival here, but he is superior to all that was reported of him. He possesses the utmost ease and abundance of expression, and although always extemporaneous, his speeches have all the propriety and elegance of the most carefully prepared and elaborate composition... His prefatory remarks are terse, easy, and harmonious, and when the occasion requires it, serious and majestic. He proposes several questions for discussion, gives his audience liberty to request any they please, and sometimes even to name what side of the argument he should take up. Immediately, he rises up, assumes his gown, and begins.

He handles almost every point with equal readiness. Profound ideas occur to him as he proceeds. His language—how admirable that is! So choice, so refined! These unprepared speeches plainly show that he is very conversant with the best authors, and very accustomed to writing his own compositions. He begins his subject with great propriety. His narration is clear, his arguments ingenious, his logic forcible, and his rhetoric sublime. In short, he instructs, entertains, and moves his audience all at the same time, and each in so high a degree, that you are at a loss to determine in which of those talents he most excels. He abounds in logical reasoning and syllogisms, the latter of a formal exactness, not very easy to attain even in writing. His memory is so extraordinary that he can recollect what he has said before extemporaneously, word for word. He has acquired this wonderful talent by great application and practice. His whole time is so devoted to subjects of this nature, that he thinks, hears, and talks of nothing else.

Although he is over 63 years of age, he still chooses to continue to be a mere teacher of rhetoric; no class abounds with men of more worth, simplicity, and integrity. We who are conversant with the real contentions of the legal profession unavoidably come into contact with a good deal of negative behaviors, however contrary to our natural inclinations. But the lecture room, the auditorium, the mock trial offer an employment as unoffending as it is enjoyable, particularly so for those who are advanced in years. Nothing can give more happiness at that period of life than to enjoy what were the most pleasing entertainments of our youth.

Therefore, I look upon Isaeus not only as the most eloquent, but also the most happy of men, as I will consider you the most insensible, if you appear to slight his acquaintance. Let me prevail upon you, then, to come to Rome, if not on my account, or any other, at least for the pleasure of hearing this extraordinary person . . . You will tell me, perhaps, that you have authors in your own library equally eloquent. I don't deny it. And those authors you may turn to at any time, but you cannot always have an opportunity of hearing Isaeus. Besides, as the common saying has it, the spoken word has a much greater effect. There is something in the voice, the countenance, the bearing, and the gesture of the speaker that combine to create an impression on the mind, deeper than can even vigorous writings. This at least was the opinion of [the Athenian orator] Aeschines who, having read to the Rhodians a speech of Demosthenes which they loudly applauded: "But how," he said, "would you have been affected, had you heard the wild beast's own roar!" Aeschines, if we may believe Demosthenes, had great energy of elocution but, you see, he had to confess that it would have been a considerable advantage to the oration if it had been pronounced by the author himself.

What I aim at by this is to persuade you to come and hear Isaeus. And let me again invite you to do so, if for no other reason than at least you may have the pleasure to say that you once heard him. Farewell.

Source: *Pliny: Letters*. Volume I. Translated by William Melmoth, with revisions by W.M.L. Hutchinson. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1915.

42. “Instruct, Delight, Move”: The Orator’s Three Goals

Who better than the great first-century B.C. orator Cicero to summarize the importance of the oratorical art? He does so in this excerpt from his essay “On the Best Kind of Orators.”

The supreme orator, then, is the one whose speech instructs, delights, and moves the minds of his audience. The orator is duty bound to instruct; giving pleasure is a free gift to the audience, but to move them is indispensable.

Source: Cicero: *De Inventione; De Optimo Genere Oratorum*. Translated by H. M. Hubbell. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1949.

Part V

MATERIAL LIFE

Food and Drink

No matter what the time period or which civilization is under consideration, the two biggest questions surrounding the issue of food and drink are these: what can (and cannot) be consumed, and with whom? Literary references to the ancients' preferred cuisines abound, so it seems clear that this was an important issue in their lives.

Prohibited foods seem to be mentioned almost as frequently as desirable foods. The Israelites faced many restrictions on their dietary intake (Document 1), even though food and drink were of great concern on their flight from Egypt (Document 2), while in India (Document 4), the eating of meat was frowned upon. Many of the Pythagorean philosophers in ancient Greece observed dietary restrictions, but, contrary to some stories, they *did* enjoy eating beans (Document 13). Some ancient authors suggested moderation in food consumption (Documents 10, 12, 16) or even fasting (Document 26), while others advised against excessive drinking (Document 15). The Greek philosopher Aristotle went so far as to recommend that water from melted snow should be avoided (Document 14).

The food and drink of priests, kings, and emperors was widely reported (Documents 7, 9, 24, 28), while lavish repasts thrown by wealthy individuals are the subject of Documents 17 and 18. The staples of the Egyptian diet, like bread and fish, are revealed in Documents 5 and 6, whereas some Romans went beyond the basics to feast on delicacies such as cranes, peacocks, lampreys, and swordfish (Document 29). As for onions, Egyptian priests avoided them (Document 6), but the Athenian philosopher *Socrates* and his friends enjoyed them (Document 11).

The success, or lack thereof, of a dinner party often depended on the generosity and temperament of the host or hosts, and their ability to create the proper dining ambience. The details of such parties are recorded in Documents 19, 20, 21, and 25. In Document 22, the Roman writer Pliny the Younger complained about an invited guest who failed to appear for dinner. In every case, however, the servants who prepared and served the dinner should be treated kindly (Document 23).

Possibly the most unique document pertaining to food and its preparation comes from a cookbook written by the Roman author Apicius (Document 27). A perusal of its pages describes and reveals Roman haute cuisine at its finest.

ISRAEL

1. Clean and Unclean Foods

In the book of Deuteronomy, the Israelites are given the following specific instructions from God, through Moses, about the foods that they may and may not eat.

Don't eat any disgusting animals. You may eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and goats; wild sheep and goats and gazelles, antelopes and all kinds of deer. It is all right to eat meat from any animals that have divided hoofs and also chew the cud.

But don't eat camels, rabbits, and rock badgers. These animals chew the cud but do not have divided hoofs. You must treat them as unclean. And don't eat pork, since pigs have divided hoofs, but they do not chew their cud. Don't even touch a dead pig!

You can eat any fish that has fins and scales. But there are other creatures that live in the water, and if they do not have fins and scales, you must not eat them. Treat them as unclean.

You can eat any clean bird. But don't eat the meat of any of the following birds: eagles, vultures, falcons, kites, ravens, ostriches, cormorants, storks, herons, and hoo-poes. You must not eat bats. Swarming insects are unclean, so don't eat them. However, you are allowed to eat certain kinds of winged insects.

You belong to the LORD your God, so if you happen to find a dead animal, don't eat its meat. You may give it to foreigners who live in your town or sell it to foreigners who are visiting your town.

Don't boil a young goat in its mother's milk.

Source: Scripture taken from *The Holy Bible: Contemporary English Version*. © 1995 by American Bible Society.

2. Food and Drink on the Flight from Egypt

The first-century A.D. Jewish historian Josephus relates in the following passage how God, through Moses, met the Hebrews' need for food and water on their exodus from Egypt.

God thereon promised to take care of them and to provide the resources which they craved. Having received this response from God, Moses descended to the multitude. And they, on seeing him all radiant at the divine promises, passed from dejection to a more optimistic mood, while he, standing in their midst, told them that he had come to bring them from God deliverance from their present predicament. And not long after that, a flock of quails—a species of bird abundant, above all others, in the Arabian gulf—came flying over this stretch of sea, and, both tired from their flight and accustomed more than other birds to skim the ground, settled in the Hebrews' camp. And they, collecting them as the food provided for them by God, satisfied their hunger, while Moses addressed his thankful prayers to God...

Immediately after this first supply of food, God sent down to them a second. While Moses raised his hands in prayer, a dew descended and, as this congealed about his

hands, Moses, surmising that this too was a nutriment come to them from God, tasted it and was delighted. The multitude, in their ignorance, took this for snow and attributed the phenomenon to the season of the year, but he instructed them that this heaven-descending dew was not as they supposed, but was sent for their salvation and sustenance, and tasting it, he ordered them thus to convince themselves. They, then, imitating their leader, were delighted with what they ate, for it had the sweet and delicious taste of honey... and they fell to collecting it with the greatest enthusiasm. Orders, however, were issued to all to collect each day [a moderate amount], since this food would never fail them. This was to ensure that the weak would not be prevented from obtaining some, should their stronger brethren use their strength to amass a larger harvest...

It is a mainstay to dwellers in these parts against their dearth of other provisions, and to this very day all that region is watered by a rain like to that which them, as a favor to Moses, the Deity sent down for human's sustenance. The Hebrews call this food *manna*... So they continued to rejoice in their heaven-sent gift, living on this food for forty years, all the time they were in the desert.

Upon their departure, when they reached Raphidin, in extreme agony from thirst—for having on the earlier days found some scanty springs, they then found themselves in an absolutely waterless region—they were in great distress and again vented their anger on Moses. But he, shunning for a while the onset of the crowd, began to pray, beseeching God, as He had given meat to them in their need, so now to provide drink for them, for their gratitude for the meat would perish if there were nothing to drink. Nor did God long defer this gift, but promised Moses that He would provide a spring with abundant water where they had not looked for it. He then ordered him to strike with his staff the rock which stood there before their eyes, and from it, they would receive a plenteous supply of what they needed. Moreover, He would see to it that this water would appear for them without work or effort.

Having received this response from God, Moses now approached the people... When he arrived, he told them that God would deliver them from this distress, and had even promised to save them in an unexpected way: a river was to flow for them out of the rock. They were very distraught at this news, aghast at the thought of being forced, exhausted as they were with thirst and travel, to split the rock. But Moses struck it with his staff, whereupon it opened and there gushed out an abundant stream of the clearest water. Amazed at this marvelous occurrence, the mere sight of which already quenched their thirst, they drank and found the current sweet and delicious and all that was to be looked for in a gift from God.

Source: *Josephus*. Volume IV. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1930.

CHINA

3. A Cook Who Took Care of His Carving Knife

Laozi may have been a philosopher, or perhaps the word Laozi is a generic term for a consortium of philosophers, who flourished perhaps around the fourth century B.C. in China.

In any event, the teachings of Laozi include the following story of a cook named Ding, and the way in which he performed his duties.

Your life has a limit, but knowledge has none. If you use what is limited to pursue what has no limit, you will be in danger. If you understand this and still strive for knowledge, you will be in danger for certain! If you do good, stay away from fame. If you do evil, stay away from punishments. Follow the middle, go by what is constant, and you can stay in one piece, keep yourself alive, look after your parents, and live out your years.

Cook Ding was cutting up an ox for Lord Wenhui. At every touch of his hand, every heave of his shoulder, every move of his feet, every thrust of his knee—zip, zoop! He slithered the knife along with a zing, and all was in perfect rhythm . . .

“Ah, this is marvelous!” said Lord Wenhui. “Imagine skill reaching such heights!”

Cook Ding laid down his knife and replied: “What I care about is the Way, which goes beyond skill. When I first began cutting up oxen, all I could see was the ox itself. After three years, I no longer saw the whole ox. And now—now I go at it by spirit, and don’t look with my eyes. Perception and understanding have come to a stop and spirit moves where it wants. I go along with the natural makeup, strike in the big hollows, guide the knife through the big openings, and follow things as they are. So I never touch the smallest ligament or tendon, much less a main joint.

“A good cook changes his knife once a year—because he cuts. A mediocre cook changes his knife once a month—because he hacks. I’ve had this knife of mine for 19 years, and I’ve cut up thousands of oxen with it, and yet the blade is as good as though it had just come from the grindstone. There are spaces between the joints, and the blade of the knife has really no thickness. If you insert what has no thickness into such spaces, then there’s plenty of room, more than enough for the blade to play about it. That’s why after 19 years, the blade of my knife is still as good as when it first came from the grindstone.

“However, when I come to a complicated place, I size up the difficulties, tell myself to watch out and be careful, keep my eyes on what I’m doing, work very slowly, and move the knife with the greatest subtlety, until—flop! The whole thing comes apart like a clod of earth crumbling to the ground. I stand there holding the knife and look all around me, completely satisfied and reluctant to move on, and then I wipe off the knife and put it away.”

“Excellent!” said Lord Wenhui. “I have heard the words of Cook Ding and learned how to care for life!”

Source: From *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. Volume I. Second edition. Compiled by William Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom. Copyright © 1999 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.



A full-length stone engraving of Laozi, c. 700–750. Interphoto Pressebildagentur/Alamy.

INDIA

4. Do Not Eat Meat

In this passage from the Lankavatara Sutra, a Buddhist religious text from perhaps the fourth century B.C., the bodhisattva, or disciple of Buddha, is cautioned not to eat meat.

Here in this long journey of birth-and-death, there is no living being who... has not at some time been your mother or father, brother or sister, son or daughter... So how can the *bodhisattva*, who wishes to treat all beings as though they were himself,... eat the flesh of any living being... Therefore, wherever living beings evolve, people should feel toward them as to their own kin, and, looking on all beings as their only child, should refrain from eating meat...

The *bodhisattva*... desirous of cultivating the virtue of love, should not eat meat, in order that he does not cause terror to living beings. Dogs, when they see, even at a distance, an outcaste... who likes eating meat, are terrified with fear, and think, "They are the dealers of death, they will kill us!" Even the tiny animals in earth and air and water, who have a very keen sense of smell, will detect at a distance the odor of the demons in meat-eaters, and will run away as fast as they can from the death which threatens them...

Moreover, the meat-eater sleeps in sorrow and wakes in sorrow. All his dreams are nightmares, and they make his hair stand on end... Things other than human sap his vitality. Often he is struck with terror, and trembles without cause... He knows no measure in his eating, and there is no flavor, digestibility, or nourishment in his food. His bowels are filled with worms and other creatures, which are the cause of leprosy. And he ceases to think of resisting diseases...

It is not true... that meat is right and proper for the disciple when the animal was not killed by himself or by his orders, and when it was not killed specially for him... Pressed by a desire for the taste of meat, people may string together their sophistries in defense of meat-eating... and declare that the Lord permitted meat as legitimate food, that it occurs in the list of permitted foods, and that he himself ate it. But... it is nowhere allowed in the sutras as a... legitimate food... All meat-eating in any form or manner and in any circumstances is prohibited, unconditionally, once and for all.

Source: From *Sources of Indian Tradition*. Volume I. Edited by William Theodore de Bary. Copyright © 1958 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

EGYPT

5. The Staples of the Egyptian Diet According to Herodotus

In the following passage from his Histories, the fifth-century B.C. Greek historian Herodotus comments on Egyptian cuisine.

[The Egyptians are]... next to the Libyans, the healthiest people in the world. I should put this down myself to the absence of changes in climate; for change, and especially change of weather, is the prime cause of disease. They eat loaves made from spelt—*cyllestes* is their word for them—and drink a wine made from barley, as they have no vines in their country. Some kinds of fish they eat raw, either dried in the sun, or salted; quails, too, they eat raw, and ducks and various small birds, after pickling



The Greek researcher and storyteller Herodotus of Halicarnassus (fifth century B.C.) was said to be the world's first historian. Library of Congress.

them in brine. Other sorts of birds and fish, apart from those which they consider sacred, they either roast or boil.

Source: *Herodotus: The Histories*. Translated by Aubrey de Selincourt. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

6. The Staples of the Egyptian Diet According to Plutarch

In this excerpt from his long essay on the Egyptian deities Isis and Osiris, the Greek biographer and essayist Plutarch (A.D. c. 45–c. 120) discusses Egyptian dietary habits.

As for sea fish, all Egyptians do not abstain from all of them, but from some kinds only. For example, the inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus abstain from those that are caught with a hook; for inasmuch as they revere the fish called oxyrhynchus (the pike), they are afraid that the hook may be unclean, since a pike may have been caught with it. The people of Syene abstain from

the phagrus (the sea bream), because this fish is reputed to appear with the oncoming of the Nile, and to be a self-sent messenger which, when it is seen, declares to a glad people the rise of the river.

The priests, however, abstain from all fish. And on the ninth day of the first month, when every one of the other Egyptians eats a broiled fish in front of the outer door of his house, the priests do not even taste the fish, but burn them up in front of their doors. For this practice, they have two reasons, one of which is religious and curious, and I will discuss it at another time . . . The other is obvious and commonplace, in that it declares that fish is an unnecessary and superfluous food, and confirms the words of Homer who, in his poetry, represents neither the Phaeacians, who lived amid a refined luxury, nor the Ithacans, who lived on an island, as making any use of fish, nor did even the companions of Odysseus, while on such a long voyage and in the midst of the sea, until they had come to the extremity of want.

In sum, these people consider the sea to be derived from infected matter, and to lie outside the confines of the world and not to be a part of it or an element, but a corrupt and pestilential residuum of a foreign nature . . .

The priests keep themselves clear of the onion and hate it and are careful to avoid it, because it is the only plant that naturally thrives and flourishes in the waning of the moon. It is suitable neither for fasting nor festival, because in the one case, it causes thirst, and in the other, tears for those who eat it. In like manner, they consider the pig to be an unclean animal, because it is reputed to be most inclined to mate in the waning

of the moon, and because the bodies of those who drink its milk break out with leprosy and scabrous itching.

Source: *Plutarch's Moralia*. Volume V. Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1936.

7. Royal Repasts

According to the flowing excerpt from the writings of the first-century B.C. Greek historian Diodorus Siculus, Egyptian kings, like Egyptian priests, had a restricted diet.

It was the custom for kings to eat delicate food, eating no other meat than veal and duck, and drinking only a prescribed amount of wine, which was not enough to make them unreasonably full or drunken. And, speaking generally, their whole diet was ordered with such moderation that it had the appearance of having been drawn up, not by a lawgiver, but by the most skilled of their physicians, with only their health in view.

Source: *Diodorus of Sicily*. Volume I. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1933.

8. Pumpkin Purveyors Prevent Me from Paying My Taxes

In the following document, a third-century B.C. lentil cook in the Egyptian town of Philadelphia requests some tax relief from a local official because of some unexpected competition.

To Philiscus, greeting from Harentotes, lentil cook of Philadelphia. I give the product of 35 *artabae* [about 1,400 liters] per month, and I do my best to pay the tax every month in order that you may have no complaint against me. Now the people in town are roasting pumpkins. For that reason, then, nobody buys lentils from me at the present time. I beg and beseech you, then, if you think fit, to be allowed more time, just as has been done in Crocodilopolis, for paying the tax to the king. In the morning, right away they sit down beside the lentils, selling their pumpkins, and give me no chance to sell my lentils.

Source: *Select Papyri: Non-Literary Papyri; Public Documents*. Volume II. Translated by A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

GREECE

9. Alexander the Great's Daily Meal Routine

In his biography of Alexander the Great, the Greek biographer Plutarch (A.D. c. 45–c. 120) provides the following details about Alexander's eating and drinking habits.

He had the most complete mastery over his appetite... When, in the kindness of her heart [referring to a queen whom he knew], she used to send him, every day, many

fancy dishes and sweets, and finally offered him bakers and cooks reputed to be very skillful, he said that he wanted none of them, for he had better cooks who had been given to him by his tutor, Leonidas: For his breakfast, namely, a night march, and for his supper, a light breakfast...

He was less addicted to wine than was generally believed. The belief arose from the great amount of time he would spend over each cup, more in talking than in drinking...After he had taken quarters for the night...he would inquire of his chief cooks and bakers whether the arrangements for his supper had been made. When it was late and already dark, he would begin his supper, reclining on a couch, and his care and moderation at the dinner table were remarkable...over the wine, as I have said, he would sit long, for the sake of conversation...After the drinking was over, he would take a bath and sleep, often until mid-day, and sometimes he would actually spend the entire day in sleep.

In the matter of delicacies, too, he was master of his appetite, so that often, when the rarest fruits or fish were brought to him from the seacoast, he would distribute them to each of his friends until he was the only one for whom nothing remained. His suppers, however, were always magnificent, and the outlay on them increased with his successes.

Source: *Plutarch's Lives*. Volume VII. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1919.

10. Avoid Superfluous Food

In this excerpt from his Moralia, the Greek biographer Plutarch (A.D. c. 45–c. 120) comments on the dangers of overeating.

Just as the scents of flowers are weak by themselves, whereas when they are mixed with oil, they acquire strength and intensity, so a great mass of food to start with provides substance and body, as it were, for the causes and sources of disease that come from the outside. Without such material, none of these things would cause any trouble, but they would readily fade away and be dissipated, if clear blood and an unpolluted spirit are at hand to meet the disturbance. But in a mass of superfluous food a sort of turbulent sediment is stirred up, which makes everything foul and hard to manage, and hard to get rid of. Therefore, we must not act like those much-admired ship captains who, because of greed, take on a big cargo, but then are continually engaged in baling out the sea water. So we must not stuff and overload our body, and afterwards employ purgatives and injections, but rather keep it trim all the time.

Source: *Plutarch's Moralia*. Volume II. Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1928.

11. The Joy of Eating Onions

In the following excerpt, the Greek historian Xenophon (c. 430–c. 354 B.C.) describes a Greek banquet in which the diners discuss the properties of the onion.

And beside this, I know something else, which you may test immediately. For Homer says somewhere: “An onion, too, a relish for the drink.” Now if someone will bring an onion, you will receive this benefit, at any rate, without delay, for you will get more pleasure out of your drinking.

“Gentlemen,” said Charmides, “Niceratus is intent on going home smelling of onions to make his wife believe that no one would even have conceived the thought of kissing him.”

“Undoubtedly,” said Socrates. “But we run the risk of getting a different sort of reputation, one that will bring us ridicule. For though the onion seems to be in the truest sense a relish, since it adds to our enjoyment not only of food, but also of drink, yet if we eat it not only with our dinner, but after it as well, take care that someone does not say of us that [during our banquet], we were merely indulging our appetites.”

“Heaven forbid, Socrates!” was the reply. “I grant that when a man is setting out for battle, it is well for him to nibble an onion, just as some people give their fighting birds a feed of garlic before pitting them together in the ring. As for us, however, our plans perhaps look more to getting a kiss from someone than to fighting.”

Source: *Xenophon: Symposium and Apology*. Translated by O. J. Todd. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1923.

12. A Sensible Diet

As a medical writer, the fourth-century B.C. Greek physician Hippocrates recognized the important of diet in maintaining good health.

For the art of medicine would never have been discovered to begin with, nor would any medical research have been conducted... if sick people had profited by the same mode of living and regimen as the food, drink, and mode of living of people in health... To trace the matter yet further back, I assert that not even the mode of living and nourishment enjoyed at the present time by healthy people would have been discovered, had a person been satisfied with the same food and drink as satisfy an ox, a horse, and every animal except humans; for example, the products of the earth: fruits, wood, and grass. For on these, animals are nourished, grow, and live without pain, having no need at all of any other kind of living. In my opinion, to begin with, humans also used this sort of nourishment... the ancients seem to me to have sought for nourishment that which harmonized with their constitution, and to have discovered that which we use now. So from wheat, after steeping it, winnowing, grinding and sifting, kneading, baking, they produced bread, and from barley, they produced cake. Experimenting with food, they boiled or baked, after mixing, many other things, combining the strong and uncompounded with the weaker components, so as to adapt all to the constitution and power of humans, thinking that from foods which, being too strong, the human constitution cannot assimilate when eaten, will come pain, disease and death, while from such as can be assimilated will come nourishment, growth and health... [This] discovery was a great one, implying much investigation and skill. At any rate, even in the present day, those who study gymnastics and athletic exercises are

constantly making some fresh discovery by investigating on the same method what food and what drink are best assimilated and make a person grow stronger.

Source: *Hippocrates*. Translated by W.H.S. Jones. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1923.

13. The Pythagoreans Did Like Beans

The second-century A.D. Roman author Aulus Gellius, in this passage from his Attic Nights, debunks the notion that the sixth-century B.C. Greek philosopher Pythagoras excluded meat and beans from his diet.

An erroneous belief of long standing has established itself and become current, that the philosopher Pythagoras did not eat meat, and also that he abstained from eating beans. In accordance with that belief, the poet Callimachus wrote:

I tell you too, as did Pythagoras,
Withhold your hands from beans, a hurtful food.

Also, as the result of the same belief, Cicero wrote these words in the first book of his work *On Divination*: “Plato therefore bids us go to our sleep in such bodily condition that there may be nothing to cause delusion and disturbance in our minds. It is thought to be for that reason, too, that the Pythagoreans were forbidden to eat beans, a food that produces great flatulency, which is disturbing to those who seek mental calm.”

So then, Cicero. But Aristoxenus the musician, a man thoroughly versed in early literature, a pupil of the philosopher Aristotle, in the book *On Pythagoras* which he has left us, says that Pythagoras ate no vegetable more often than beans, since that food gently loosened the bowels and relieved them. I add Aristoxenus’ own words: “Pythagoras among vegetables especially recommended the bean, saying that it was both digestible and loosening; and therefore, he most frequently ate it.”

Aristoxenus also relates that Pythagoras ate very young pigs and tender kids. This fact he seems to have learned from his close friend Xenophilus the Pythagorean and from some other older men, who lived not long after the time of Pythagoras. And the same information about animal food is given by the poet Alexis, in the comedy entitled *The Pythagorean Bluestocking*. Furthermore, the reason for the mistaken idea about abstaining from beans seems to be, that in a poem of Empedocles, who was a follower of Pythagoras, this line is found:

“O wretches, utter wretches, from beans withhold your hands...” Plutarch, too, a man of weight in scientific matters, in the first book of his work *On Homer*, wrote that Aristotle gave the same account of the Pythagoreans, namely that except for a few parts of the flesh, they did not abstain from eating meat.

Source: *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Volumes I and III. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

14. Don’t Drink Snow-Melt Water

In this excerpt from his Attic Nights (see also Document 13, above), the Roman author Aulus Gellius (A.D. c. 125–c. 180) references some passages from the fourth-century B.C. Greek philosopher Aristotle, about the unhealthiness of drinking water from melted snow.

In the hottest season of the year, with some companions and friends of mine who were students of eloquence or of philosophy, I had withdrawn to the country place of a rich friend at Tibur. There was with us a good man . . . well trained, and especially devoted to [the writings of] Aristotle. When we drank a good deal of water made of melted snow, he tried to restrain us, and rather severely scolded us. He cited for us the authority of famous physicians, and in particular of the philosopher Aristotle . . . who declared that snow water was indeed helpful to grain and trees, but was a very unwholesome drink for human beings, and that it gradually produced wasting diseases in the body, which made their appearance only after a long time.

This advice he gave us repeatedly, in a spirit of prudence and good will. But when the drinking of snow water went on without interruption, from the library of Tibur, which . . . was well supplied with books, he pulled out a volume of Aristotle and brought it to us, saying, "At least believe the words of the wisest of men, and stop ruining your health."

In that book it was written that water from snow was very bad to drink, as was also that water which was more solidly and completely congealed, which the Greeks call *krystallos*, or "clear ice"; and the following reason was there given for this: "That when water is hardened by the cold air and congeals, it necessarily follows that evaporation takes place and that a kind of very thin vapor, so to speak, is forced from it and comes out of it. But its lightest part," he said, "is that which is evaporated. What remains is heavier and less clean and wholesome, and this part, beaten upon by the throbbing of the air, takes on the form and color of white foam. But that some more wholesome part is forced out and evaporated from the snow is shown by the fact that it becomes less than it was before it congealed."

I have taken a few of Aristotle's own words from that book, and I quote them: "Why is the water made from snow or ice unwholesome? Because from all water that is frozen, the lightest and thinnest part evaporates. And the proof of this is that when it melts after being frozen, its volume is less than before. But since the most wholesome part is gone, it necessarily follows that what is left is less wholesome."

After I read this, we decided to pay honor to the learned Aristotle. And so I for my part immediately declared war upon snow and swore hatred against it, while the others made truces with it on various terms.

Source: *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Volumes I and III. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

15. Plato Did Not Approve of Excessive Drinking

In another passage from his Attic Nights (see Documents 13 and 14, above), Aulus Gellius (A.D. c. 125–c. 180) relates a story about a man who drank to excess at parties in the mistaken belief that the Greek philosopher Plato (428–347 B.C.) approved of such behavior.

A man from the island of Crete, who was living in Athens, gave out that he was a Platonic philosopher, and desired to pass himself off as one. He was, however, a man

of no worth, a trifler, boastful of his command of Grecian eloquence, besides having a passion for wine which made him a laughing stock. At the parties which it was the custom of us young men to hold at Athens at the beginning of each week, as soon as we had finished eating and an instructive and pleasant conversation had begun, this fellow, having called for silence that he might be heard, began to speak, and using a cheap and disordered rabble of words after his usual fashion, urged all to drink. He declared that he did this in accordance with the opinion of Plato, maintaining that Plato in his work *On the Laws* had written most eloquently in praise of drunkenness, and had decided that it was beneficial to good and strong men. And at the same time, while he was speaking like this, he drenched such wits as he had with frequent and huge beakers of wine, saying that it was a kind of kindling wood and tinder to the intellect and the faculties, if mind and body were inflamed with wine.

However, Plato, in the first and second books of his work *On the Laws* did not, as that fool thought, praise that shameful intoxication which generally undermines and weakens people's minds.

Source: *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Volume III. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

16. How to Avoid Over-Indulgence at Parties and Banquets

The Greek biographer and essayist Plutarch (A.D. c. 45–c. 120) knew that people tend to eat and drink to excess at banquets, so in this excerpt from his Moralia he offers some advice on avoiding this kind of unhealthy over-indulgence.

Something was said to the effect that, while less expensive things are always more healthful for the body, we ought especially to guard against excess in eating and drinking, and against all self-indulgence when we have immediately on hand some festival or a visit from friends, or when we are expecting an entertainment of some king or high official, with its unavoidable social engagements. And so we should, as it were, make our body trim in fair weather, and buoyant against the oncoming wind and wave. It is indeed a hard task, in the midst of good friends and good cheer, to keep to moderation and one's habits, and at the same time to avoid the extreme disagreeableness which makes one appear annoying and boring to the whole group.

Therefore, to avoid adding fire to fire—as the proverb has it—and gorging to gorging, and strong drink to strong drink, we ought with all seriousness to imitate the polite joke of Philip. It goes like this: a man had invited Philip to dinner in the country, assuming that he had only a few friends with him, but when later the host saw Philip bringing a large contingent of people, and since the host had not made preparations for such a crowd, he was much disconcerted. Philip, becoming aware of the situation, sent word privately to each of his friends to “leave room for cake.” Following the advice, and looking for more to come, they ate sparingly of what was before them, and so there was plenty of food for everyone. In this manner, then, we ought to prepare ourselves in anticipation of our obligatory round of social engagements by keeping room in the body

for elaborate dishes and pastry and, may I say it, for indulgence in strong drink also, by bringing to these things a fresh and willing appetite.

Source: *Plutarch's Moralia*. Volume II. Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1928.

ROME

17. Mark Antony's Lavish Dinner

The Egyptian queen Cleopatra (69–30 B.C.) knew how to throw a dinner party, especially when the guest of honor was the Roman soldier and politician Mark Antony (83–30 B.C.). The Greek author Athenaeus, who wrote at the end of the second century A.D., provides the particulars of one banquet in the following excerpt from his Deipnosophistae.

Socrates of Rhodes...describes the banquet given by Cleopatra, the last queen of Egypt, who married the Roman general, Antony...His words are: "Meeting Antony in Cilicia, Cleopatra arranged in his honor a royal banquet, in which the service was entirely of gold and jeweled vessels made with exquisite art. Even the walls, says Socrates, were hung with tapestries made of purple and gold threads. And having spread twelve dining couches, Cleopatra invited Antony and his chosen friends. He was overwhelmed with the richness of the display, but she quietly smiled and said that all these things were a present for him. She also invited him to come and dine with her again the next day, with his friends and his officers. On this occasion, she provided an even more sumptuous banquet by far, so that she caused the vessels which had been used on the first occasion to appear paltry. And once more, she presented him with these also. As for the officers, each was allowed to take away the couch on which he had reclined. Even the sideboards, as well as the spreads for the couches, were divided among them. And when they departed, she furnished litters for the guests of high rank, with bearers, while for the rest she provided horses...with silver-plated harnesses, and for all she sent along Ethiopian slaves to carry the torches. On the fourth day, she distributed fees, amounting to a talent, for the purchase of roses, and the floors of the dining rooms were strewn with them to a depth of 18 inches, in net-like festoons spread everywhere.

Source: *Athenaeus: The Deipnosophists*. Volume II. Translated by Charles Burton Gulick. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1928.



Cleopatra's Banquet, by the eighteenth-century artist Tiepolo Giambattista. Cameraphoto/Art Resource, NY.

18. Trimalchio's Lavish Dinner

The ancient Romans loved to eat, and there is plenty of evidence to illustrate their fondness for eating and drinking. Possibly the most famous Roman dinner party was the one thrown in the first century A.D. by the fictional Trimalchio, a principle character in the Latin novel entitled Satyricon, which was written by the Roman satirist Petronius (A.D. c. 27–65). As the following excerpt from the novel shows, Trimalchio was boastful, arrogant, officious, irritating, and misinformed on many subjects . . . but rich. And he knew how to put on a spread!

Now that the guests were all in their places, the *hors d'oeuvres* were served, and very sumptuous they were. Trimalchio alone was still absent, and the place of honor—reserved for the host in the modern fashion—stood empty. But I was speaking of the *hors d'oeuvres*. On a large tray stood a donkey made of rare Corinthian bronze; on the donkey's back were two panniers, one holding green olives, the other, black. Flanking the donkey were two side dishes, both engraved with Trimalchio's name and the weight of the silver, while in dishes shaped to resemble little bridges there were dormice, all dipped in honey and rolled in poppyseed. Nearby, on a silver grill, piping hot, lay small sausages, while beneath the grill, black damsons and red pomegranates had been sliced up and arranged so as to give the effect of flames playing over charcoal . . .

We, meanwhile, were still occupied with the *hors d'oeuvres* when a tray was carried in and set down before us. On it lay a basket, and in it a hen, carved from wood, with wings outspread as though sitting on her eggs. Then two slaves came forward and, to a loud flourish from the orchestra, began rummaging in the straw and pulling out peahen's eggs, which they divided among the guests. Trimalchio gave the whole performance his closest attention. "Friends," he said, "I ordered peahen eggs to be set under that hen, but I'm half afraid they may have hatched already. Still, let's see if we can suck them." We were handed spoons—weighing at least half a pound apiece—and cracked open the eggs, which turned out to be baked from rich pastry. To tell the truth, I had almost tossed my share away, thinking the eggs were really addled. But I heard one of the guests, obviously a veteran of these dinners, say, "I wonder what little surprise we've got in here." So I cracked the shell with my hand, and found inside a fine fat oriole, nicely seasoned with pepper . . .

The [next] course . . . failed to measure up to our expectations of our host, but it was so unusual that it took everybody's attention. Spaced around a circular tray were the twelve signs of the zodiac, and over each sign, the chef had put the most appropriate food. Thus, over the sign of Aries were chickpeas, over Taurus a slice of beef, a pair of testicles and kidneys over Gemini, a wreath of flowers over Cancer, over Leo an African fig, virgin sowbelly on Virgo, over Libra a pair of scales with a tartlet in one pan and a cheesecake in the other, over Scorpio a crawfish, a lobster on Capricorn, on Aquarius a goose, and two mullets over the sign of the Fishes. The centerpiece was a clod of turf with the grass still green on top and the whole thing surmounted by a fat honeycomb. Meanwhile, bread in a silver chafing dish was being handed around by a slave with long hair who was shrilling in an atrocious voice some song from the pantomime called *Asafoetida*. With some reluctance, we began to attack this wretched fare, but Trimalchio kept urging us, "Eat up, gentlemen, eat up!"

Suddenly, the orchestra gave another flourish and four slaves came dancing in and whisked off the top of the tray. Underneath, in still another tray, lay fat capons and sowbellies and a hare decked out with wings to look like a little Pegasus. At the corners of the tray stood four little gravy boats, all shaped like the satyr Marsyas, with...a spicy hot gravy dripping down over several large fish swimming about in the lagoon of the tray. The slaves burst out clapping, we clapped too, and turned with gusto to these new delights. Trimalchio, enormously pleased with the success of his little *tour de force*, roared for a slave to come and carve. The carver appeared instantly and went to work, thrusting with his knife like a gladiator practicing to the accompaniment of a water-organ. But all the time Trimalchio kept mumbling in a low voice, "Carver, carver, carver, carver." I suspected that this chant was somehow connected with a trick, so I asked my neighbor, an old hand at these party surprises. "Look," he said, "you see that slave who's carving? Well, he's called Carver, so every time Trimalchio says 'Carver', he's also saying 'Carve 'er!', and giving him orders to carve"...

...Servants came with a tray on which we saw a wild sow of absolutely enormous size. Perched rakishly on the sow's head was the cap of freedom which newly freed slaves wear in token of their liberty, and from her tusks hung two baskets woven from palm leaves. One was filled with dry Egyptian dates, the other held sweet Syrian dates. Clustered around her teats were little suckling pigs made of hard pastry, gifts for the guests to take home as it turned out, but intended to show that ours was a brood-sow. The slave who stepped up to carve, however, was not our old friend Carver who had cut up the capons, but a huge fellow with a big beard, a coarse hunting cape thrown over his shoulders, and his legs bound up in cross-gaiters. He whipped out his knife and gave a savage slash at the sow's flanks. Under the blow, the flesh parted, the wound burst open and dozens of thrushes came whirring out! But bird-catchers with limed twigs were standing by, and before long they had snared all the birds as they thrashed wildly around the room. Trimalchio ordered that a thrush be given to each guest, adding for good measure, 'Well, that old porker liked her acorns juicy all right.' Then servants stepped forward, removed the baskets hanging from the sow's nose, and divided the dry and sweet dates out equally among the guests...

He [Trimalchio] was still chattering away when the servants came in with an immense hog on a tray almost the size of the table. We were, of course, astounded at the chef's speed and swore it would have taken longer to roast an ordinary chicken, all the more since the pig looked even bigger than the one served to us earlier. Meanwhile, Trimalchio had been scrutinizing the pig very closely and suddenly roared, 'What! What's this? By god, this hog hasn't even been gutted! Get that cook in here on the double!'

Looking very miserable, the poor cook came shuffling up to the table and admitted that he had forgotten to gut the pig.

"You forgot?" bellowed Trimalchio. "*You forgot to gut a pig?*" And I suppose you think that's the same thing as merely forgetting to add salt and pepper. Strip that man!"

The cook was promptly stripped and stood there stark naked between two bodyguards, utterly forlorn. The guests, to a man, however, interceded for the chef. "Accidents happen," they said, "please don't whip him. If he ever does it again, we promise we won't say a word for him." My own reaction was anger, savage and unrelenting. I could barely restrain myself and leaning over, I whispered to Agamemnon [one of the other dinner

guests], “Did you ever hear of anything worse? Who could forget to gut a pig? By god, you wouldn’t catch me letting him off, not if it was just a fish he’d forgotten to clean.”

Not so Trimalchio, however. He sat there, a great grin widening across his face, and said: “Well, since your memory’s so bad, you can gut the pig here in front of us all.” The cook was handed back his clothes, drew out his knife with a shaking hand and then slashed at the pig’s belly with crisscross cuts. The slits widened out under the pressure from inside, and suddenly out poured, not the pig’s bowels and guts, but link upon link of tumbling sausages and blood puddings.

Source: From *THE SATYRICON* by Petronius, translated by William Arrowsmith, copyright © 1959, renewed © 1987 by William Arrowsmith. Used by permission of Dutton Signet, a division of Penguin Group (USA) Inc.

19. Horace’s Refined Dinner

In contrast to the excesses of Trimalchio’s dinner party (see Document 18, above), the Roman poet Horace (65–8 B.C.), in this excerpt from the second satire of Book II of his Satires, recommends a somewhat less luxurious eating regimen.

When hard work and toil has knocked the daintiness out of you, when you are thirsty and hungry, refuse, if you can, plain food. Refuse to drink any mead, unless the honey is from Hymettus, and the wine from Falernum. How do you think this comes about? The chief pleasure lies, not in the costly dinner, but in yourself. So earn your sauce with hard exercise. The man who is bloated and pale from excess will find no comfort in oysters or trout or foreign grouse.

Yet, if a peacock is served for dinner, I will hardly root out your longing to tickle your palate with it rather than with a pullet. You are deceived by the peacock’s vain appearance, because the rare bird costs gold and makes a brave show with the picture of its outspread tail—as though that had anything to do with the case! Do you eat the feathers you so admire? Does the bird look as fine when cooked? Yet, though in their meat they are on a par, to think that you crave the one rather than the other, duped by the difference in appearance! . . .

Now learn what and how great are the blessings that simple living brings with it. First of all, good health. For how harmful to a person a variety of dishes is, you may realize if you recall that plain food which agreed with you in other days. But as soon as you mix boiled and roast, shell fish and thrushes, the sweet will turn to bile, and the thick phlegm will cause intestine feud. Do you see how pale the guests are as they arise from this smorgasboard? Furthermore, clogged with yesterday’s excess, the body drags down with itself the mind as well.

Source: *Horace: Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*. Translated by H. Rushton Fairclough. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1926.

20. The Dinner Party Thrown by Nasidienus Rufus

In this passage from Book II of Satire VIII (see also Document 19, above), the Roman poet Horace (65–8 B.C.) describes a dinner party given by a certain Nasidienus Rufus.

Horace: How did you like your dinner with the rich Nasidienus? Yesterday, when I tried to get you as my own guest, I was told you had been dining there since midday.

Fundanius: So much so that never in my life did I have a better time.

Horace: Tell me, if you don't mind, what was the first dish to appease an angry appetite?

Fundanius: First, there was a wild boar. It was caught when a gentle south wind was blowing, as the father of the feast kept telling us. Around it were pungent turnips, lettuces, radishes—such things as whet a jaded appetite—skirret, fish-pickle, and Coan leeks. When these were removed, a high-girt slave wiped the maple-wood table with a purple napkin, while a second swept up the scraps and anything that could offend the guests...

Horace: ...Who, Fundanius, were those at dinner, with whom you had so fine a time? I am eager to know.

Fundanius: Myself at the top, then next to me Viscus of Thurii, and below, if I remember, Varius. Then Vibidius and Servilius Balatro, the two moochers. Above our host was Nomentanus; below him, Porcius, who made us laugh by swallowing whole cheesecakes in one bite. Nomentanus was there to see that if anything might escape our notice, he would point it out with his forefinger. For the rest of the guests—we, I mean—eat fowl, oysters, and fish, which had a flavor far different from any we knew, as, for instance, was made clear at once, after he had handed me the livers of a plaice and a turbot, a dish I had never tasted before. After this he informed me that the honey apples were red because they were picked in the light of a waning moon. What difference that would make, you could better learn from him...

Then is brought in a lamprey, outstretched on a platter, with shrimps swimming all around it. Upon seeing this, the master said: "This was caught before spawning. If it were taken later, its flesh would have been poorer. The ingredients of the sauce are these: oil from Venafrum of the first pressing; roe from the juices of the Spanish mackerel; [Italian] wine five years old, poured in while it is on the boil... white pepper, and vinegar"...

Then follow servants, bearing on a huge charger the limbs of a crane sprinkled with much salt and meal, and the liver of a white goose fattened on rich figs, and hares' limbs torn off, as being more dainty than if eaten with the loins. Then we saw blackbirds served with the breast burned, and pigeons without the rumps—real dainties... But off we ran, taking our revenge on [our host] by tasting nothing at all, as though the things were... more deadly than African serpents.

Source: *Horace: Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*. Translated by H. Rushton Fairclough. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1926.

21. Horace Invites His Friend Torquatus to Dinner

The Roman poet Horace (65–8 B.C.) enjoyed entertaining friends at dinner, but certainly never on the lavish scale of a Trimalchio (see Document 18, above). He once issued the following dinner invitation to his friend Torquatus (see also Documents 19 and 20, above).

Torquatus, you're expected at my house this evening at sunset,
That is, if you think you can stretch out your legs comfortably
On the old-fashioned couches that Archias designed for me,
And can put up with a modest meal served on plain plates.
The wine we'll drink is Second Consulate Taurian [i.e., from the second consulship of Titus
Statilius Taurus, 26 B.C.],
Poured off at Villa Petrinum, near Sinuessa,
Below the salt flats of Minturnae. Or have you a better
Vintage to offer? If so, send it round with your slave.
If not, you'll have to take your orders from me.
My hearth has been gleaming for days now, just for your sake,
My furniture cleaned up and set right. Drop everything,
Those airy ambitions, that drive to make still more money,
Your defense of Moschus on that poisoning charge.
Tomorrow [September 22] is Caesar's birthday. We're all excused, to sleep late,
To stretch the summer night with copious talk.
What is my fortune for, if I can't make use of it?
Someone who, out of regard for his heir, is stingy,
And much too hard on himself, sits next to a madman.
So I will begin the rites, the scattering of flowers...
I take it upon myself to vouch for the following,
And do so gladly: that no tattered linen of mine,
No dirty napkin, will make you turn up your nose
In disgust; that pitchers and plates reflect your image
Like mirrors; that no one is present who will gossip outside
About what is said among faithful friends, so that equals
May be intimate with equals. I'll invite Septicius
And Butra to meet you, and add Sabinus to the list,
Unless a prior engagement or a slyer girl
Detains him. There are places enough for a few of your shades,
But when goats get too close together, the air's a bit thick.
You've only to write back how many you want us to be,
Then drop everything: the client you're supposed to see,
Your business. Sneak out the back. Come to my dinner party!

Source: *The Satires and Epistles of Horace*. Translated by Smith Palmer Bovie. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959. Copyright © 1959 by The University of Chicago Press. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

22. Stiffed for Dinner!

The Roman writer Pliny the Younger (A.D. 62–114) dropped the following note to his friend Septicius Clarus, who was supposed to join him for dinner, but who never showed up.

How did it happen, my friend, that you did not keep your appointment the other night to have dinner with me? Now take notice: the court is in session, and you will fully reimburse me the expense I laid out to treat you, which, let me tell you, was no small sum. I want you to know that I had prepared a lettuce and three snails apiece, along with two eggs, barley water, some sweet wine and snow—I most certainly will charge the snow to your account, as it was spoiled in the serving. Besides all these

curious dishes, there were olives, beets, gourds, shallots, and a hundred other delicacies, equally sumptuous.

Likewise, you would have been entertained either with an interlude, the rehearsal of a poem, or a piece of music, as you like best, or—such was my generosity—with all three. But the oysters, chitterlings, seas urchins, and Spanish dancers, of a certain, I know not who, were, it seems, more to your taste. However, I'll have my revenge; you can count on it. What kind of revenge will be a secret for now. In good truth, it was not kind of me to humble a friend—I almost said yourself, and upon second thought, I do say so. How pleasantly would we have spent the evening, in laughing, joking, and friendship! You can get a better dinner at many other places, I'm sure. But you can be treated nowhere, believe me, with more unrestrained cheerfulness, forthrightness, and freedom. Please give it a try. And if you do not forever after prefer my dinner parties to any others, then never dine with me again. Farewell.

Source: *Pliny's Letters*. Volume I. Translated by William Melmoth, with revisions by W.M.L. Hutchinson. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1915.

23. *Treat the Help Kindly*

The Roman philosopher Seneca (4 B.C.–A.D. 65) was no Trimalchio either (see Document 18, above), when it came to dinner etiquette. Unlike Trimalchio, Seneca believed that servants and slaves, who prepared and served the food, always deserved to be treated respectfully.

I smile at those who think it degrading for a man to share a meal with his slave. But why should they think it degrading? It is only because a purse-proud etiquette surrounds a householder at his dinner with a mob of standing slaves. The master eats more than he can hold, and with monstrous greed loads his belly until it is stretched and at length ceases to do the work of a belly, so that he is at greater pains to discharge all the food than he was to stuff it down. All this time, the poor slaves may not move their lips, even to speak . . .

When we recline at a banquet, one slave mops up the disgorged food, another crouches beneath the table and gathers up the leftovers of the tipsy guests. Another carves the priceless game birds. With unerring strokes and skilled hand, he cuts the choice morsels along the breast or the rump. Poor fellow, to live only for the purpose of cutting fat capons correctly, unless the other man is still more unhappy than he, who teaches this art for pleasure's sake, rather than he who learns it because he must.

Another, who serves the wine, must dress like a woman and wrestle with his advancing years . . . Another, whose duty it is to put a valuation on the guests, must stick to his task, unlucky man, and watch to see whose flattery and whose immodesty, whether of appetite or of language, is to get them an invitation for tomorrow. Think also of the poor purveyors of food, who note their masters' tastes with delicate skill, who know what special flavors will sharpen their appetite, what will please their eyes, what new combinations will rouse their cloyed stomachs, what food will excite their disgust through sheer superabundance, and what will stir them to hunger on that particular day.

The master cannot bear to dine with slaves like these. He would think it beneath his dignity to associate with his slave at the same table! God forbid!

Source: Seneca: *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*. Volume I. Translated by Richard M. Gummere. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1917.

24. The Emperor Augustus's Meal Routines

The dining and entertaining habits of the emperor Augustus (reigned 27 B.C.–A.D. 14) were hardly sumptuous, according to this excerpt from the writings of the Roman biographer Suetonius (A.D. c. 70–c. 140).

He gave dinner parties constantly and always formally, with great regard to the rank and personality of his guests... He would sometimes come to table late on these occasions and leave early, allowing his guests to begin to dine before he took his place, and keep their places after he went out. He served a dinner of three courses or of six when he was most lavish, without needless extravagance but with the greatest good fellowship. For he drew into the general conversation those who were silent or chatted under their breath, and introduced music and actors, or even strolling players from the circus, and especially story tellers...

He was a light eater... and as a rule ate plain food. He particularly liked coarse bread, small fishes, hand-made moist cheese, and green figs of the second crop. And he would eat even before dinner, wherever and whenever he felt hungry. I quote word for word from some of his letters: "I ate a little bread and some dates in my carriage." And again: "As I was on my way home... in my litter, I devoured an ounce of bread and a few berries from a cluster of hard-fleshed grapes." Once more: "Not even a Jew... fasts so scrupulously on the Sabbaths as I have today. For it was not until after the first hour of the night that I ate two mouthfuls of bread in the bath before I began to be anointed." Because of this irregularity, he sometimes ate alone either before a dinner party or after it was over, touching nothing while it was in progress.

He was by nature most sparing also in his use of wine. [The historian] Cornelius Nepos writes that in camp before Mutina [during a military campaign], it was his habit to drink not more than three times at dinner. Afterwards, when he indulged most freely, he never exceeded a pint, or if he did, he used to throw it up. He... rarely drank before dinner. Instead, he would eat a bit of bread soaked in cold water, a slice of cucumber, a sprig of young lettuce, or an apple with a tart flavor, either fresh or cold.

Source: Suetonius. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1913.

25. A Pompous Host

The Roman writer Pliny the Younger (A.D. 62–114), never one to hobnob with the rich and famous (at least according to his statement in the following letter), nevertheless accepted a dinner invitation from a self-important host, with predictable results.

[A letter] to Avitus:

It would be a long and trivial story, were I to recount in too much detail by what accident I—who am not fond at all of polite society—had dinner recently with a person who in his own opinion lives in splendor combined with fiscal prudence, but according to my opinion, in a distasteful but expensive manner. Some very elegant dishes were served up to himself and a few more of the dinner guests, while those which were placed before the rest were cheap and paltry. He had apportioned in three pitchers three different sorts of wine, but you are not to suppose it was that the guests might take their choice. On the contrary, they were not allowed to choose at all. One was for himself and me; the next for his friends of a lower order—you must know that he measures out his friendship according to the degrees of quality—and the third for his own freedmen and mine.

Someone who sat next to me noticed this, and asked me if I approved of it. “Not at all,” I told him. “Tell me, then,” he said, “what do you do [when you host a dinner party under similar circumstances]?” “My practice,” I replied, “is to give all my guests the same food and drink, because when I send out dinner invitations, it’s for dinner, not for a property assessment. Every person whom I have placed on an equal plane with myself by inviting him to dinner, I treat as an equal in every way.” “Even freedmen?” he asked. “Even them,” I replied, “for on these occasions, I do not regard them as freedmen, but as pleasant dinner companions.” “This must put you to great expense,” he said. I assured him not at all; and on his asking how that could be, I said, “You must understand that my freedmen don’t drink the same wine I do—but *I* drink what *they* do.”

And certainly, if a man is wise enough to moderate his own gluttony, he will not find it so very burdensome a thing to entertain all his visitors in general as he does himself. Restrain and, so to speak, humble that failing, if you seriously wish to spend your money wisely. You will find your own temperance a much better method of saving expenses than insults to other people.

What is my point in all this, you ask? Why to hinder a young man of your excellent disposition from being imposed upon by the self-indulgence which prevails at some men’s dinner parties, under the guise of frugality. And whenever any foolishness of this nature falls within my observation, I will, as a result of that kind feeling which I bear you, point it out to you as an example which you should avoid. Remember, therefore, that nothing is more to be avoided than this modern conjunction of self-indulgence and stinginess, qualities which are exceedingly distasteful even when existing separately, but still more distasteful when they meet together in the same person. Farewell.

Source: *Pliny’s Letters*. Volume I. Translated by William Melmoth, with revisions by W.M.L. Hutchinson. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1915.

26. The Benefits of Fasting

On the other hand, some Romans occasionally fasted, or at least subsisted on very little food, as the philosopher Seneca (4 B.C.–A.D. 65) describes, and even recommends, in the following passage from one of his Epistles.

I am so firmly determined to test the constancy of your mind that, drawing from the teachings of great men, I will give you also a lesson: Set aside a certain number of days,

during which you will be content with the scantiest and cheapest food, with coarse and rough clothing, saying to yourself all the while: "Is this the condition that I feared?" It is precisely in times of immunity from care that the soul should toughen itself beforehand for occasions of greater stress, and it is while Fortune is kind that it should fortify itself against her violence...

You need not suppose that I mean meals [of complete deprivation]. Let the dish be a real one, and the coarse cloak. Let the bread be hard and grimy. Endure all this for three or four days at a time, sometimes for more, so that it may be a test of yourself instead of a mere hobby. Then, I assure you, my dear Lucilius, you will leap for joy when filled with a penny's worth of food, and you will understand that a person's peace of mind does not depend on Fortune. For, even when angry, she grants enough for our needs.

There is no reason, however, why you should think that you are doing anything great. For you will merely be doing what many thousands of slaves and many thousands of poor men are doing every day. But you may credit yourself with this item: that you will not be doing it under compulsion, and that it will be as easy for you to endure it permanently as to make the experiment from time to time...

Even Epicurus, the teacher of pleasure, used to observe stated intervals, during which he satisfied his hunger in scanty fashion. He wished to see whether he thereby fell short of full and complete happiness, and if so, by what amount he fell short... Do you think that there can be fullness on such food? Yes, and there is pleasure also—not that shifty and fleeting pleasure... but a pleasure that is steadfast and sure. For although water, barley meal, and crusts of barley bread are not a cheerful diet, yet it is the highest kind of pleasure to be able to derive pleasure from this sort of food, and to have reduced one's needs to that modicum which no unfairness of Fortune can snatch away. Even prison food is more generous, and those who have been set apart for capital punishment are not so poorly fed by the man who is to execute them. Therefore, what a noble soul one must have, to descend of one's own free will to a diet which even those who have been sentenced to death have not to fear! This is indeed forestalling the spear-thrusts of Fortune.

So begin, my dear Lucilius, to follow the custom of these people, and set apart certain days on which you will withdraw from your business, and make yourself at home with the scantiest food. Establish business relations with poverty.

Source: Seneca: *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*. Volume I. Translated by Richard M. Gummere. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1917.

27. A Roman Cookbook

A Roman gourmet by the name of Apicius, who lived in the first century A.D., compiled a book of recipes, a sort of Roman cookbook. Below are some recipes from Apicius's work.

Honey refresher for travelers:

The wayfarer's honey refresher (so called because it gives endurance and strength to pedestrians), with which travelers are refreshed by the wayside, is made in this manner: Flavor honey with ground pepper and skim. In the moment of serving, put honey in a cup, as much as is desired to obtain the right degree of sweetness, and mix with spiced

wine, not more than a needed quantity; also, add some wine to the spiced honey to facilitate its flow and the mixing.

To keep grapes:

Take perfect grapes from the vines, place them in a vessel, and pour rain water over them that has been boiled down one third of its volume. The vessel must be pitched and sealed with plaster, and must be kept in a cool place to which the sun has no access. Treated in this manner, the grapes will be fresh whenever you need them. You can also serve this water as honey mead to the sick.

Also, if you cover the grapes with barley, you will find them sound and uninjured.

Supreme style cooked peas:

Cook the peas with oil and a piece of sow's belly. Put in a sauce pan broth, leek heads, green coriander, and put on the fire to be cooked. Of tid-bits [i.e., finely-chopped meats or seasonings] cut little dice. Similarly cook thrushes or other small [game] birds, or take sliced chicken and diced brain, properly cooked. Further cook, in the available liquor or broth, Lucanian sausage and bacon; cook leeks in water. Crush a pint of toasted pignolia nuts. Also crush pepper, lovage, origany, and ginger, dilute with the broth of pork, tie. Take a square baking dish, suitable for turning over; oil it well. Sprinkle [on the bottom] a layer of crushed nuts, upon which put some peas, fully covering the bottom of the squash dish. On top of this, arrange slices of the bacon, leeks, and sliced Lucanian sausage. Again cover with a layer of peas and alternate all the rest of the available edibles in the manner described until the dish is filled, concluding at last with a layer of peas, utilizing everything. Bake this dish in the oven, or put it into a slow fire [covering it with live coals], so that it may be baked thoroughly. [Next make a sauce of the following]: Put yolks of hard-boiled eggs in the mortar with white pepper, nuts, honey, white wine, and a little broth. Mix, and put it into a sauce pan to be cooked. When [the sauce is] done, turn out the peas into a large [silver dish], and mask them with this sauce, which is called white sauce.

Crane or duck with turnips:

Take out [entrails]. Clean, wash, and dress [the bird], and parboil it in water with salt and dill. Next, prepare turnips, and cook them in water, which is to be squeezed out. Take them out of the pot and wash them again, and put into a sauce pan the duck, with oil, broth, a bunch of leeks, and coriander. The turnips, cut into small pieces: these put on top of the [duck], in order to finish cooking. When half done, to give it color, add reduced must. The sauce is prepared separately: pepper, cumin, coriander, laser root moistened with vinegar and diluted with its own broth [of the fowl]. Bring this to a boiling point, thicken with roux. [In a deep dish, arrange the duck]; on top of the turnips [strain the sauce over it]. Sprinkle with pepper and serve.

Pig's paunch.

Clean the paunch of a suckling pig well with salt and vinegar, and presently wash with water. Then fill it with the following dressing: pieces of pork pounded in the mortar, three brains—the nerves removed—mix with raw eggs, add nuts, whole pepper, and sauce to taste. Crush pepper, lovage, silphium, anise, ginger, a little rue; fill the paunch with it, not too much, though, leaving plenty of room for expansion, so that it does not burst while being cooked. Put it in a pot with boiling water, retire and prick with a needle so that it does not burst. When half done, take it out and

hang it into the smoke to take on color. Now boil it over again and finish it leisurely. Next take the broth, some pure wine, and a little oil, open the paunch with a small knife. Sprinkle with the broth and lovage; place the pig near the fire to heat it, turn it around in bran [or bread crumbs], immerse it in brine, and finish [the outer crust to a golden brown].

Spiced hare:

[The well-prepared hare]: Cook in wine, broth, water, with a little mustard [seed], dill, and leeks with the roots. When all is done, season with pepper, satury, round onions, Damascus plums, wine, broth, reduced wine and a little oil; tie with roux, let boil a little longer, [baste], so that the hare is penetrated by the flavor, and serve it on a platter masked with sauce.

Source: *Apicius: Cookery and Dining in Imperial Rome*. Translated by Joseph Dommers Vehling. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1936.

28. Priestly Banquets

In this excerpt from his Saturnalia, the fifth-century A.D. writer Macrobius describes a banquet enjoyed by Roman priests of what he calls "early times."

You must understand that extravagant profusion was found among the highest dignitaries, for I would remind you of a pontifical banquet of early times . . . There were served, for the preliminary service, sea urchins, unlimited raw oysters, scallops, cockles, thrushes on asparagus, fattened fowls, a dish of oysters and scallops, acorn fish (both black and white), then another service of cockles, mussels, sea nettles, figpeckers, haunches of venison and boar, fattened fowls cooked in pastry, more figpeckers, murex, and purple fish. For the main dishes were served sow's udders, boar's head, stewed fish, stewed sow's udders, ducks, boiled teal, hares, fattened fowls roasted, creamed wheat, and rolls of Picenum.

With a pontiff's table loaded with all those delicacies, one would suppose that no charge of extravagance would thereafter any longer lie. But is it not enough to make one blush even to speak of the kinds of food indulged in?

Macrobius describes the many varieties of figs:

The dried figs . . . suggest that we should make a list of the varieties of fig: . . . the African fig, the white fig, the reed fig, the donkey fig, the black fig, the marsh fig, the Augustan fig, the fig that yields two crops, the Carian fig, the white and black Chalcidic fig, the white and black Chian fig, the white and black Calpurnian fig, the gourd-shaped fig, the hard-skinned fig, the fig of Herculaneum, the Livian fig, the Lydian fig, the small Lydian fig, the Marsic fig, the dark Numidian fig, the Pompeian fig, the early-ripening fig, and the black Tellanian fig.

Source: From *Macrobius: The Saturnalia*. Translated by Percival Vaughan Davies. Copyright © 1969 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

29. Exotic Foods, Gluttonous Romans

In this passage from his Attic Nights, Aulus Gellius (A.D. c. 125–c. 180) references a poem by the grammarian Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 B.C.), about the gluttonous tendencies of some of his fellow Romans, and their love of exotic foods.

Marcus Varro, in the satire which he entitled *On Edibles*, in verses written with great charm and cleverness, discusses exquisite elegance in banquets and foods. He has set forth and described in poetry the greater number of things of that kind which such gluttons seek out on land and sea.

As for the verses themselves, he who has leisure may find and read them in the book which I have mentioned. So far as my memory goes, these are the varieties and names of the foods surpassing all others, which is bottomless gullet has hunted out and which Varro has assailed in his satire, with the places where they are found: a peacock from Samos, a woodcock from Phrygia, cranes of Media, a young goat from Ambracia, a young tuna from Chalcedon, a lamprey from Tartessus, codfish from Pessinus, oysters from Tarentum, cockles from Sicily, a swordfish from Rhodes, pike from Cilicia, nuts from Thasos, dates from Egypt, acorns from Spain.

But this tireless gluttony, which is ever wandering about and seeking for flavors, and this eager quest of dainties from all quarters, we shall consider deserving of the greater detestation, if we recall the verses of Euripides of which the philosopher Chrysippus made frequent use, to the effect that gastronomic delicacies were sought and desired not because of the necessary uses of life, but because of a spirit of luxury that disdains what is easily attainable.

Source: *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Volume II. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

Houses and Furniture

When the Greek hero Odysseus finally returned home to his island kingdom of Ithaca after a 20-year absence—10 years spent fighting in the Trojan War, and another 10 on the voyage home—one of the ways in which he revealed and confirmed his identity was by describing how he built a special bed for himself and his wife—one of the bedposts was fashioned from a living olive tree trunk (Document 30). The furniture preferred by the Roman emperor *Augustus*, however, was not nearly as unique as that; simplicity was the watchword for his houses and their furnishings (Document 33).

Houses owned by wealthy Romans could be quite ornate and extensive, as revealed in a letter written by Pliny the Younger about one of his country estates (Document 34), and often these upscale houses were equipped with very expensive furnishings (Document 35). Greek style houses are described in Document 31. A house, whether small, moderately sized, or large, required good household management, a topic addressed in Document 32.

GREECE

30. Odysseus's Unique Bed

When he was a young man, Odysseus, the hero of the Odyssey by the legendary Greek poet Homer, built a special bed for himself and his wife Penelope. The bed was unique because one of the bedposts was fashioned from a living olive tree trunk.

An old trunk of olive
grew like a pillar on the building plot,
and I laid out our bedroom round that tree,
lifted up the stone walls, built the walls and roof,
gave it a doorway and smooth-fitting doors.
Then I lopped off the silvery leaves and branches,
hewed and shaped that stump from the roots up
into a bedpost, drilled it, let it serve
as model for the rest. I planed them all,
inlaid them all with silver, gold and ivory,
and stretched a bed between—a pliant web
of oxhide thongs dyed crimson.

Source: Excerpts from THE ODYSSEY by Homer, translated by Robert Fitzgerald. Copyright © 1961, 1963 by Robert Fitzgerald. Copyright renewed 1989 by Benedict R. C. Fitzgerald, on behalf of the Fitzgerald children. Reprinted by permission of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, LLC.

31. Ancient Greek House Building Styles

Although he was a Roman architect, Vitruvius (fl. first century B.C.) in his book on architecture, devotes a lengthy section, which is excerpted below, to Greek homes.

The Greeks...do not build as we do. But as you enter, they make passages of scanty width with stables on one side, and the porter's rooms on the other, and these immediately adjoin the inner entrance. The space between the two entrances is called, in Greek, *thyroron*. You then enter the peristyle. This has colonnades on three sides. On the side which looks southward, there are two piers at a fair distance apart, on which beams are laid. The space behind is recessed two-thirds of the distance between the piers...

As we pass in, there is the Great Hall, in which the ladies sit with the spinning women. Right and left of the recess are the bedchambers, of which one is called the *thalamus*, the other the *amphithalamus*. Around the colonnades are the ordinary dining rooms, the bedrooms, and the servants' rooms. This part of the building is called the women's quarter, *gynaecitis*.

Next to this is a larger block of buildings with more splendid peristyles...In these halls, men's banquets are held, for it was not customary for women to join men at dinner. These peristyles are called the men's block, for in them men meet without interruption from the women. Moreover, on the right and left, lodges are situated with their own entrances, dining rooms, and bedrooms, so that guests on their arrival may be received into the guest houses and not in the peristyles. When the Greeks were more luxurious and in circumstances more opulent, they provided for visitors on their arrival, dining rooms,

bedrooms, and storerooms with supplies. On the first day, they invited them to dinner; afterwards, they sent poultry, eggs, vegetables, fruit, and other country produce.

Source: *Vitruvius: On Architecture*. Volume II. Translated by Frank Granger. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

32. *Managing the Household*

The Oeconomicus of the Greek writer Xenophon (c. 430–354 B.C.) is a practical manual on household management. One of the topics addressed by the author is the proper arrangement and organization of household possessions. The setting of the following excerpt is a conversation between the fifth-century B.C. Athenian philosopher Socrates, and a friend of his named Ischomachus.

“Now,” [said Ischomachus], “after seeing [the perfect ordering and organization of a ship’s cargo], I told my wife: ‘Considering that sailors aboard a merchant vessel, even though it be a little one, find room for things and keep order, though tossed violently to and fro, and find what they want to get, though terror-stricken, it would be downright carelessness on our part if we, who have large storerooms in our house to keep everything separate and whose house rests on solid ground, fail to find a good and handy place for everything. Would it not be sheer stupidity on our part?’

“How good it is to keep one’s stock of utensils in order, and how easy to find a suitable place in a house to put each set in, I have already said. And what a beautiful sight is afforded by boots of all sorts and conditions arranged in rows! How beautiful it is to see cloaks of all sorts and conditions kept separate, or blankets, or bronze vessels, or table furniture! Yes, no serious person will smile when I claim that there is beauty in the order even of pots and pans set out in neat array, however much it may move the laughter of a wit. There is nothing, in short, that does not gain in beauty when set out in order. For each set looks like a troop of utensils, and the space between the sets is beautiful to see, when each set is kept clear of it, just as a troop of dancers about the altar is a beautiful spectacle in itself, and even the free space looks beautiful and unencumbered . . .

“Such is the gist of the conversation I think I remember having with her about the arrangement of utensils and their use.”

“And what was the result?” I asked. “Did you think, Ischomachus, that your wife paid any attention to the lessons you tried so hard to teach her?”

“Why, she promised to live up to them, and she was evidently pleased beyond measure to feel that she had found a solution to her difficulties, and she begged me to lose no time in arranging things as I had suggested.”

“And how did you arrange things for her, Ischomachus?” I asked.

“Why, I decided first to show her the possibilities of our house. For it contains few elaborate decorations, Socrates. But the rooms are designed simply with the object of providing as convenient receptacles as possible for the things that are to fill them, and thus each room invited just what was suited to it. Thus the storeroom, by the security of its position, called for the most valuable blankets and utensils, the dry-covered rooms for the corn, the cool ones for the wine, the well-lit for those works of art and vessels

that need light. I showed her decorated living rooms for the family that are cool in summer and warm in winter. I showed her that the whole house fronts south, so that it was obvious that it is sunny in winter and shady in summer. I showed her the women's quarters too, separated by a bolted door from the men's, so that nothing which ought not to be moved may be taken out...

"And now that we had completed the list, we immediately set about [sorting and organizing the furniture]. We began by collecting the vessels we use in sacrificing. After that, we put together the women's holiday finery, and the men's holiday and war garb, blankets in the women's quarters, blankets in the men's quarters, women's shoes, men's shoes. Another category consisted of arms, and three others of implements for spinning, for bread making, or for cooking; others, again, of the things required for washing, at the kneading-trough, and for table use. All these we divided into two sets, things in constant use and things reserved for festivities. We also put by themselves the things consumed month by month, and set apart the supplies calculated to last for a year. This plan makes it easier to tell how they will last to the end of the time.

"When we had divided all the portable property... we arranged everything in its proper place. After that, we showed the servants who have to use them where to keep the utensils they require daily, for baking, cooking, spinning, and so forth; handed them over to their care and ordered them to see that they were safe and sound. The things that we use only for festivals or entertainments, or on rare occasions, we handed over to the housekeeper, and after showing her their places and counting and making a written list of all the items, we told her to give them out to the right servants, to remember what she gave to each of them, and when receiving them back, to put everything in the place from which she took it...

"When all this was done, Socrates, I told my wife that all these measures were futile, unless she saw to it herself that our arrangement was strictly adhered to in every detail. I explained that in well-ordered cities, the citizens are not satisfied with passing good laws; they go further, and choose guardians of the laws, who act as overseers, commending the law-abiding and punishing law-breakers. So I encouraged my wife to consider herself a guardian of the laws of our household. And just as the commander of a garrison inspects his guards, so must she inspect the household goods whenever she thought it well to do so... She was to make sure that everything was in good condition. Like a queen, she must reward the worthy with praise and honor, so far as in her lay, and not spare criticism and punishment when they were called for.

"Moreover, I taught her that she should not be upset that I assigned heavier duties to her than to the servants in respect to our possessions. Servants, I pointed out, carry, tend, and guard their master's property, and only in this sense have a share in it. They have no right to use anything except by the owner's permission. But everything belongs to the master, to use as he wishes. Therefore, I explained, the one who gains most by the preservation of the goods and loses most by their destruction, is the one who is bound to take most care of them."

"Well, now, Ischomachus," said I, "was your wife inclined to pay attention to your words?"

"Why, Socrates," he replied, "she just told me that I was mistaken if I supposed that I was laying a hard task on her in telling her that she must take care of our things. It

would have been harder, she said, had I required her to neglect her own possessions, than to have the duty of attending to her own personal blessings. The fact is... just as it naturally comes easier to a good woman to care for her own children than to neglect them, so, I imagine, a good woman finds it pleasanter to look after her own possessions than to neglect them.”

Source: *Xenophon: Memorabilia and Oeconomicus*. Translated by E. C. Marchant. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1923.

ROME

33. *The Furniture Preferred by the Emperor Augustus*

Unlike some of the later Roman emperors, the emperor Augustus (reigned 27 B.C.–A.D. 14) preferred a rather simple lifestyle when it came to houses and furniture, as the Roman biographer Suetonius (A.D. c. 70–c. 140) explains in this excerpt from his writings.

It is generally agreed that he was most temperate and without even the suspicion of any fault. He lived at first near the Roman Forum... [and] afterwards on the Palatine [Hill], but in [a] modest dwelling... which was remarkable neither for size nor elegance, having but short colonnades... and rooms without any marble decorations or handsome pavements. For more than 40 years, too, he used the same bedroom in winter and summer; although he found the city unfavorable to his health in the winter, yet he continued to winter there. If ever he planned to do anything in private or without interruption, he had a retired place at the top of the house, which he called... “technyphion” [little workshop]. In this he used to take refuge, or else in the villa of one of his freedmen in the suburbs; but whenever he was not well, he slept at Maecenas’ house. When not in Rome, he went most frequently to places by the sea and the islands off Campania [central Italy], or to the towns near Rome, such as Lanuvium, Praeneste, or Tibur... He disliked large and sumptuous country palaces, actually razing to the ground one which his granddaughter Julia built on a lavish scale. His own villas, which were modest enough, he decorated not so much with handsome statues and pictures, as with terraces, groves, and objects noteworthy for their antiquity and rarity...

The simplicity of his furniture and household goods may be seen from couches and tables still in existence [during Suetonius’s time, a century or so after Augustus’s death], many of which are scarcely fine enough for a private citizen. They say that he always slept on a low and plainly furnished bed.

Source: *Suetonius*. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1913.

34. *Pliny’s Tuscan Villa*

The politician and diplomat Pliny the Younger (A.D. 62–114) owned several country homes, which he described with great detail in letters to friends. An example of his description of his Tuscan villa is found in the following excerpt.

The exposure of the main part of the house is full south; thus, it seems to invite the sun... into a wide and proportionably long portico, containing many divisions, one of which is an atrium... In front of the portico is a terrace divided into a great number of geometrical figures, and bounded with a box-hedge...

At the extremity of the portico stands a grand dining room, which through its folding doors looks upon one end of the terrace; while beyond there is a very extensive view over the meadows up into the country. From the windows, you see on the one hand the side of the terrace and such parts of the house which project forward; on the other, with the woods enclosing the adjacent hippodrome. Opposite almost to the center of the portico stands a suite of apartments... which encompasses a small court, shaded by four plane trees, in the midst of which a fountain rises, from whence the water running over the edges of a marble basin gently refreshes the surrounding plane trees and the ground underneath them. This suite contains a bedroom free from every kind of noise, and which the light itself cannot penetrate, together with my ordinary dining room that I use when I have none but close friends with me. This looks out over the little court which I just now described, and also upon the portico... There is besides another room, which, being situated close to the nearest plane tree, enjoys constant shade;... its sides are covered with marble up to the cornice. On the frieze above a foliage is painted, with birds perched among the branches, which has an effect altogether as agreeable as that of the marble. In this room is placed a little fountain, that, playing through several small pipes into a vase, produces a most pleasing murmur.

From a wing of the portico, you enter into a very spacious chamber opposite to the grand dining room, which, from some of its windows, has a view of the terrace, and from others of the meadow, while those in the front dominate an ornamental basin just beneath them, which entertains both the eye and the ear; for the water falling from a great height foams around its marble receptacle. This room is extremely warm in winter, being much exposed to the sun, and on a cloudy day the hot air from an adjoining stove very well supplies the absence of the sun.

From here, you pass through a spacious and pleasant dressing room into the cold-bath room, in which is a large, gloomy bath. But if you prefer to swim more at large, or in warmer water, there is a pool for that purpose in the courtyard, and near it a reservoir from which you may be supplied with cold water to brace yourself again, if you should perceive that you are too much relaxed by the warm. Contiguous to the cold bath is a lukewarm one, which enjoys the kindly warmth of the sun, but not so intensely as that of the hot bath, which projects from the house...

Over the dressing room is built the ball court, which is large enough to allow several different kinds of games being played at once, each with its own circle of spectators. Not far from the baths is a staircase which leads to a gallery, and to three apartments on the way. One of these looks out upon the little court with the four plane trees around it; another has a view of the meadows; the third abuts upon the vineyard... At one end of the gallery... is a chamber that overlooks the hippodrome... adjoining is a room which has a full exposure to the sun, especially in winter. From there runs an apartment that connects the hippodrome with the house.

Such are the villa's beauties and conveniences on the front. On the side is a summer gallery which stands high, and has not only a view of the vineyard, but seems almost

to touch it. Midway, it contains a dining room cooled by the wholesome breezes which come from the Apennine valleys; the back windows, which are extremely large, let in, as it were, the vineyards, as do the folding doors... Along that side of this dining room where there are no windows, runs a private staircase for the greater convenience of serving at entertainments. At the farther end is a chamber from which the eye is entertained with a view of the vineyards, and, what is equally agreeable, of the gallery. Underneath this room is a gallery resembling a crypt, which in the midst of summer heat retains its pent-up chilliness, and, enjoying its own atmosphere, neither admits nor wants the refreshment of external breezes.

...At the upper end [of the portico] is a semi-circular bench of white marble, shaded with a vine which is trained upon four small pillars of Carystian marble. Water gushing through several little pipes from under this bench, as if it were pressed out by the weight of the persons who sit on it, falls into a stone cistern underneath; from there, it is received into a fine marble basin, so artfully designed that it is always full, without ever overflowing. When I eat here, the tray of *hors d'oeuvres* and larger dishes are placed around the edge, while the smaller ones swim about in the form of little ships and water fowl. Opposite this is a fountain which is incessantly emptying and filling, for the water, which it throws up a great height, falling back again into it, is by means of connected openings returned as fast as it is received...

Many other luxuries and amenities are described next.

I have now informed you why I prefer my Tuscan villa to those which I possess at Tusculum, Tibur, and Praeneste. Besides the advantages already mentioned, I there enjoy a securer, as it is a more profound leisure. I never need to put on full dress; nobody calls from next door on urgent business. All is calm and composed which contributes no less than its clear air and unclouded sky to the healthfulness of the spot.

Source: Pliny: *Letters*. Volume I. Translated by William Melmoth, with revisions by W.M.L. Hutchinson. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1915.

35. Silver Furniture and Dinner Dishware

In this excerpt from his Natural History, Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79) provides some examples of the overuse of silver in Roman furniture and dishes.

While we know that ladies' bedsteads have for a long time now been entirely covered with silver plating, so for just as long have banqueting couches also been covered. It is recorded that Carvilius Pollio... was the first person who had silver put on these latter... in the Corinthian style. In this latter style, he also had bedsteads made of gold, and not long afterwards, silver bedsteads were made...

In fact it was shortly before this period [of the dictator Sulla, in the early first century B.C.] that silver dishes were made weighing 100 pounds, and it is well known that there were at that date over 150 of those at Rome, and that many people were sentenced

to outlawry because of them, by the schemes of people who coveted them... Our generation has gone one better. Under the emperor Claudius [reigned A.D. 41–54], his slave Drusillanus... possessed a silver dish weighing 500 pounds, for the manufacture of which a workshop had first been specially built, and eight others of 250 pounds went with it as side dishes. How many of his fellow slaves, I ask, were to bring them in or who were to dine off them?

[The historian] Cornelius Nepos records that before the victory won by Sulla [82 B.C.] there were only two silver dining couches at Rome, and that silver began to be used for decorating sideboards within his own recollection. And Fenestella, who died towards the end of the principate of Tiberius [reigned A.D. 14–37], says that tortoiseshell sideboards also came into fashion at that time, but a little before his day, they had been solid round structures of wood, and not much larger than tables, but that even in his boyhood, they began to be made square and of planks morticed together and veneered either with maple or citrus wood, while later silver was laid on at the corners and along the lines marking the joins, and when he was a young man they were called “drums,” and then also the dishes for which the old name had been *magides* came to be called basins from their resemblance to the scales of a balance...

But what is the point of collecting these instances [of ostentatious use of silver], when our soldiers' sword hilts are made of chased silver, even ivory not being thought good enough, and when their scabbards jingle with little silver chains, and their belts with silver tabs? Nowadays, our schools for pages just at the point of adolescence wear silver badges as a safeguard, and women use silver to wash in and scorn baths not made of silver, and the same substance does service both for our food and for our baser needs. If only Fabricius [third-century B.C. austere Roman office-holder, who died in poverty] could see these displays of luxury—women's bathrooms with floors of silver, leaving nowhere to set your feet—if only Fabricius, who forbade courageous generals to possess more than a dish and a salt cellar of silver, could see how nowadays the rewards of bravery are made from the utensils of luxury, or else are broken up to make them! Alas for our present lifestyles; Fabricius makes us blush!

Source: *Pliny: Natural History*. Volume IX. Translated by H. Rackham. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1952.

Clothing

As was the case with food and dinners, housing, and household furnishings, some people in the ancient world, like the high priest in Israel (Document 37), the flamboyant *Trimalchio* (Document 45), or the Roman emperor *Caligula* (Document 46), wore expensive, fancy clothing. Wealthy Roman women were partial to pricey jewelry (Document 48). On the other hand, the emperor *Augustus* preferred a more modest wardrobe, clothes more suited for the average citizen than for a powerful leader (Document 42), and the philosopher Seneca argued in favor of frugality in clothing, as well as in food and furniture (Document 44). Roman orators were often in the public eye, and so their clothing, while not ornate, had to follow certain expectations commensurate with their profession (Document 43). Others, like Roman senators, were also expected to dress

appropriately when in public (Document 47). Some Romans were influenced in their clothing choices by fashions from abroad, especially from Greece (Document 41).

Extremes in temperature might dictate clothing styles, as in India (Document 38), where loose fitting, brightly colored linen clothing was the norm. Linen clothing was also preferred in Egypt (Document 39). Regardless of the color, style, or fabric, all clothing required laundering at one time or another, and for that onerous task, laundry advice is presented in Document 40.

SUMERIA

36. Babylonian Clothing

The fifth-century B.C. Greek historian Herodotus provides a description of Babylonian clothing in the following excerpt from his Histories.

The dress of the Babylonians consists of a linen tunic reaching to the feet, with a woolen one over it, and a short white cloak on top. They have their own fashion in shoes, which resemble the slippers one sees in Boeotia [a district in Greece]. They grow their hair long, wear turbans, and perfume themselves all over. Everyone owns a seal and a walking stick specially made for him, with a device carved on the top of it, an apple or a rose or lily or eagle or something of the sort. For it is not the custom to have a stick without some such ornament.

Source: *Herodotus: The Histories*. Translated by Aubrey de Selincourt. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

ISRAEL

37. The High Priest's Wardrobe

In the thirty-ninth chapter of the book of Exodus, there appears the following detailed description of the attire of Aaron, the high priest.

Beautiful priestly clothes were made of blue, purple, and red wool for Aaron to wear when he performed his duties in the holy place. This was done exactly as the LORD had commanded Moses.

The entire priestly vest was made of fine linen, woven with blue, purple, and red wool. Thin sheets of gold were hammered out and cut into threads that were skillfully woven into the vest. It had two shoulder straps to support it and a sash that fastened around the waist. Onyx stones were placed in gold settings, and each one was engraved with the name of one of Israel's sons. Then these were attached to the shoulder straps of the vest, so the LORD would never forget his people. Everything was done exactly as the LORD had commanded Moses.



A neo-Babylonian limestone relief of King Marduk of Babylon (with a bouquet) greets scribe Ibni-Ishtar, ninth century B.C. Uruk. The Art Archive/Musée du Louvre Paris/ Gianni Dagli Orti.

The breastpiece was made with the same materials and designs as the priestly vest. It was nine inches square and folded double with four rows of three precious stones: A carnelian, a chrysolite, and an emerald were in the first row; a turquoise, a sapphire, and a diamond were in the second row; a jacinth, an agate, and an amethyst were in the third row; and a beryl, an onyx, and a jasper were in the fourth row. They were mounted in a delicate gold setting, and on each of them was engraved the name of one of the twelve tribes of Israel.

Two gold rings were attached to the upper front corners of the breastpiece and fastened with two braided gold chains to gold settings on the shoulder straps. Two other gold rings were attached to the lower inside corners next to the vest, and two more near the bottom of the shoulder

straps, right above the sash. To keep the breastpiece in place, a blue cord was used to tie the two lower rings on the breastpiece to those on the vest. These things were done exactly as the LORD had commanded Moses.

The priestly robe was made of blue wool with an opening in the center for the head. The material around the collar was bound so as to keep it from unraveling. Along the hem of the robe were woven pomegranates of blue, purple, and red wool, with a bell of pure gold between each of them. This robe was to be worn by Aaron when he performed his duties.

Everything that Aaron and his sons wore was made of fine linen woven with blue, purple, and red wool, including their robes and turbans, their fancy caps and underwear, and even their sashes that were embroidered with needlework.

“Dedicated to the LORD” was engraved on a narrow strip of pure gold, which was fastened to Aaron’s turban. These things were done exactly as the LORD had commanded Moses.

Source: *The Holy Bible: Contemporary English Version*. Translator(s) not stated. New York: American Bible Society, 1995.

INDIA

38. Comfortable Clothing in a Hot Climate

The second-century A.D. Greek historian Arrian, in this excerpt from his book Indica, provides some information about the typical clothing of the inhabitants of India.

The Indians wear linen garments, according to Nearchus [another historian] . . . This linen is brighter in color than any other, or else people's own blackness makes it look brighter. They wear a linen tunic down to the middle of the calf, one garment thrown about their shoulders, and another wound around their heads. Some wear ivory earrings, but only if they are very rich. Nearchus says that they dye their beards, but with various colors; some make them look as white as possible, others are dark-blue, crimson, purple, or grass-green. All the respectable Indians use sunshades against the summer heat. They have sandals of white skin, and these are elaborately fashioned; and the heels of their sandals are of different colors, and high to make them look taller.

Source: *Arrian*. Volume II. Translated by P. A. Brunt. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1933.

EGYPT/GREECE

39. Linen Clothing

In this passage from his Histories, the fifth-century B.C. Greek historian Herodotus provides a brief description of Egyptian clothing.

The clothes they wear consist of a linen tunic with a fringe hanging around the legs (called in their language *calasiris*), and a white woolen garment on top of it. It is, however, contrary to religious usage to be buried in a woolen garment, or to wear wool in a temple.

Source: *Herodotus: The Histories*. Translated by Aubrey de Selincourt. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

40. Laundry Advice

One of the topics of conversation that came up at a dinner party attended by the Greek biographer Plutarch (A.D. c. 45–c. 120) dealt with the best and most efficient ways to wash clothing. The following excerpt is from Plutarch's Moralia.

When we were being entertained at the house of Mestrius Florus [a close friend of Plutarch], Theon [one of the other guests] raised the question . . . why [the philosopher] Chrysippus never gave an explanation for any of the strange and extraordinary things he mentions . . . Themistocles [another guest] answered: . . . “What business have you, sir, to raise a question about these matters? If you have become inquisitive and speculative in the matter of explanations, do not camp so far away from your own province, but tell us for what reason Homer has described Nausicaa [a princess in the *Odyssey*] doing her washing in the river instead of the sea, although the latter was nearby and quite likely was warmer, clearer, and more cleansing.”

“But,” said Theon, “this problem you propose to us Aristotle long ago solved by considering the earthy matter in sea water. Much coarse, earthy matter is scattered in

the sea. Being mixed with the water, this matter is responsible for the saltiness, and because of it, sea water also supports swimmers better and floats heavy objects, while fresh water lets them sink, because it is light and unsubstantial. The latter is unmixed and pure, and so because of its light consistency, it soaks into cloth and, as it passes through, dissolves stains more readily than sea water. Don't you think what Aristotle says is plausible?"

"Plausible," I said, "but not true. I observe that people frequently thicken their water with ash, or soda, or, if these are not at hand, with a powdery solid. The earthy matter, it would seem, is more easily able by its roughness to wash out dirt, while the water alone because of its lightness and weakness does not do this with equal efficiency. Therefore, it is not the coarseness of sea water that prevents this action, nor is sea water a less efficient cleanser because of its acridness, for this quality cleans out and opens up the mesh of the cloth and sweeps away the dirt. But since everything oily is hard to wash and makes a stain, and the sea is oily, this would surely be the reason for its not cleaning efficiently. That the sea is oily, Aristotle himself has said. Salt contains fat, and so it makes lamps burn better, and sea water itself, when it is sprinkled into flames, flashes up with them. Among waters, it is particularly sea water that is flammable and, in my view, this is the reason why it is also the warmest.

"What is more, the phenomenon can also be explained in another manner. Since cleansing is the aim of washing, and what dries quickest appears cleanest, the washing liquid must depart with the dirt... The sun easily evaporates fresh water because of its lightness, but salt water dries up with difficulty, since its coarseness holds it in the mesh of the cloth."

Another time, another conversation, but a similar topic:

"[Olive oil] resists evaporation and does not easily disappear. When a garment happens to be soaked with water, it dries easily, but an oil stain requires more than ordinary effort to remove. Oil stains enter deepest into the fabric because the refinement and liquidity of oil is greatest. As Aristotle says, wine is also more difficult to remove from cloth when mixed, because it is then of finer grain and settles more deeply into the pores."

Source: *Plutarch's Moralia*. Volume VIII. Translated by Paul A. Clement and Herbert B. Hoffleit. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1969.

GREECE/ROME

41. Greek Clothing Styles Invade Rome

In this passage from his Attic Nights, the Roman writer Aulus Gellius (A.D. c. 125–c. 180) discusses Greek influence on Roman attire.

For a man to wear tunics coming below the arms and as far as the wrists, and almost to the fingers, was considered inappropriate in Rome, and all the surrounding areas.

Such tunics our countrymen called by the Greek name *chiridotae* (long-sleeved), and they thought that a long and full-flowing garment was appropriate only for women to wear, to hide their arms and legs from sight. But Roman men at first wore the toga alone without tunics; later, they had close, short tunics ending below the shoulders, the kind which the Greeks call *exomides* (sleeveless). Habituated to this older fashion, Publius Africanus... a man gifted with all worthy arts and every virtue, among many other things with which he reproached Publius Sulpicius Gallus... included this also, that he wore tunics which covered his whole hands...

Virgil, too, attacks tunics of this kind as effeminate and shameful, saying: "Sleeves have their tunics, and their turbans, ribbons."

[The historian] Quintus Ennius also seems to have spoken scornfully of "the tunic-clad men" of the Carthaginians.

Source: *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Volume II. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

ROME

42. An Emperor's Modest Attire

As emperor of Rome, Augustus (reigned 27 B.C.–A.D. 14) probably could have afforded the finest clothing that money could buy. But he was content with less ostentatious finery, as the biographer Suetonius (A.D. c. 70–c. 140) notes in this excerpt from his writings.

Except on special occasions, he wore common clothes for the house, made by his sister, wife, daughter, or granddaughters. His togas were neither close nor full, his purple stripe [on the toga] neither narrow nor broad, and his shoes somewhat high-soled, to make him look taller than he really was. But he always kept his shoes and clothing to wear in public ready in his room for sudden and unexpected occasions...

In winter he protected himself with four tunics and a heavy toga, besides an undershirt, a woolen chest protector, and wraps for his thighs and shins, while in summer he slept with the doors of his bedroom open, often in the open court near a fountain, besides having someone to fan him. Yet he could not endure the sun even in winter, and never walked in the open air without wearing a broad-brimmed hat, even at home.

Source: *Suetonius*. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1913.

43. The Well-Dressed Roman Orator

The Roman philosopher and orator Quintilian (A.D. c. 35–c. 100) provides a lengthy and detailed description of the appropriate clothing for an orator in this passage from his Institutio Oratoria.

With regard to dress, there is no special clothing peculiar to the orator, but his dress comes more under the public eye than that of other people. It should, therefore, be distinguished and manly, as, indeed, it ought to be with all prominent individuals. For excessive care with regard to the cut of the toga, the style of the shoes, or the arrangement of the hair, is just as reprehensible as excessive carelessness. There are also details of dress which are altered to some extent by successive changes in fashion. The ancients, for example, wore no folds, and their successors wore them very short. Consequently it follows that in view of the fact that their arms were, like those of the Greeks, covered by the garment, they must have employed a different form of gesture... from that which is now in use.

However, I am speaking of our own day. The speaker who has not the right to wear the broad stripe [indicating senatorial status] will wear his girdle in such a way that the front edges of the tunic fall a little below his knees, while the edges in rear reach to the middle of the backs of his legs. For only women draw them lower, and only centurions higher. If we wear the purple [i.e., senatorial] stripe, it requires little care to see that it falls becomingly; negligence in this respect sometimes generates criticism. Among those who wear the broad stripe, it is the fashion to let it hang somewhat lower than in garments that are restricted by the girdle. The toga itself should, in my opinion, be round, and cut to fit; otherwise, there are a number of ways in which it may be unshapely. Its front edge should by preference reach to the middle of the shin, while the back should be higher in proportion as the girdle is higher behind than in front. The fold is most becoming if it falls to a point a little above the lower edge of the tunic, and should certainly never fall below it. The other fold, which passes obliquely like a belt under the right shoulder and over the left, should neither be too tight nor too loose. The portion of the toga which is last to be arranged should fall rather low, since it will sit better in this way and be kept in its place.

A portion of the tunic also should be drawn back in order that it may not fall over the arm when we are arguing a case, and the fold should be thrown over the shoulder, while it will not be unbecoming if the edge is turned back. On the other hand, we should not cover the shoulder and the whole of the throat; otherwise, our clothing will be unduly narrowed and will lose the impressive effect produced by breadth at the chest. The left arm should only be raised so far as to form a right angle at the elbow, while the edge of the toga should fall in equal lengths on either side.

The hand should not be overloaded with rings, which should under no circumstances encroach upon the middle joint of the finger... The ancients used to let the toga fall to the heels, as the Greeks are in the habit of doing with the cloak; Plotius and Nigidius [first-century B.C. intellectuals] both recommend this in the books which they wrote about gesture as practiced in their own day... [Pliny the Elder] asserts that Cicero was in the habit of wearing his toga in such a fashion to conceal his varicose veins, despite the fact that this fashion is to be seen in the statues of persons who lived after Cicero's day. Regarding the short cloak, bandages used to protect the legs, mufflers, and coverings for the ears, nothing short of ill-health can excuse their use.

But such attention to clothing is only possible at the beginning of a speech, since [as the speech continues]... the fold will slip down from the shoulder quite naturally

and as if it were of its own accord... The left hand may be employed to pluck the toga from the throat and the upper portion of the chest, for by now the whole body will be hot. And just as at this point the voice becomes more vehement and more varied in its utterance, so the clothing begins to assume something of a combative pose. Consequently, although to wrap the toga around the left hand or to pull it about us as a girdle would be almost a symptom of madness, while to throw back the fold from its bottom over the right shoulder would be a foppish and effeminate gesture, and there are yet worse effects than these, there is, at any rate, no reason why we should not place the looser portions of the fold under the left arm, since it gives the impression of vigor and freedom not ill-suited to the warmth and energy of our action.

When, however, our speech draws near its close, more especially if fortune shows herself kind, practically everything is appropriate. We may stream with sweat, show signs of fatigue, and let our clothing fall in careless disorder, and the toga slip loose from us on every side... On the other hand, if the toga falls down at the beginning of our speech, or when we have only proceeded a little way, the failure to replace it is a sign of indifference, or laziness, or sheer ignorance of the way in which clothes should be worn.

Source: *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*. Translated by H. E. Butler. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1922.

44. Frugality in Clothing, Furniture, and Food

The first-century A.D. philosopher Seneca, in this excerpt from his essay entitled "On Tranquility of Mind," heaps praise upon the frugal life when it comes to clothing, food, and household furnishings.

I am possessed by the very greatest love of frugality, I must confess. I do not like a couch made up for display, nor clothing brought forth from a chest, or pressed by weights and a thousand mangles to make it glossy, but homely and cheap, that is neither preserved nor to be put on with anxious care. The food that I like is neither prepared nor watched by a household of slaves; it does not need to be ordered many days before, nor to be served by many hands, but is easy to get and abundant. There is nothing far-fetched or costly about it. Nowhere will there be any lack of it, it is burdensome neither to the purse nor to the body, nor will it return by the way it entered.

The silver [eating utensils] is my country-bred father's heavy plate, bearing no stamp of the maker's name, and the table is not notable for the variety of its markings or known to the town from the many fashionable owners through whose hands it has passed, but one that stands for use, and will neither cause the eyes of any guest to linger upon it with pleasure, nor fire them with envy.

Source: *Seneca: Moral Essays*. Volume II. Translated by John W. Basore. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1932.

45. *Trimalchio's Fancy Wardrobe*

On the other hand, Trimalchio, a character in the Latin novel Satyricon by Petronius (A.D. c. 27–65), was hardly interested in the frugal lifestyle, especially when clothing was involved, as this excerpt from the novel indicates (see also Document 18, above).

Suddenly the trumpets blazed a fanfare and Trimalchio was carried in, propped up on piles of miniature pillows in such a comic way that some of us couldn't resist impolitely smiling. His head, cropped close in a recognizable slave cut, protruded from a cloak of blazing scarlet; his neck, heavily swathed already in bundles of clothing, was wrapped in a large napkin bounded by an incongruous senatorial purple stripe with little tassels dangling down here and there. On the little finger of his left hand, he sported an immense gilt ring; the ring on the last joint of his fourth finger looked to be solid gold of the kind the lesser nobility wear, but was actually, I think, an imitation, pricked out with small steel stars. Nor does this exhaust the inventory of his trinkets. At least he rather ostentatiously bared his arm to show us a large gold bracelet and an ivory circlet with a shiny metal plate.

Source: From THE SATYRICON by Petronius, translated by William Arrowsmith, copyright © 1959, renewed © 1987 by William Arrowsmith. Used by permission of Dutton Signet, a division of Penguin Group (USA) Inc.

46. *An Emperor's Immodest Attire*

The Roman emperor Caligula (reigned A.D. 37–41), always one given to excess, wore an assortment of clothing, depending on the occasion, as the Roman biographer Suetonius (A.D. c. 70–c. 140) relates in this excerpt from his writings.

In his clothing, his shoes, and the rest of his attire, he did not follow the usage of his country and his fellow citizens . . . nor even, in fact, that of an ordinary mortal. He often appeared in public in embroidered cloaks covered with precious stones, with a long-sleeved tunic and bracelets, sometimes in silk and in a woman's robe. Sometimes he wore slippers or buskins, sometimes boots, such as the emperor's bodyguards wear, and at times in the low shoes which are worn by women. Often, he exhibited himself with a golden beard, holding in his hand a thunderbolt, a trident, or a caduceus, emblems of the gods . . . he frequently wore the clothing of a triumphant general, even before his campaigns, and sometimes the breastplate of Alexander the Great, which he had taken from his sarcophagus.

Source: *Suetonius*. Volume I. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1913.

47. *School Clothes*

In this passage from his Attic Nights, the Roman writer Aulus Gellius (A.D. c. 125–c. 180) relates a story about a teacher who had high standards when it came to proper attire for his students, present and past.

Titus Castricius, a teacher of the art of rhetoric, who held the first rank at Rome as a declaimer and an instructor, a man of the greatest influence and dignity, was highly regarded also by the deified [emperor] Hadrian for his character and his learning. Once when I happened to be with him (for he was my teacher), and he had seen some students of his who were senators, wearing tunics and cloaks on a holiday, and with sandals on their feet, he said: "For my part, I would have preferred to see you in your togas, or if that was too much trouble, at least with girdles and mantles. But if this present attire of yours is now pardonable from long custom, yet it is not at all appropriate for you, who are senators of the Roman people, to go through the streets of the city in sandals, nor is this less criminal in you than it was in one [Mark Antony] whom Cicero once criticized for such attire." This, and some other things on the same subject, Castricius said in my hearing with true Roman austerity.

Source: *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Volume II. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

48. Upscale Adornments

Wealthy Roman women sometimes went all out in the fashion department, as the writer Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79) relates in this excerpt from his Natural History.

I have seen Lollia Paulina, who became the consort of Gaius, not at some considerable or solemn ceremonial celebration, but actually at an ordinary betrothal banquet, covered with emeralds and pearls interlaced alternately and shining all over her head, hair, ears, neck, and fingers, the sum total amounting to the value of 40,000,000 sesterces [an outlandish sum of money], she herself being ready at a moment's notice to give documentary proof of her ownership of them. Nor had they been presents from an extravagant emperor, but ancestral possessions, acquired in fact with the spoil of the provinces...

There have been two pearls that were the largest in the whole of history, and both were owned by Cleopatra, the last of the queens of Egypt...

...This article [a pearl] is an almost everlasting piece of property. It passes to its owner's heir, it is offered for public sale like some landed estate, whereas every hour of use wears away robes of scarlet and purple, which the same mother, namely luxury, had made almost as costly as pearls.

Source: *Pliny: Natural History*. Volume III. Translated by H. Rackham. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1940.

Part VI

POLITICAL LIFE

Government

Most governments of the ancient world were characterized by one-man rule, as Documents 1–3, and 5 indicate. But civil servants of various descriptions were also needed for kingdoms to function efficiently. In Document 4, the duties of an Egyptian government inspector are recounted. He was particularly responsible for seeing that crops and livestock were being tended properly.

The world's first fully functioning democracy evolved in Athens in the fifth century B.C. At the heart of the Athenian democracy was the *Assembly*, where all important public issues were debated, and policy decisions were made. Membership was open to all Athenian citizens, no matter how uninformed or apathetic they might be; no election or other selection process was employed. Assembly members enjoyed complete freedom of speech. They felt no hesitation whatsoever at making statements that in today's climate of political correctness would not be tolerated. This democracy had its critics (Document 6), and its proponents (Document 7).

The historian Polybius, who was Greek by birth but who lived in Rome for about 20 years during the second century B.C., greatly admired the Roman form of government, especially its system of checks and balances. His thoughts appear in Document 8.

CHINA

1. “Govern the State by Correctness”

Laozi was a Chinese philosopher and political scientist (or, according to some historians, a consortium of writers), who lived sometime between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. Below are various selections from the thoughts of Laozi on the proper ways to govern.

Govern the state by correctness;
Deploy the army by deception;
Acquire the empire by taking no action.
How do I know this is so? By this.
The more prohibitions there are in the world,

The poorer are the people.
 The more sharp weapons people have,
 The more disorder is fomented in the family and state.
 The more adroit and clever men are,
 The more deceptive things are brought forth.
 The more laws and ordinances are promulgated,
 The more thieves and robbers there are.
 Therefore the sage says: I do nothing.
 And the people are transformed by themselves.
 I value tranquility,
 And the people become correct by themselves.
 I take no action,
 And the people become prosperous by themselves.
 I have no desires,
 And the people of themselves become like uncarved wood.
 Governing a large state is like cooking a small fish.
 By using the Way to manage the empire,
 Spiritual forces lose their potency.
 Not that they lose their potency,
 But that their potency does not harm people,
 Not only does their potency not harm people,
 But the sage also does not harm people.
 The two do not harm one another,
 So that virtue accumulates in both and returns [to the people]...
 Let the state be small and the people be few.
 There may be ten or even a hundred times as many implements.
 But they should not be used.
 Let the people, regarding death as a weighty matter, not travel far.
 Though they have boats and carriages, none shall ride in them.
 Though they have armor and weapons, none shall display them.
 Let the people return once more to the use of knotted ropes [for record-keeping].
 Let them savor their food and find beauty in their clothing,
 peace in their dwellings, and joy in their customs.
 Though neighboring states are within sight of one another,
 And the sound of roosters and dogs is audible from one to the other,
 People will reach old age and death and yet not visit one another [because there is nothing
 that they want from each other].

Source: From *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. Volume I. Second edition. Compiled by William Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom. Copyright © 1999 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

INDIA

2. *The Kings of India*

Arrian, a Greek historian born around A.D. 95, wrote a treatise on India in which he included a history of early Indian kings. Below is a brief excerpt from that history.

When departing from India, after setting all this in order, Dionysus made Spatembas king of the land, one of his companions who was most expert in Bacchic rites. When Spatembas died, Budyas, his son, reigned in the stead. The father was king of India

52 years, and the son 20. His son Cradeuas came to the throne and his descendants mostly received the kingdom in succession, son succeeding father. If the succession failed, then Indian kings were appointed for merit... From Dionysus to Sandracottus, the Indians counted 153 kings.

Source: *Arrian*. Translated by E. Iliff Robson, with revisions by P. A. Brunt. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1933.

EGYPT

3. How the Kings of Egypt Governed

In the following excerpt from his writings, Diodorus Siculus, a first-century B.C. Greek historian born in Sicily provides an overview of how Egyptian kings governed their country.

Strange as it may appear that the king did not have the entire control of his daily meals, far more remarkable still was the fact that the kings were not allowed to render any legal decisions or transact any business at random or to punish anyone through malice or in anger or for any other unjust reason, but only in accordance with the established laws relative to each offense. And in following the dictates of custom in these matters, so far were they from being indignant or taking offense... that, on the contrary, they actually believed that they led a most happy life, because they reasoned that other men, in thoughtlessly following their natural passions, commit many acts which bring them injuries and perils, and that often some who realize that they are about to commit a sin nevertheless engage in unseemly acts when overpowered by love or hatred or some other emotion, while they, on the other hand, by virtue of their having cultivated a manner of life which had been chosen before all others by the most prudent of all men, fell into the fewest mistakes.

And since kings followed so righteous a course in dealing with their subjects, the people manifested a good will towards their rulers which surpassed even the affection they had for their own family members. Not only the priests, but all the inhabitants of Egypt were less concerned for their wives and children and their other cherished possessions than for the safety of their kings. Consequently, during most of the time covered by the reigns of the kings of whom we have a record, they maintained an orderly civil government, and continued to enjoy a most happy life, so long as the system of laws described was in force. And more than that, they conquered more nations and achieved greater wealth than any other people, and adorned their lands with monuments and buildings never to be surpassed, and their cities with costly dedications of every description.

Source: *Diodorus of Sicily*. Volume I. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1933.

4. The Duties of a Government Inspector

This passage from a third-century B.C. papyrus contains information about the responsibilities of an Egyptian government official—the oeconomus—during his inspection tours of the government-owned lands and weaving establishments of his district.

In your tours of inspection, try in going from place to place to cheer everybody up and to give them greater confidence. Not only should you do this by words but also, if any of them [especially the peasant farmers] complain to the village scribes . . . about any matter concerning agricultural work, you should make an inquiry and put a stop to such doings as far as possible.

When the sowing has been completed, it would be no bad thing if you were to make a careful round of inspection, for in this way, you will get an accurate view of the sprouting of the crops and will easily notice the lands which are badly sown or are not sown at all, and you will therefore know those who have neglected their duty and will become aware if any have used the seed for other purposes.

You must regard it as one of your most important duties to see that the district be sown with the kinds of crops prescribed by the sowing schedule. And if there are any who are hard pressed by their rents or are completely exhausted, you must not leave it unexamined.

Make a list of the cattle employed in cultivation [to distribute the cattle to best advantage during the seasons of the year], both the royal and the private, and take the utmost care that the offspring of the royal cattle, when old enough to eat hay, be consigned to . . .

Take care also that the prescribed supplies of corn, of which I send you a list, are brought down to Alexandria punctually, not only correct in amount but also tested and fit for use.

Also visit the weaving establishments in which the linen is woven, and do your utmost to have the largest possible number of looms in operation, the weavers supplying the full amount of embroidered stuffs prescribed for the district. If any of them are in arrears with the pieces ordered, let the prices fixed by the ordinance for each kind of stuff be exacted from them. Take special care, too, that the linen is good and has the prescribed number of weft threads . . .

Since the revenue from the pasturage dues, too, is one of the most important, it will most readily be increased if you carry out the registration [for taxation purposes] of cattle in the best possible way. The most favorable season for one so engaged is about the month of Mesore [July/August], for the whole country in this month, being covered with water, it happens that cattle breeders send their flocks to the highest places, being unable to scatter them on other places.

See to it, too, that the goods for sale be not sold at prices higher than those prescribed. Make also a careful investigation of those goods which have no fixed prices and on which the dealers may put what prices they like.

Source: *Select Papyri: Non-Literary Papyri. Public Documents.* Volume II. Translated by A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

GREECE

5. A New King Comes to Power

In Antigone, a play by the fifth-century B.C. Athenian playwright Sophocles, Creon has assumed the kingship of Thebes. In this excerpt, he announces to an assemblage of elders his governing philosophies.

Gentlemen: I have the honor to inform you that our Ship of State, which recent storms have threatened to destroy, has come safely to harbor at last, guided by the merciful wisdom of Heaven. I have summoned you here this morning because I know that I can depend on you. Your devotion to King Laius [an earlier king of Thebes] was absolute; you never hesitated in your duty to our later ruler Oedipus, and when Oedipus died, your loyalty was transferred to his children. Unfortunately, as you know, his two sons, the princes Eteocles and Polyneices, have killed each other in battle. And I, as the next in blood, have succeeded to the full power of the throne.

I am aware, of course, that no ruler can expect complete loyalty from his subjects until he has been tested in office. Nevertheless, I say to you at the very outset that I have nothing but contempt for the kind of governor who is afraid, for whatever reason, to follow the course that he knows is best for the state. And as for the man who sets private friendship above the public welfare, I have no use for him, either. I call the gods to witness that if I saw my country headed for ruin, I would not be afraid to speak out plainly, and I need hardly remind you that I would never have any dealings with an enemy of the people. No one values friendship more highly than I do, but we must remember that friends made at the risk of wrecking our Ship of State are not real friends at all.

These are my principles.

Source: *Greek and Roman Writers*. Compiled by Reverend William T. McNiff, O.S.C. ["Antigone" from THE ANTIGONE OF SOPHOCLES, AN ENGLISH VERSION by Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald, copyright 1939 by Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company and renewed 1967 by Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald, reprinted by permission of the publisher. CAUTION: All rights, including professional, amateur, motion picture, recitation, lecturing, performance, public reading, radio broadcasting, and television are strictly reserved. Inquiries on all rights should be addressed to Harcourt, Inc., Permissions Department, Orlando, FL 32887-6777].

6. A Critic's View of the Athenian Democracy

The Athenian democracy came to full flower in the fifth century B.C., but not all Athenians were enamored of this form of government, including an anonymous critic known as the Old Oligarch.

And as for the fact that the Athenians have chosen the kind of constitution that they have, I do not think well of their doing this, inasmuch as in making their choice, they have chosen to let the worst people be better off than the good. Therefore, on this account, I do not think well of their constitution. But since they have decided to have it so, I intend to point out how well they preserve their constitution, and accomplish those other things for which the rest of the Greeks criticize them.

First, I want to say this: there the poor and the people generally are right to have more than the highborn and the wealthy, for the reason that it is the people who man the ships and impart strength to the city. The steersmen, the boatswains, the sub-boatswains, the look-out officers and the shipwrights—these are the ones who impart strength to the city far more than the hoplites, the highborn, and the good men. This being the case, it seems right for everyone to have a share in the magistracies, both allotted and elective, for anyone to be able to speak his mind if he wants to. Then

there are those magistracies which bring safety or danger to the people as a whole, depending on whether or not they are well managed. Of these, the people claim no share...

Someone might say that they ought not to let everyone speak on equal terms and serve on the council, but rather just the cleverest and finest. Yet their policy is also excellent in this very point of allowing even the worst to speak. For if the good men were to speak and make policy, it would be splendid for the likes of themselves, but not so for the men of the people. But, as things are, any wretch who wants to can stand up and obtain what is good for him and the likes of himself...

Further, for oligarchic cities it is necessary to keep alliances and oaths. If they do not abide by agreements, or if injustice is done, there are the names of the few who made the agreement. But whatever agreements the populace makes can be repudiated by referring the blame to the one who spoke or took the vote, while the others declare that they were absent or did not approve of the agreement made in the full assembly. If it seems advisable for their decisions not to be effective, they invent myriad excuses for not doing what they do not want to do. And if there are any bad results from the people's plans, they charge that a few persons, working against them, ruined their plans. But if there is a good result, they take the credit for themselves...

I pardon the people themselves for their democracy. One must forgive everyone for looking after his own interests. But whoever is not a man of the people and yet prefers to live in a democratic city rather than in an oligarchic one has readied himself to do wrong and has realized that it is easier for an evil man to escape notice in a democratic city than in an oligarchic.

As for the constitution of the Athenians, I do not praise its form, but since they have decided to have a democracy, I think they have preserved the democracy well by the means which I have indicated.

Source: *Xenophon: Scripta Minora*, Volume VII. Translated by E. C. Marchant. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1925.

7. A Proponent's View of the Athenian Democracy: Pericles's Funeral Oration

At the outset of the Peloponnesian War in 430 B.C., the famed Athenian politician and statesman Pericles (c. 495–429 B.C.) was selected to make a speech. The circumstances of the speech, and the following excerpts from it content, are reported by the historian Thucydides (c. 460-c. 400 B.C.), in his book on the war.

When [funerals for the war dead have been held], a man chosen by the city for his intellectual gifts and for his general reputation makes an appropriate speech in praise of the dead, and after the speech, all depart... Now, at the burial of those who were the first to fall in the war, Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, was chosen to make the speech...

"I have no wish to make a long speech on subjects familiar to you all... What I want to do is, in the first place, to discuss the spirit in which we faced our trials, and also our constitution and the way of life which has made us great..."



An engraving of Lucian, ancient Greek rhetorician, pamphleteer, and satirist. Library of Congress.

“Let me say that our system of government does not copy the institutions of our neighbors. It is more the case of our being a model to others, than of our imitating anyone else. Our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority, but of the whole people. When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law. When it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, what counts is not membership of a particular [social] class, but the actual ability which the person possesses. No one, so long as he has it in him to be of service to the state, is kept in political obscurity because of poverty. And, just as our political life is free and open, so is our day-to-day life in our relations with each other. We do not get angry with our next door neighbor if he enjoys himself in his own way, nor do we give him the kind of hateful looks which, though they do no real harm, still do hurt people’s feelings. We are free and tolerant in our private lives, but in public affairs, we keep to the law. This is because it commands our deep respect.

“We obey those whom we put in positions of authority, and we obey the laws themselves, especially those which are for the protection of the oppressed, and those unwritten laws which it is an acknowledged shame to break...

“Then there is a great difference between us and our opponents [especially the Spartans], in our attitude towards military security. Here are some examples: Our city is open to the world, and we have no periodical deportations in order to prevent people from observing or finding out secrets which might be of military advantage to the enemy. This is because we rely, not on secret weapons, but on our own real courage and loyalty. There is a difference, too, in our educational systems. The Spartans, from their earliest boyhood, are submitted to the most laborious training in courage. We pass our lives without all these restrictions, and yet are just as ready to face the same dangers as they are...

“We regard wealth as something to be properly used, rather than as something to boast about. As for poverty, no one need be ashamed to admit it. The real shame is in not taking practical measures to escape from it. Here, each individual is interested not only in his own affairs, but in the affairs of the government as well. Even those who are mostly occupied with their own business are extremely well-informed on general politics. This is a peculiarity of ours: we do not say that a person who takes no interest in politics is someone who minds his own business; we say that he has no business here at all...

“Taking everything together, then, I declare that our city is the school of Greece, and I declare that in my opinion, each single one of our citizens, in all the manifold aspects of life, is able to show himself the rightful lord and owner of his own person, and so this, moreover, with exceptional grace and exceptional versatility... Mighty indeed are the marks and monuments of our empire which we have left. Future ages will wonder at us, as the present age wonders at us now.”

Source: *History of the Peloponnesian War* by Thucydides, translated by Rex Warner, with an introduction and notes by M. I. Finley. Penguin Classics 1954, revised edition 1972. Translation copyright © Rex Warner, 1954. Introduction and Appendices copyright © M. I. Finley, 1972. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd. and Curtis Brown Group, Ltd., London, on behalf of the Estate of Rex Warner.

ROME

8. *The Best of All Political Systems*

In this excerpt from his Histories, the Greek historian Polybius (c. 205–c. 123 B.C.) discusses the workings of the Roman Republic.

The three kinds of government I spoke of [monarchy, aristocracy, democracy] above all shared in the control of the Roman state. And such fairness and propriety in all respects was shown in the use of these three elements for drawing up the constitution and in its subsequent administration that it was impossible for even a native to pronounce with certainty whether the whole system was aristocratic, democratic, or monarchical. This was indeed only natural. For if one fixed one's eyes on the power of the consuls, the constitution seemed completely monarchical and royal; if on that of the senate, it seemed to be aristocratic; and when one looked at the power of the masses, it seemed clearly to be a democracy. The parts of the state falling under the control of each element were, and with a few modifications, still are as follows:

The consuls, previous to leading out their legions, exercise authority in Rome over all public affairs, since all the other magistrates except the tribunes are under them and bound to obey them, and it is they who introduce embassies to the senate. Besides this, it is they who consult the senate on matters of urgency, they who carry out in detail the provisions of its decrees. Again, as concerns all affairs of state administered by the people, it is their duty to take these under their charge, to summon assemblies, to introduce measures, and to preside over the execution of popular decrees. As for preparation for war and the general conduct of operations in the field, here their power is almost uncontrolled, for they are empowered to make what demands they choose on the allies, to appoint military tribunes, to levy soldiers and select those who are fittest for service. They also have the right of inflicting, when on active service, punishment on anyone under their command. And they are authorized to spend any sum they decide upon from the public funds, being accompanied by a quaestor [financial official] who faithfully executes their instructions. So that if one looks at this part of the administration alone, one may reasonably pronounce the constitution to be a pure monarchy or kingship. I may remark that any changes in these matters or in others of which I am about to speak that may be made in present or future times do not in any way affect the truth of the views I state here.

To pass to the senate: In the first place, it has control of the treasury, all revenue and expenditure being regulated by it. For with the exception of payments made to the consuls, the quaestors are not allowed to disburse for any particular object without a decree of the senate. And even the item of expenditure which is far heavier and more important than any other—the outlay every five years by the censors on public works, whether constructions or repairs—is under the control of the senate, which makes a grant to the censors for the purpose. Similarly, crimes committed in Italy which require a public investigation, such as treason, conspiracy, poisoning, and assassination, are under the jurisdiction of the senate. Also, if any private person or community in Italy is in need of arbitration or indeed claims damages or requires help or protection, the senate attends to all such matters. It also occupies itself with the dispatch of all embassies

sent to countries outside of Italy for the purpose of either settling differences, or of offering friendly advice, or indeed imposing demands, or of receiving submission, or of declaring war. And in like manner with respect to embassies arriving in Rome, it decides what reception and what answer should be given to them. All these matters are in the hands of the senate, nor have the people anything whatever to do with them. So that again to one residing in Rome during the absence of the consuls, the constitution appears to be entirely aristocratic. And this is the conviction of many Greek states and many of the kings, as the senate manages all business connected with them.

After this, we are naturally inclined to ask what part in the constitution is left for the people, considering that the senate controls all the particular matters I mentioned, and, what is most important, manages all matters of revenue and expenditure, and considering that the consuls again have uncontrolled authority as regards armaments and operations in the field. But nevertheless there is a part and a very important part left for the people. For it is the people which alone has the right to confer honors and inflict punishment, the only bonds by which kingdoms and states and, in a word, human society in general are held together. For where the distinction between these is overlooked or is observed but ill applied, no affairs can be properly administered. How is this possible when good and evil men are held in equal estimation? It is by the people, then, in many cases that offenses punishable by a fine are tried when the accused have held the highest office. And they are the only court which may try on capital charges. As regards the latter, they have a practice which is praiseworthy and should be mentioned. Their usage allows those on trial for their lives, when found guilty, the liberty to depart openly, thus inflicting voluntary exile on themselves...

It is the people who bestow office on the deserving, the noblest reward of virtue in a state; the people have the power of approving or rejecting laws, and what is most important of all, they deliberate on the question of war and peace. Further, in the case of alliances, terms of peace, and treaties, it is the people who ratify all these, or the reverse. Thus, here again, one might plausibly say that the people's share in the government is the greatest, and that the constitution is a democratic one.

Having stated how political power is distributed among the different parts of the state, I will now explain how each of the three parts is enabled, if they wish, to counteract or cooperate with the others. The consul, when he leaves with his army,... appears indeed to have absolute authority in all matters necessary for carrying out his purpose. But in fact, he requires the support of the people and the senate, and is not able to bring his operations to a conclusion without them... It also depends on the senate whether or not a general can carry out completely his conceptions and plans, since it has the right of either superseding him when his year's term of office has expired, or of retaining him in command... As for the people, it is most indispensable for the consuls to be on good terms with them, however far away from home they may be. For, as I said, it is the people which ratifies or annuls terms of peace and treaties, and what is most important, on laying down office, the consuls are obliged to account for their actions to the people. So in no respect is it safe for the consuls to neglect keeping in favor with both the senate and the people.

The senate, which possesses such great power, is obligated in the first place to pay attention to the commons in public affairs and respect the wishes of the people, and it

cannot carry out inquiries into the most grave and important offenses against the state, punishable with death, and their correction, unless their decrees are confirmed by the people... If anyone introduces a law meant to deprive the senate of some of its traditional authority, or to abolish the precedence and other distinctions of the senators, or even to curtail them of their private fortunes, it is the people alone which has the power of passing or rejecting any such measure... Therefore, for these reasons the senate is afraid of the masses, and must pay due attention to the popular will.

Similarly, the people must be submissive to the senate and respect its members both in public and in private. Through the whole of Italy, a vast number of contracts, which it would not be easy to enumerate, are given out... for the construction and repair of public buildings, and besides this there are many things which are farmed, such as navigable rivers, harbors, gardens, mines, lands, in fact everything that forms part of the Roman dominion... Now in all these matters, the senate is supreme. It can grant extension of time; it can relieve the contractor if any accident occurs; and if the work proves to be absolutely impossible to carry out, it can liberate him from his contract. There are, in fact, many ways in which the senate can either benefit or injure those who manage public property, as all these matters are referred to it. What is even more important is that the judges in most civil trials, whether public or private, are appointed from its members, where the action involves large interests. So that all citizens, being at the mercy of the senate, and looking forward with alarm to the uncertainty of litigation, are very hesitant to obstruct or resist its decisions...

Such being the power that each part has of hampering the others or cooperating with them, their union is adequate to all emergencies, so that it is impossible to find a better political system than this.

Source: *Polybius: The Histories*. Volume III. Translated by W. R. Paton. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1923.

Justice and Legal Systems

Written law codes were prominent in many ancient civilizations, especially Sumeria (Document 9), Israel (Document 10), and Rome (Document 19). Respect for the law was emphasized, as illustrated by Documents 12 and 13. Laws, obviously, do not happen without legislators, and in Document 16, the careers of two noted Athenian legislators are featured. The administration of justice is described in Documents 11 and 15.

The system of ostracism, whereby a corrupt or dangerous politician could be exiled for 10 years, seems to have been unique to Athens. The process is explained in Document 17. Women seldom played a leading role in law or politics, but that was not always the case, as Document 20 indicates.

No judicial system could function without judges. The standards for judges in Egypt are contained in Document 14, while Documents 21 and 22 delineate the actions of two specific judges. Possibly the most famous trial in all of ancient history occurred in 399 B.C., when the famous philosopher *Socrates* was prosecuted in Athens for sophistry, advocating new systems of education, and undermining the state by leading the youth of Athens astray. Socrates's defense of his actions has been preserved in one of Plato's most well known writings, *Apology*, excerpts of which appear in Document 18.

Socrates was condemned by a large margin of the jurors' votes, and eventually forced to commit suicide. Had the Roman orator Cicero lived in that day and age, perhaps the jurors could have learned something from his writings on the importance of being just (Document 23).

SUMERIA

9. Selections from the Code of Hammurabi

Reproduced here is a selection of laws and regulations from the Code of Hammurabi, which was promulgated in Babylon in the eighteenth century B.C.:

226. If a barber, without the knowledge of his master, cuts the sign of a slave on a slave not to be sold, the hands of this barber shall be cut off.

228. If a builder builds a house for someone and completes it, he shall give him a fee of two shekels in money . . .

229. If a builder builds a house for someone, and does not construct it properly, and the house which he built falls in and kills its owner, then that builder shall be put to death.

230. If the house kills the son of the owner, the son of that builder shall be put to death.

232. If the house ruins goods, he shall make compensation for all that has been ruined, and inasmuch as he did not construct this house properly, which he built and it fell, he shall rebuild the house at his own expense.

233. If a builder builds a house for someone, even though he has not yet completed it, if then the walls seem to be toppling, the builder must make the walls solid at his own expense.

235. If a shipbuilder builds a boat for someone, and does not make it water-tight, if during that same year that boat is sent away and suffers injury, the shipbuilder shall take the boat apart and put back together, water-tight, at his own expense. The water-tight boat he shall give to the boat owner.

236. If a man rents his boat to a sailor, and the sailor is careless, and the boat is wrecked or goes aground, the sailor shall give the owner of the boat another boat as compensation.

253. If anyone agrees with another to tend his field, gives him seed, entrusts a yoke of oxen to him, and binds him to cultivate the field, if he steals the corn or plants, and takes them for himself, his hands shall be cut off.

265. If a herdsman, to whose care cattle or sheep have been entrusted, is guilty of fraud and makes false returns of the natural increase, or sells them for money, then he shall be convicted, and pay the owner ten times the loss.

282. If a slave says to a master: "You are not my master," if they convict him, his master shall cut off his ear.

Source: *The Code of Hammurabi*. Translated by L. W. King. The Avalon Project at Yale Law School: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/medieval/hamcode.htm>.

ISRAEL

10. Moses's Augmentation of the Ten Commandments

In this passage from his Jewish Antiquities, the first-century A.D. Jewish historian Josephus summarizes the Ten Commandments, and then recounts how, in response to the request of the people, Moses procured a more detailed code of laws and the administration of justice.

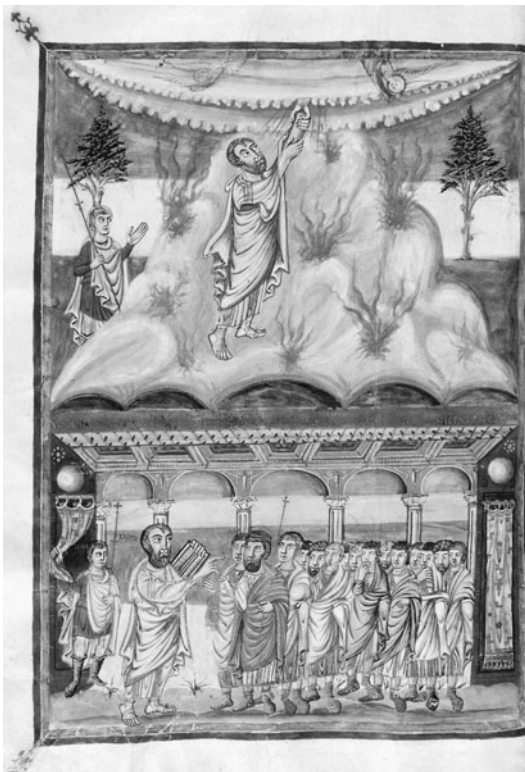
The first word teaches us that God is one and that He only must be worshipped. The second commands us to make no image of any living creature for adoration, the third not to swear by God on any frivolous matter, the fourth to keep every seventh day by resting from all work, the fifth to honor our parents, the sixth to refrain from murder, the seventh not to commit adultery, the eighth not to steal, the ninth not to bear false witness, the tenth to covet nothing that belongs to another.

The people, having thus heard from the very mouth of God that of which Moses had told them, rejoicing in these commandments, dispersed from the assembly. But on the following days, often visiting their leader's tent, they requested him to bring them laws also from God. And he both established these laws and in later times, indicated how they should act in all circumstances...

As rulers, let each city have seven men long exercised in virtue and in the pursuit of justice... Let those to whom it shall fall to administer justice in the cities be held in all honor, none being permitted to be abusive or insolent in their presence. For a respect for human dignitaries will make people too reverential to be ever contemptuous of God. Let the judges have the power to pronounce whatever sentence they think fit, always provided that no one denounce them for having received a bribe to pervert justice or bring forward some other charge to convict them of not having pronounced correctly. For they must be influenced neither by money nor by rank in declaring judgment, but must set justice above all. Otherwise, God would appear to be disrespected, and considered weaker than those to whom, from fear of their strength, the judge accords his vote. For God's strength is justice; and one who gives this away out of favor to persons of rank makes them more powerful than God. But if the judges do not see how to pronounce upon the matters set before them—and with people, such things often happen—let them send up the entire case to the holy city and let the high priest and the prophet and the council of elders meet and pronounce as they see fit.

Do not place trust in a single witness, but let there be three or at the least two, whose evidence shall be accredited by their past lives. From women, let no evidence be accepted, because of the levity and temerity of their sex. Do not let slaves bear witness, because of the baseness of their soul, since whether from greed or from fear, it is likely that they will not be truthful. If anyone is thought to have borne false witness, let him on conviction suffer the penalty which would have been incurred by him against whom he has borne witness.

If a murder has been done in any place and the doer of the deed is not found, nor is anyone suspected of having killed the victim from hatred, let them make a diligent search for the culprit, offering rewards for information. But if no informer appears, let the magistrates of the towns adjacent to the spot where the murder was done, along



Moses receives tablets of the law from Heaven on Mount Sinai, from Moutier-Grandval bible, A.D. 800–900. The Art Archive/British Library.

with the council of elders, assemble and measure the ground from the place where the body lies. And whichever town is the nearest, let the public officers purchase a heifer and, conducting it to a ravine, to a spot unfitted for plowing or plantation, let them cut the sinews of the creature's neck. Then, after washing their hands in holy water over the head of the animal, let the priests, the Levites, and the council of that city proclaim that their hands are pure of this murder, that they neither did it, nor saw it done, and that they implore God to be gracious and that so dire a calamity may no more befall the land. . . .

Let it not be permitted to displace boundary markers, whether of your own land or of the land of others with whom you are at peace. Beware of uprooting, as it were, a stone by God's decree. For from this come wars and rebellions, from that desire of the covetous to overstep their boundaries. In truth, those who displace boundary markers are not far from transgressing the laws. . . .

When reaping and gathering in the crops, you shall not glean, but shall even leave some of the sheaves for the destitute, to come as a godsend for their sustenance. Likewise, at the vintage, leave the little bunches for the poor, and pass over somewhat of the fruit of the olive yards, to be gathered by those who have none of their own of which to partake. For that minute care in garnering will not bring the owners wealth so great as the gratitude which would so come to them from the needy. God, too, will render the earth more eager to foster its fruits for those who look not only to their own interests,

but also have regard to the support of others. Nor must you muzzle the oxen when they crush the ears of corn on the threshing-floor, for it is not just to exclude from the fruit your fellow laborers who have toiled to produce it. Nor yet, when autumn fruits are at their prime, must you forbid wayfarers to touch them, but let them take their fill, as if they were their own, be they natives or strangers, rejoicing at thus affording them a share in the fruits of the season. . . . For one must not account as expenditure that which out of liberality one lets people take, since God bestows this abundance of good things not for our enjoyment alone, but that we may also share them generously with others, and He is desirous that by these means the special favor that He bears to the people of Israel and the bounty of his gifts may be manifested to others also, when out of all that superabundance of ours, they too receive their share from us. . . .

For the stealing of a person, the penalty shall be death. The purloiner of gold or silver shall pay double the sum. He that kills another while engaged in burglary shall be innocent, even if the thief were still in the process of breaking through the wall. He that steals a head of cattle shall pay fourfold as penalty, except in the case of an ox, for which he shall be fined fivefold. He who does not have the means to pay the fine shall become the slave of those who have had him condemned. . . .

If anyone finds gold or silver on the road, after a diligent search for the loser and public proclamation of the place where he found it, let him duly restore it, reckoning it dishonest to profit by another's loss. Similarly in the case of beasts which one meets

straying in a desert place. But if the owner is not found immediately, let him keep them at his home, calling God to witness that he has not stolen the goods of another.

It is not permissible to pass by unheeding, when a man's beasts of burden, buffeted by a storm, have fallen in the mud. One must help to rescue them and lend aid as though one labored for oneself.

One must point out the road to those who are ignorant of it, and not, for the pleasure of laughing about it, impede another's business by misleading him.

Similarly, no one must curse the sightless or the mute...

Poison, whether deadly or of those designed for other injurious ends, let no Israelite possess. If one be caught in possession of it, let him die, undergoing the fate that he would have inflicted on the intended victims of the drug.

He that maims another shall undergo the like, being deprived of that limb which he deprived the other, unless the maimed person is willing to accept money. For the law empowers the victim himself to assess the damage that has befallen him and makes this concession, unless he would show himself too severe [i.e., ask for too much money].

An ox that gores with its horns shall be slaughtered by its owner. If on the threshing floor it kills any man by goring him, it shall itself be stoned to death and rejected as unfit even for eating. But if the owner himself be convicted of having known of its nature beforehand, and taken no precautions, he also shall die, as answerable for the death of the beast's victim...

Do not punish children for the wrongdoing of their parents, but by reason of their own virtue deem them deserving rather of pity for having been born of depraved parents than of hatred for their base lineage. One must not impute to the fathers the sin of the sons, for the young permit themselves much that is contrary to our instruction, in their disdain of discipline...

Such, then, is the constitution that Moses left.

Source: *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities*. Volume IV. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1930.

11. The Administration of Justice in Ancient Israel

In another passage from his Jewish Antiquities (see also Document 10), the Jewish historian Josephus relates that judges are to be respected but are also to adhere to strict codes of ethics in the way in which they administer justice.

Let those to whom it shall fall to administer justice in the cities be held in all honor, none being permitted to be abusive or insolent in their presence. A respect for human dignitaries will make people too reverential to be ever contemptuous of God. Let the judges have power to pronounce whatever sentence they think appropriate, always provided that no one denounces them for having received a bribe to pervert justice or bring forward some other charge to convict them of not having pronounced correctly.

They must not be influenced by money nor by rank in declaring judgment, but must set justice above all. Otherwise, God would appear to be condemned and considered

weaker than those to whom, from fear of their strength, the judge accords his vote. For God's strength is justice, and one who gives this away out of favor to persons of ranks makes them more powerful than God. But if the judges do not see how to pronounce upon the matters set before them—and with human beings, such things often happen—let them send up the entire case to the holy city and let the high priest and the prophet and the council of elders meet and pronounce as they think appropriate.

Do not put trust in a single witness, but let there be three or at least two, whose evidence will be accredited by their past lives. No evidence should be accepted from women, because of the levity and temerity of their sex. Neither let slaves bear witness, because of the baseness of their souls, since whether from greed or fear, it is likely that they will not be truthful. If anyone is believed to have borne false witness, let him on conviction suffer the penalty which would have been incurred by him against whom he has borne witness.

Source: *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities*. Volume IV. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1930.

CHINA

12. *The Right Laws for Directing the People*

The Book of Lord Shang, written by Lord Shang, a fourth-century B.C. government official, contains information about legal systems and legal reform in ancient China.

Duke Xiao discussed his policy. The three Great Officers, Gongsun Yang (Shang Yang), Gan Long, and Du Zhi, were in attendance on the ruler. Their thoughts dwelt on the vicissitudes of the world's affairs; they discussed the principles of rectifying the law, and they sought for the way of directing the people. The ruler said, "Not to forget, at his succession, the tutelary spirits of the soil and of grain, is the way of a ruler; to shape the laws and to see to it that an intelligent ruler reigns are the tasks of a minister. I intend, now, to alter the laws, so as to obtain orderly government, and to reform the rites, so as to teach the people, but I am afraid that all-under-Heaven will criticize me."

Gongsun Yang said, "I have heard it said, that he who hesitates in action does not accomplish anything, and that he who hesitates in affairs gains no merit. Let your highness settle your thoughts quickly about altering the laws and perhaps not heed the criticism of all-under-Heaven. Moreover, he who surpasses others is, as a matter of course, disapproved of by the world; he who has thoughts of independent knowledge is certainly despised by the world. The saying runs, 'The stupid do not even understand an affair when it has been completed, but the wise see it even before it has sprouted...'

"Ordinary people abide by old practices, and scholars are immersed in the study of what is reported from antiquity. These two kinds of men are all right for filling offices and for maintaining the law, but they are not the kind who can take part in a discussion that goes beyond the law. The Three Dynasties have attained supremacy by different rites, and the five Lords Protector have attained their protectorships by different laws. Therefore, a wise man creates laws, but a foolish man is controlled by them. A man of talent reforms rites, but a worthless man is enslaved by them...

“The way to administer a state well is for the laws regulating officials to be clear; one does not rely on men to be intelligent and thoughtful. The ruler makes the people single-minded so they will not scheme for selfish profit. Then the strength of the state will be consolidated, and a state whose strength has been consolidated is powerful, but a country that loves talking is dismembered...

“It is the nature of people to be orderly, but it is circumstances that cause disorder. Therefore, in the application of punishments, light offenses should be regarded as serious; if light offenses do not occur, serious ones have no chance of coming. This is said to be ‘ruling the people while in a state of law and order.’

“If in the application of punishments, serious offenses are regarded as serious, and light offenses as light, light offenses will not cease and, in consequence, there will be no means of stopping the serious ones. This is said to be ‘ruling the people while in a state of lawlessness.’ So if light offenses are regarded as serious, punishments will be abolished, affairs will succeed, and the state will be strong. But if serious offenses are regarded as serious, and light ones as light, then punishments will appear. Moreover, trouble will arise and the state will be dismembered...

“Punishments should know no degree or grade, but from ministers of state and generals down to great officers and ordinary people, whoever does not obey the king’s commands, violates the interdicts of the state, or rebels against the statutes fixed by the ruler should be guilty of death and should not be pardoned. Merit acquired in the past should not cause a decrease in the punishment for demerit later, nor should good behavior in the past cause any derogation of the law for wrong done later. If loyal ministers and filial sons do wrong, they should be judged according to the full measure of their guilt, and if among officials who have to maintain the law and to uphold an office, there are those who do not carry out the king’s law, they are guilty of death and should not be pardoned, but their punishment should be extended to their family for three generations.”

Source: From *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. Volume I. Second edition. Compiled by William Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom. Copyright © 1999 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

INDIA

13. Making One’s Thought Like the Law

The following statement on the primacy of law is to be found in the Dharmasangiti Sutra, which dates from the era of Mahayana Buddhism in the first and second centuries A.D.

The blessed Buddhas, of virtues endless and limitless, are born of the Law of Righteousness. They dwell in the Law, are fashioned by the Law, they have the Law as their master, the Law as their light, the Law as their field of action, the Law as their refuge. They are produced by the Law... and all the joys in this world and the next are born of the Law and produced by the Law...

The Law is equal, equal for all beings. For low or middle or high, the Law cares nothing. So must I make my thought like the Law.

The Law has no regard for the pleasant. Impartial is the Law.
So must I make my thought like the Law.

The Law is not dependant on time. Timeless is the Law...
So must I make my thought like the Law.

The Law is not in the lofty without being in the low. Neither up nor down will the Law bend.
So must I make my thought like the Law.

The Law is not in that which is whole without being, in that which is broken. Devoid of all superiority or inferiority is the Law.
So must I make my thought like the Law.

The Law is not in the noble with being in the humble. No care for fields of activity has the Law.
So must I make my thought like the Law.

The Law is not in the day without being in the night... Ever firm is the Law.
So must I make my thought like the Law.

The Law does not lose the occasion of conversion. There is never delay with the Law.
So must I make my thought like the Law.

The Law has neither shortage nor abundance. Immeasurable, innumerable is the Law. Like space, it ever lessens or grows.
So must I make my thought like the Law.

The Law is not guarded by beings. Beings are protected by the Law.
So must I make my thought like the Law.

The Law does not seek refuge. The refuge of all the world is the Law.
So must I make my thought like the Law.

The Law has none who can resist it. Irresistible is the Law.
So must I make my thought like the Law.

The Law has no preferences. Without preference is the Law.
So must I make my thought like the Law.

The Law has no fear of the terrors of birth-and-death, nor is it lured by Nirvana. Ever without misgiving is the Law.
So must I make my thought like the Law.

Source: From *Sources of Indian Tradition*. Volume I. Edited by William Theodore de Bary. Copyright © 1958 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

EGYPT

14. Proper Judicial Conduct

This excerpt from the maxims of Ptah-hotep, a twenty-fourth-century B.C. Egyptian vizier, focuses on serving as a judge.

If you should function as a noble official of the court,
Appointed to settle disputes among the populace,
Nurture (in yourself) ignorance of partiality.
When you speak, do not incline toward one side.
Be careful, in case someone voices his opinion

(To) the magistrates: "He turns the matter upside down."
 Then your action will turn into censure (of yourself).
 If you feel merciful concerning a misdeed which has happened
 And feel favorable toward someone because of his honesty,
 Pass over it and do not recall it,
 Since he was silent before you from the very first.

Source: *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*. Edited by William Kelly Simpson. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003. Copyright © 2003 by Yale University Press. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

15. *Crime and Punishment in Alexandria*

This passage from a third-century B.C. papyrus prescribes the punishments for various kinds of crimes committed in Alexandria.

Threatening with iron. If a freeman threatens a freeman with iron or copper or stone . . . or wood, he shall forfeit 100 drachmas, if he loses the case. But if a male or female slave does any of these things to a freeman or a freewoman, they shall receive not less than 100 stripes, or else the master of the offender, if he is defeated in the suit, shall forfeit to the injured party twice the amount of the penalty which is prescribed for a freeman.

Injuries done in drunkenness. Whoever commits a person injury in a drunken state or by night or in a temple or in the marketplace shall forfeit twice the amount of the prescribed penalty.

For a slave striking a freeman. If a male slave or a female slave strikes a freeman or a freewoman, they shall receive not less than 100 stripes, or else the master, if he acknowledges the fact, shall pay on behalf of his slave twice the amount of the penalty which is prescribed for a freeman. But if he disputes it, the plaintiff shall indict him, claiming for one blow 100 drachmas, and if the master is condemned, he shall forfeit three times that amount without assessment. And for a greater number of blows, the plaintiff shall himself assess the injury when he brings the suit, and whatever assessment is fixed by the court, the master shall forfeit three times that amount.

Blows between freemen. If a freeman or a freewoman, making an unjust attack, strikes a freeman or a freewoman, they shall forfeit 100 drachmas without assessment, if they are defeated in the suit. But if they strike more than one blow, the plaintiff in bringing the suit shall himself assess the damage caused by the blows, and whatever assessment is fixed by the court, the accused shall forfeit twice that amount. And if anyone strikes one of the magistrates while executing the administrative duties prescribed to the magistracy, he shall pay the penalties tripled, if he is defeated in the suit.

Outrage. If any person commits against another an outrage not provided for in the code, the injured party shall himself assess the damage in bringing his suit, but he shall further state specifically in what manner he claims to have been outraged and the date on which he was outraged. And the offender, if condemned, shall pay twice the amount of the assessment fixed by the court.

Source: *Select Papyri: Non-Literary Papyri. Public Documents*. Volume II. Translated by A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

GREECE

16. A Comparison of Two Famous Athenian Legislators

In this excerpt from his Attic Nights, the Roman writer Aulus Gellius (A.D. c. 125–c. 180) offers a brief comparison of Draco and Solon, two of the most famous Athenian lawgivers, of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., respectively.

Draco the Athenian was considered a good man and of great wisdom, and he was skilled in law, human and divine. This Draco was the first of all to make laws for the use of the Athenians. In those laws, he decreed and enacted that one guilty of any theft whatsoever should be punished with death, and added many other statutes that were excessively severe [hence the modern word *Draconian*].

Therefore his laws, since they seemed very much too harsh, were abolished, not by order and decree, but by the tacit, unwritten consent of the Athenians. After that, they made use of other, milder laws, compiled by Solon. This Solon was one of the famous seven wise men. He thought it proper by his law to punish thieves not with death, as Draco had formerly done, but by a fine of twice the value of the stolen goods.

But the same author also notes that things were a little different in Egypt and Sparta.

I recall that I read in the work of the jurist Aristo, a man of no slight learning, that among the ancient Egyptians, a race of people known to have been ingenious in inventions and skilled in getting to the bottom of things, thefts of all kinds were lawful and went unpunished. Among the Spartans, too, those serious and vigorous people, a matter for which the evidence is not as remote as in the case of the Egyptians, many famous writers, who have composed records of their laws and customs, affirm that thieving was lawful and customary, and that it was practiced by their young men, not for base gain or to furnish the means for indulgence or amassing wealth, but as an exercise and training in the art of war, for dexterity and practice in thieving made the minds of the young men sharp and strong for clever ambushes, and for endurance in watching, and for the swiftness of surprise.

Source: *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Volume II. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

**17. A Unique Method for Banishing an Unpopular
or Corrupt Politician**

The ancient Athenians had an interesting and mostly effective mechanism for banishing from Athens politicians who became corrupt, dishonest, or overly ambitious, as the Greek biographer Plutarch (A.D. c. 45–c. 120) relates in this passage from his biography of the fifth-century B.C. politician Aristides.

The sentence of ostracism was not in itself a punishment for wrongdoing. It was described for the sake of appearances as a measure to curtail and humble a man's power

and prestige in cases where these had grown oppressive. But in reality, it was a humane device for appeasing the people's jealousy, which could thus vent its desire to do harm, not by inflicting some irreparable injury, but by a sentence of ten years' banishment... The procedure, to give a general account of it, was as follows: Each voter took an *ostrakon*, or broken piece of pottery, wrote on it the name of the citizen he wished to be banished and carried it to [the polling place]. Then the archons [city officials] first counted the total number of votes cast, for if there were less than 6,000, the ostracism was void. After this, they sorted [and tallied] the votes, and the man who had the most recorded against his name was proclaimed to be exiled for ten years, with the right, however, to receive the income from his estate.

Source: *The Rise and Fall of Athens: Nine Greek Lives* by Plutarch. Translated by Ian Scott-Kilvert. New York: Penguin Books, 1960. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

18. The Trial of Socrates

In 399 B.C., the famous Athenian philosopher Socrates (469–399 B.C.) was put on trial in Athens. He was charged with various crimes, including undermining the state and misleading the youth of Athens. He spoke in his own defense at his trial; these, according to Plato (428–347 B.C.), were some of his words. Despite his eloquence, Socrates was convicted by the jury and condemned to death.

I do not know what effect my accusers have had upon you, gentlemen [of the jury], but for my own part, I was almost carried away by them, so convincing were their arguments. On the other hand, scarcely a word of what they said was true. I was especially astonished at one of their many misrepresentations. I mean when they told you that you must be careful not to let me deceive you, the implication being that I am a skillful speaker. I thought that it was particularly brazen of them to tell you this without a blush, since they must know that they will soon be effectively confuted, when it becomes obvious that I have not the slightest skill as a speaker, unless, of course, by a skillful speaker, they mean one who speaks the truth. If that is what they mean, I would agree that I am an orator, though not after their pattern. My accusers, then, as I maintain, have said little or nothing that is true, but from me, you will hear the whole truth...

What did my critics say in attacking my character? I must read out their affidavit, so to speak, as though they were my legal accusers. "Socrates is guilty of criminal meddling, in that he inquires into things below the earth and in the sky, and makes the weaker argument defeat the stronger, and teaches others to follow his example."... The fact is that there is nothing in any of these charges, and if you have heard anyone say that I try to educate people and charge a fee, there is no truth in that, either...

There is another reason for my being unpopular. A number of young men with wealthy fathers and plenty of free time have deliberately attached themselves to me because they enjoy hearing other people cross-questioned. These often take me as their model, and go on to try to question others, whereupon, I suppose, they find an unlimited number of people who think that they know something, but really know little or nothing. Consequently, their victims become annoyed, not with themselves, but with

me, and they complain that there is a pestilential busybody called Socrates who fills young people's heads with wrong ideas. If you ask them what he does, and what he teaches that has this effect, they have no answer, not knowing what to say. But since they do not want to admit their confusion, they fall back on the stock charges against any philosopher: that he teaches his students about things in the heavens and below the earth, and to disbelieve in gods, and to make the weaker argument defeat the stronger. They would be very reluctant, I imagine, to admit the truth, which is that they are being convicted of pretending to have knowledge, when they are entirely ignorant...

I do not think that it is right for a man to appeal to the jury or to get himself acquitted by doing so. He ought to inform them of the facts and convince them by argument. The jury does not sit to dispense justice as a favor, but to decide where justice lies, and the oath which they have sworn is not to show favor at their own discretion, but to return a just and lawful verdict. It follows that we must not develop in you, nor you allow to grow in yourselves, the habit of perjury. That would be sinful for us both... Surely it is obvious that if I tried to persuade you and prevail upon you by my entreaties to go against your solemn oath, I would be teaching you contempt for religion, and by my very defense, I would be accusing myself of having no religious belief. But that is very far from the truth. I have a more sincere belief, gentlemen, than any of my accusers, and I leave it to you and to the gods to judge me.

Source: *Plato: The Last Days of Socrates*. Translated by Hugh Tredennick. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

ROME

19. Ancient Rome's Earliest Written Laws

Reproduced below are some of the provisions of the Twelve Tables, the oldest surviving law code in the history of Roman jurisprudence; it was published around 450 B.C.

Table I. Trial procedures.

If plaintiff summons defendant to court, he shall go. If he does not go, plaintiff shall call witness thereto. Then only shall he take defendant by force.

If defendant shirks or takes to his heels, plaintiff shall lay hands on him.

If disease or old age is an impediment, he [who summons defendant to court] shall grant him a team; he shall not spread with cushions the covered carriage if he does not so desire.

For a landowner, a landowner shall be surety; but for a proletarian person, let anyone who is willing be his protector.

There shall be the same right of bond and conveyance with the Roman people for a person restored to allegiance [i.e., a rebellious person] as for a loyal person [one who had never rebelled].

When parties make a settlement of the case, the judge shall announce it. If they do not reach a settlement, they shall state the outline of their case in the meeting place or Forum before noon.

They shall plead it out together in person. After noon, the judge shall adjudge the case to the party present. If both be present, sunset shall be the time limit [of proceedings]...

Table III. Debt.

When a debt has been acknowledged, or judgment about the matter has been pronounced in court, thirty days must be the legitimate time of grace. After that, the debtor may be arrested by laying on of hands. Bring him into court. If he does not satisfy the judgment, or no one in court offers himself as surety in his behalf, the creditor may take the defaulter with him. He may bind him with a weight no more than 15 pounds, or with less if he shall so desire. The debtor, if he wishes, may live on his own.

Table VII. Rights concerning land.

Ownership within a five-foot strip [between two pieces of land] shall not be acquired by long usage.

The width of a road [extends] to eight feet where it runs straight ahead, 16 around a corner...

Persons shall mend roadways. If they do not keep them laid with stone, a person may drive his beasts where he wishes...

If a water course directed through a public place shall do damage to a private person, he shall have the right of suit to the effect that damage shall be repaired for the owner.

Branches of a tree may be lopped off all around to a height of more than 15 feet... Should a tree on a neighbor's farm be bent crooked by a wind and lean over your farm, action may be taken for the removal of that tree.

It is permitted to gather up fruit falling down on another man's farm.

Table VIII. Torts or delicts.

If any person has sung or composed against another person a song such as was causing slander or insult to another, he shall be clubbed to death.

If a person has maimed another's limb, let there be retaliation in kind unless he makes agreement for settlement with him.

If he has broken or bruised a freeman's bone with his hand or a club, he shall undergo penalty of 300 as pieces; if a slave's, 150...

If a four-footed animal shall be said to have caused loss, legal action... shall be either the surrender of the thing which damaged, or else the offer of assessment for the damage.

For pasturing on, or cutting secretly by night, another's crops acquired by tillage, there shall be capital punishment in the case of an adult malefactor... he shall be hanged and put to death as a sacrifice to [the goddess] Ceres. In the case of a person under the age of puberty,



Ovid, one of the most prolific poets of Rome's Golden Age. Library of Congress.

at the discretion of the judge, either he shall be scourged, or settlement shall be made for the harm done by paying double damages.

Any person who destroys by burning any building or heap of corn deposited alongside a house shall be bound, scourged, and put to death by burning at the stake, provided that he has committed the said misdeed with malice aforethought; but if he shall have committed it by accident, that is, by negligence, it is ordained that he repair the damage, or, if he be too poor to be competent for such punishment, he shall receive a lighter chastisement...

If a theft has been done by night, if the owner kill the thief, the thief shall be held lawfully killed.

It is forbidden that a thief be killed by day... unless he defend himself with a weapon; even though he has come with a weapon, unless he use his weapon and fight back, you shall not kill him. And even if he resists, first call out.

In the case of all other thieves caught in the act, if they are freemen, they should be flogged and adjudged to the person against whom the theft has been committed, provided that the malefactors have committed it by day and have not defended themselves with a weapon. Slaves caught in the act of theft should be flogged and executed. Boys under the age of puberty should, at the judge's discretion, be flogged, and the damage done by them should be repaired.

Source: From *Roman Civilization Sourcebook II: The Empire*, by Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold. Copyright © 1955 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

20. Uppity Women

In 215 B.C., a law was passed—the Lex Oppia—which placed restrictions on the amount of gold that a woman could possess, or the kinds of colored clothing she could wear. In addition, no women could ever travel in a horse-drawn wagon in a city or a town unless participating in a religious ceremony. A few years later, in 195 B.C., some thought was given to repealing the Lex Oppia, but many politicians were opposed to this proposal, including the crusty, austere Cato the Elder (234–149 B.C.). Below are excerpts from Cato's public speech in opposition to repeal as recorded by the historian Livy (59 B.C.–A.D. 17). Despite Cato's opposition, the law was repealed.

Citizens of Rome, if each one of us had set himself to retain the rights and the dignity of a husband over his own wife, we should have less trouble with women as a whole sex. As things are, our liberty, overthrown in the home by female inattention to discipline, is now being crushed and trodden underfoot here too, in the Forum. [According to Livy, "the matrons could not be confined within doors on the advice of their husbands... nor by their husbands' command; they flooded onto all the streets of the city and all the approaches to the Forum, and as the men came down to the Forum they accosted them... to allow the women the restoration of their former luxuries. The number of women increased daily."] It is because we have not kept them under control individually that we are now terrorized by them collectively... There is the greatest danger from any class of people, once you allow meetings and conferences and secret

consultations. For myself, indeed, I find it hard to decide in my own mind which is worse: the activities themselves, or the precedents which they set. The activities concern us consuls and the other magistrates; the precedent, citizens, concerns you. For the question of whether the proposal brought before you is in the public interest or not, is a question to be decided by you, who are soon to vote upon it. But this female tumult... is, beyond doubt, something to the discredit of the magistrates...

For myself, it was with something like a blush of shame that I made my way just now to the Forum through the midst of an army of women. Had I not been restrained by my respect for the dignity and modesty of some individual women, rather than that of the female sex as a whole, if I had not feared that it might appear that such women had been rebuked by a consul, I would have said: "What sort of behavior is this? Are you in the habit of running out into the streets, blocking the roads, and addressing other women's husbands? Couldn't you have made the very same request of your own husbands at home? Or are you more alluring in the street than in the home, more attractive to other women's husbands than to your own?" And yet, even at home, if modesty restrained women within the limits of their own rights, it would not be appropriate for you to be concerned about the question of what laws should be passed or repealed...

Indeed, if they get their way on this matter, what will they not attempt? Run over all the laws relating to women whereby your ancestors curbed their freedom and brought them into subjection to their husbands. Even with all these restraints, you can hardly hold them back. And what will happen if you allow them to... wrest these restraints from your hands one by one, and finally to attain equality with their husbands? Do you imagine that you will find them enduring? The very moment they begin to be your equals, they will be your superiors. Good heavens! They object to the passing of a new measure against them. They complain that this is not law but rank injustice. In fact, their aim is that you should repeal a law which you have approved and sanctioned by your votes, whose worth you have tested in the practical experience of all these years. They intend, in other words, that by the abolition of this one law you should weaken the force of all the others. If every individual is to destroy and demolish any law which hinders him in his particular interests, what use will it be for the whole citizen body to pass measures which will soon be repealed by those whom they directed?

Source: Livy: *Rome and the Mediterranean*, Books XXXI–XLV of *The History of Rome from its Foundation*. Translated by Henry Bettenson. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1976. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

21. Augustus as Judge

As the following passage from the writings of the Roman biographer Suetonius (A.D. c. 70–c. 140) indicates, the emperor Augustus (reigned 27 B.C.–A.D. 14) was personally involved in the administration of Roman justice.

He himself administered justice regularly, and sometimes up to nightfall, having a litter placed on the tribunal, if he was indisposed, or even lying down at home. In his administration of justice, he was both highly conscientious and very lenient. For to save a man clearly guilty of parricide from being executed, a punishment which was

inflicted only on those who pleaded guilty, he is said to have put the question to him in this form: “You surely did not kill your father, did you?” Again, in a case concerning a forged will, in which all the signers were liable to punishment . . . he distributed to the jury not merely the two tablets for condemnation or acquittal, but a third as well, for the pardon of those who were shown to have been induced to sign by misrepresentation or misunderstanding. Each year he referred appeals of cases involving citizens to the city judge, but those between foreigners, to ex-consuls, of whom he had put one in charge of the business affairs of each province.

He revised existing laws and enacted new ones, for example, on extravagance, on adultery and chastity, on bribery, and on the encouragement of marriage among the various classes of citizens. Having made somewhat more stringent changes in the last of these than in the others, he was unable to carry it out because of an open revolt against its provisions, until he had abolished or mitigated a part of the penalties, besides increasing the rewards and allowing a three years’ exemption from the obligation to marry after the death of a husband or wife . . . And on finding that the spirit of the law was being evaded by betrothal with immature girls and by frequent changes of wives, he shortened the duration of betrothals and set a limit on divorce.

Source: *Suetonius*. Volume I. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1913.

22. Aulus Gellius as Judge

The essayist Aulus Gellius (A.D. c. 125–c. 180) had once been asked to serve as a judge in a case involving a dispute over the payment of some money. Gellius was not quite certain about the proper way to adjudicate the case, so he first “hunted up books written in both languages [i.e., Greek and Latin] on the duty of a judge” but soon discovered that “such books gave [him] no aid at all.” So he decided to consult his learned friend, the philosopher Favorinus, on the best way to proceed. The following is an excerpt from the reply of Favorinus.

The question which you are now considering may seem to be of a trifling and insignificant character. But if you wish me to instruct you as to the full duties of a judge, this is by no means a fit place or time; for such a discussion involves many intricate questions and requires long and anxious attention and consideration. For—to touch at once upon a few leading questions for your benefit—the first query relating to the duty of a judge is this: If a judge happens to have knowledge of a matter which is brought to trial before him, and the matter is clearly known to him alone from some external circumstance or event, before it has begun to be argued or brought into court, but nevertheless the same thing is not proved in the course of the trial, ought he to decide in accordance with what he knew beforehand, or according to the evidence in the case?

This question also, said he, is often raised, whether it is fitting and proper for a judge, after a case has been heard, if there seems to be an opportunity for compromising the dispute, to postpone the duty of a judge for a time and take the part of a common friend and peacemaker, as it were. And I know that this is further a matter of doubt and inquiry, whether a judge, when hearing a suit, ought to mention and ask about the

things which it is for the interest of one of the parties to the suit to mention and inquire, even if the party in question neither mentions nor calls for them. For they say that this is in fact to play the part of an advocate, not of a judge.

Besides these questions, there is disagreement also on this point, whether it is consistent with the practice and office of a judge by his occasional remarks so to explain and set forth the matter and the case which is being tried, that before the time of his decision, as the result of statements which at the time are made before him in a confused and doubtful form, he gives signs and indications of the emotions and feelings by which he is affected on each occasion and at every time. For those judges who give the impression of being keen and quick to think that the matter in dispute cannot be examined and understood, unless the judge by frequent questions and necessary interruptions makes his own opinion clear and grasps that of the litigants. But on the other hand, those who have a reputation for calmness and dignity maintain that the judge ought not, before giving his decision and while the case is being pleaded by both parties, to indicate his opinion whenever he is influenced by some argument that is brought forward. For they say that the result will be, since one emotion of the mind after another must be excited by the variety of points and arguments, that such judges will seem to feel and speak differently about the same case and almost at the same time . . .

In this case about which you are in doubt, the claimant is a person of the highest character and the one on whom the claim is made is the worst of men, and there are no witnesses to the transaction between the two. So then go and give credit to the claimant and condemn the one on whom the claim is made, since, as you say, the two are not equal and the claimant is the better man.

Source: *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Volume III. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

23. *The Importance of Being Just*

In this excerpt from his treatise entitled "On Duties," the Roman orator Cicero (106–43 B.C.) states that Rome's earliest kings were chosen in part on their ability to administer justice.

Now it seems to me, at least, that . . . among our own ancestors, men of high moral character were made kings in order that the people might enjoy justice. For, as the masses in their helplessness were oppressed by the strong, they appealed for protection to some one man who was conspicuous for his virtue. And, as he shielded the weaker classes from wrong, he managed by establishing equitable conditions to hold the higher and the lower classes in an equality of right. The reason for making constitutional laws was the same as that for making kings. For what people have always sought is equality of rights before the law. For rights that were not open to all alike would be no rights. If the people secured their end at the hands of the one just and good man, they were satisfied with that. But when such was not their good fortune, laws were invented, to speak to all people at all times in one and the same voice.

This, then, is obvious: nations used to select for their rulers those men whose reputation for justice was high in the eyes of the people. If in addition they were also

thought wise, there was nothing that men did not think they could secure under such leadership. Justice is, therefore, in every way to be cultivated and maintained, both for its own sake (for otherwise it would not be justice) and for the enhancement of personal honor and glory.

Source: *Cicero: De Officiis*. Translated by Walter Miller. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1913.

Warfare

Source material on warfare in the ancient world is a mixture of businesslike manuals on tactics and strategy, such as the one penned by the Roman engineer Frontinus (Document 36); treatises on the precepts and rules of warfare (Documents 24, 25, 38); and stories of the pleasant and not so pleasant moments in the lives of individual soldiers (Documents 29, 30, 39). Weaponry is the subject of Document 27.

Several of the documents defy easy classification. For example, in Document 32, tales are recounted of Alexander the Great's noted warhorse, *Bucephalus*. The Spartan king *Agesilaus* had some unique methods of motivating and training his soldiers, including organizing various kinds of martial competitions, with prizes for the winners (Document 33).

Accounts of crucial battles often attracted the attention of ancient historians. One of the most famous of these battles occurred in 480 B.C., at the mountain pass of Thermopylae in Greece, where Leonidas and his 300 Spartans held off the advancing Persian army just long enough for the Athenian general Themistocles to organize the defenses in and around Athens, and ultimately to turn the Persians away (Document 31). The mercenary general *Pyrrhus* fought a number of battles against the Romans in the third century B.C. After one such battle, technically a victory for Pyrrhus's forces, but at a great loss of life, he is said to have remarked: "If we are victorious in one more battle with the Romans, we will be utterly ruined." It was history's first Pyrrhic victory (Document 37).

The antithesis of warfare, peace, was not ignored by ancient historians, politicians, and philosophers (Documents 26, 28, 35). In Document 34, the Greek writer Xenophon noted that in times of peace, the state treasury was flush with money, but that "the whole of it was spent in time of war."

ISRAEL

24. Rules of War in Ancient Israel

In this passage from his Jewish Antiquities, the first-century A.D. Jewish historian Josephus enunciates the rules of engagement for Israelite armies.

When you are on the verge of war, send an embassy with heralds to your aggressive enemy. For, before taking up arms, it is proper to speak with them and to represent that, though you have a large army, horses and munitions, and above all are blessed with God's gracious favor and support, nevertheless you desire not to be forced

to make war on them and, in robbing them of what is theirs, to gain for yourselves unwanted profit. If, then, they yield to those arguments, it obligates you to keep the peace. But if, confident of their superior strength, they wish to do you wrong, lead out an army against them, taking God for your supreme commander and electing as His lieutenant the one man who is preeminent in bravery. For divided control, besides being a hindrance to those for whom prompt action is imperative, is apt to injure those who practice it. The army under him must be immaculate, made up of all who excel in vigor of body and hardihood of soul, after rejection of the cowardly, for fear that they might flee during the battle, to the advantage of the enemy. Those too who have lately built themselves houses and have not yet had a year to enjoy them, with those who have planted and have not harvested the fruits, must be left on the land, as also the betrothed and recently married, because in their sadness over leaving behind their possessions or their spouses, they may deliberately shirk danger in their desire to return to them.

Once encamped, take heed to refrain from any of the more outrageous actions. When you are engaged in a siege and lack timber for the construction of your engines, do not shear the ground by cutting down the cultivated trees. Spare them, reflecting that they were created for the service of people, and that, were they gifted with a voice, they would plead with you and say that they were in no way responsible for the war, that they were being maltreated unjustly, and that, had they the power, they would have migrated and moved to another country. Having won the battle, kill those that have resisted you, but leave the rest alive to pay you tribute, except for the race of the Canaanites; for them, you must exterminate wholesale.

Josephus also recounts an amazing stratagem employed by Moses to drive off poisonous snakes from a route that the army must traverse.

Moses, summoned both by Thermuthis and by the [Egyptian] king, gladly accepted the task [of leading the Egyptian army], to the delight of the sacred scribes of both nations. For the Egyptians hoped through his valor both to defeat their enemies and at the same time to make away with Moses by guile, while the Hebrew hierarchy foresaw the possibility of escape from the Egyptians with Moses as their general. Thereupon, to surprise the enemy before they had even learned of his approach, he mustered and marched off his army, taking the route not by the way of the river, but through the interior. There he gave a wonderful proof of his sagacity. For the route is rendered difficult for a march by reason of a multitude of serpents, which the region produces in abundant varieties, insomuch that there are some found nowhere else and bred here alone, remarkable for their power, their malignity, and their strange appearance. And among them are some which are actually winged, so that they can attack one from their hiding place in the ground or inflict unforeseen injury by rising into the air. Moses, then, to provide security and a safe passage for his troops, devised a marvelous stratagem: he had baskets, resembling chests, made of the bark of papyrus, and took these with him full of ibises. This animal is the serpents' deadliest enemy. They flee before its attack and in making off are caught, just as they are by stags, and swallowed up. The ibis is otherwise a tame creature and ferocious only to the serpent tribe... When, therefore, he entered the infested region, he by means of these birds

drove off the vermin, letting them loose upon them, and using these auxiliaries to clear the ground.

Source: *Josephus*, Volume IV. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1930.

CHINA

25. Sunzi's Precepts on Warfare

Below are excerpts from the classic Chinese text on military matters, which is still much studied today, The Art of War, authored by Sunzi, a military leader who was born in the sixth century B.C.

The military is a great matter of the state. It is the ground of life and death, the Way of survival or extinction. One cannot but investigate it. Thus, base it in the five. Compare by means of the appraisals, and so seek out its nature.

The first is the Way, the second is Heaven, the third is Earth, the fourth is the general, the fifth is method.

The Way is what orders the people to have the same purpose as their superior. Thus they can die with him, live with him, and not harbor deceit.

Heaven is yin and yang, cold and hot, the order of the seasons. Going with it, going against it—this is military victory.

Earth is high and low, broad and narrow, far and near, steep and level, death and life.

The general is wisdom, trustworthiness, courage, and strictness.

Method is ordering divisions, the way of ranking, and principal supply.

The military is a Way of deception.

Thus when able, manifest inability. When active, manifest inactivity.

When near, manifest as far. When far, manifest as near.

When he seeks advantage, lure him.

When he is in chaos, take him.

When he is substantial, prepare against him.

When he is strong, avoid him.

Attack where he is unprepared. Emerge where he does not expect.

These are the victories of the military lineage. They cannot be transmitted in advance...

In general, the method of employing the military:

Taking a state whole is superior. Destroying it is inferior to this.

Taking a division whole is superior. Destroying it is inferior to this.

Taking a battalion whole is superior. Destroying it is inferior to this.

Taking a company whole is superior. Destroying it is inferior to this.

Taking a squad whole is superior. Destroying it is inferior to this.

Therefore, one hundred victories in one hundred battles is not skillful. Subduing the other's military without battle is skillful.

Thus the superior military cuts down strategy. Its inferior cuts down alliances. Its inferior cuts down the military. The worst attacks cities.

Knowing victory has five aspects.

Knowing when one can and cannot do battle is victory.

Discerning the use of the many and the few is victory.

Superior and inferior desiring the same is victory.

Using preparation to await the unprepared is victory.

The general being capable and the ruler not interfering is victory.

These five are a Way of knowing victory. Thus it is said:

Knowing the other and knowing oneself,

In one hundred battles no danger.

Not knowing the other and knowing oneself,

One victory for one defeat.

Not knowing the other and not knowing oneself,

In every battle certain danger.

In the past, the skillful first made themselves invincible to await the enemy's vulnerability.

Invincibility lies in oneself. Vulnerability lies in the enemy.

Thus the skilled can make themselves invincible. They cannot cause the enemy's vulnerability. Thus it is said, 'Victory can be known but cannot be made.'

Invincibility is defense. Vulnerability is attack.

Defend and one has a surplus. Attack and one is insufficient.

One skilled at defense hides below the nine earths and moves above the nine heavens. Thus one can preserve oneself and be all-victorious...

In general when in battle:

Use the orthodox to engage. Use the extraordinary to attain victory.

Thus one skilled at giving rise to the extraordinary is as boundless as Heaven and Earth, as inexhaustible as the Yellow River and the ocean.

Ending and beginning again, like the sun and the moon. Dying and then being born, like the four seasons...

One who takes position first at the battleground and awaits the enemy is at ease.

One who takes position later at the battleground and hastens to do battle is at labor.

Thus one skilled at battle summons others and is not summoned by them.

How one can make the enemy arrive of their own accord is through benefit. How one can prevent the enemy from arriving is through harm.

Thus one can make the enemy labor when at ease and starve them when full. It is a matter of emerging where they must hasten.

To go a thousand *li* [about 330 miles] without fear is to go through unpeopled ground.

To attack and surely take it is to attack where they do not defend. To defend and surely hold firm, defend where they will surely attack.

Thus, with one skilled at attack the enemy does not know where to defend. With one skilled at defense the enemy does not know where to attack...

The ultimate is giving form to the military is to arrive at formlessness. When one is formless, deep spies cannot catch a glimpse and the wise cannot strategize.

Rely on form to bring about victory over the multitude, and the multitude cannot understand. People all know the form by which I am victorious, but no one knows how I determine form.

Do not repeat the means of victory, but respond to form from the inexhaustible.

Now, the form of the military is like water. Water in its movement avoids the high and hastens to the low. The military in its victory avoids the solid and strikes the empty.

Thus water determines its movement in accordance with the earth. The military determines victory in accordance with the enemy.

Source: From *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. Volume I. Second edition. Compiled by William Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom. Copyright © 1999 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

INDIA

26. *Peace Is Superior to War*

Jainism is a religion and philosophy that originated in ancient India. The pages of Jain literature are filled with essays and poems about politics, war, and peace issues, as the following excerpt illustrates.

The force of arms cannot do what peace does. If you can gain your desired end with sugar, why use poison?...

What sensible man would abandon his bale [of merchandise] for fear of having to pay a toll on it?

For when the water is drained from the lake, the crocodile grows thin as a snake.

A lion, when he leaves the forest, is no more than a jackal.

And a snake whose fangs are drawn is a mere rope.

In union is strength. Even a mad elephant will trip on a twisted clump of grass. And the [mythical, divine] elephants of the quarters are held by ropes of twisted fibers.

But what is the use of other means when the enemy can only be put down by force? Such expedients are like a libation of ghee [clarified butter] poured on the fire [which makes it burn more fiercely].

Source: From *Sources of Indian Tradition*. Volume I. Edited by William Theodore de Bary. Copyright © 1958 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

27. *Indian Military Ordinance*

Not all Indians subscribed to the Jainist philosophies (see Document 26, above), as the second-century A.D. Greek historian Arrian indicates in the following description of Indian war equipment.

Indian war equipment is not all the same. The infantry have a bow as tall as the archer, which they base on the ground, and set their left foot on it before shooting, drawing

the bowstring a very long way back; for their arrows are little short of three cubits, and an arrow shot by an Indian archer penetrates anything, shield or breastplate or any armor, however strong. In their left hands, they carry small shields of rawhide, narrower than their bodies, but not much shorter. Others have javelins in place of bows. All carry a broad sword, not less than three cubits long, and when they have a hand-to-hand fight—and Indians do not readily fight in this way among themselves—they bring it down with both hands in smiting, so as to make the stroke heavy. Their horsemen have two javelins, like lances, and a small shield, smaller than the infantry. Their horses are not saddled nor do they use bits like the Greek or Celtic, but a band of stitched rawhide is fitted around the muzzle of the horse, with bronze or iron goads, not very sharp, turned inwards. The rich use goads of ivory. Inside their mouths, their horses have a piece of iron like a spit, to which the reins are attached. And so when the rein is pulled, the spit controls the horse and, since the goads are attached to it, they prick the horse and compel him to obey the rein.

Source: *Arrian*. Volume II. Translated by P. A. Brunt. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1933.

28. *The Benefits of Peace*

This excerpt from the Suvarnaprabhasottama Sutra, which dates from the third or fourth century A.D., praises the benefits of peace.

Protect all those royal families, cities, lands, and provinces, save them, cherish them, guard them, ward off invasion from them, give peace and prosperity. Keep them free from all fear, calamity, and evil portent. Turn back the troops of their enemies, and create in all the earthly kings of India a desire to avoid fighting, attacking, quarrelling, or disputing with their neighbors... When the eighty-four thousand kings of the eighty-four thousand cities of India are contented with their own territories, and with their own kingly state and their own hordes of treasure, they will not attack one another, or raise mutual strife. They will gain their thrones by the due accumulation of the merit of former deeds; they will be satisfied with their own kingly state, and will not destroy one another, nor show their mettle by laying waste whole provinces. When all the eighty-four thousand kings of the eighty-four thousand capital cities of India think of their mutual welfare and feel mutual affection and joy, ... contented in their own domains... India will be prosperous, well-fed, pleasant, and populous. The earth will be fertile, and the months and seasons and years will all occur at the proper time. Planets and stars, moon and sun, will duly bring on the days and nights. Rain will fall upon earth at the proper time. And all living beings in India will be rich with all manner of riches and corn, very prosperous but not greedy.

Source: From *Sources of Indian Tradition*. Volume I. Edited by William Theodore de Bary. Copyright © 1958 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

EGYPT

29. A Noted Egyptian's Military Career

Weni the Elder, an Old Kingdom general, judge, and palace overseer wrote an interesting inscriptional autobiography. In the passage below, he describes his military career.

It was after he had formed an army of many ten thousands of the southland in its entirety that His Majesty took action against the sand-dwellers of the Aamu [Asiatic people living in Upper Egypt]...

His Majesty sent me at the head of this army, there being counts, there being royal sealbearers, there being sole companions of the Great Estate, there being chieftains and estate rulers of the southland and northland, companions, overseers of foreign tongue speakers, overseers of priests of the southland and northland, and overseers of the work centers at the head of the troop of the southland and northland and the estates and towns which they governed... I used to effectuate (military) plans for them, my office being (only) that of overseer of the officials of the palace, through the rectitude of my position, so that not one of them struck his fellow, so that not one of them took away a loaf of bread or a pair of sandals from a wayfarer, so that not one of them seized a bolt of cloth from any town, so that not one of them took away a goat from anyone. I led them from the northern island...

Having hacked up the land of the sand-dwellers,
this army (of mine) returned safely.
Having trounced the land of the sand-dwellers,
this army (of mine) returned safely.
Having overturned its walled settlements,
this army (of mine) returned safely.
Having cut down its figs and its vines,
this army (of mine) returned safely.
Having set fire to (the crops) of all its people,
this army (of mine) returned safely.
Having slain the troops therein by many ten thousands,
this army (of mine) returned safely.
[Having brought back the troops] therein very greatly as captives,
this army (of mine) returned safely.

[With the result that] His Majesty praised me on account of it more than anything.

His Majesty sent me to lead [the army] on five occasions to crush the land of the sand-dwellers each time they rebelled, with these troops of mine. I acted so that His Majesty [praised me].

I was told that there were rebels because of a dispute among these foreigners [living near Mount Carmel]. I crossed over with rafts together with these troops of mine... It was (only) after I had captured them in their entirety and (only) after I had slain every rebel among them that I returned.

Source: *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*. Edited by William Kelly Simpson. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003. Copyright © 2003 by Yale University Press. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

30. The Soldierly Life in Ancient Egypt

The following passage from a description of the soldier's life comes from an Egyptian scribal manuscript of the thirteenth century B.C.

What is it that you say they relate, that the soldier's is more pleasant than the scribe's (profession)? Come, let me tell you the condition of the soldier, that much castigated one. He is brought while a child to be confined in the camp. A searing beating is given his body, an open wound inflicted on his eyebrows. His head is split open with a wound. He is laid down and he is beaten like papyrus. He is struck with torments. Come, [let me relate] to you his journey to Khor [Palestine] and his marching upon the hills. His rations and his water are upon his shoulder like the load of an ass, while his neck has been made a backbone like that of an ass. The vertebrae of his back are broken, while he drinks of foul water. He stops work (only) to keep watch. He reaches the battle, and he is like a plucked fowl. He proceeds to return to Egypt, and he is like a stick which the worm has devoured. He is sick, prostration overtakes him. He is brought back upon an ass, his clothes taken away by theft, his henchmen fled . . . Turn back from the saying that the soldier's is more pleasant than the scribe's (profession).

Source: *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*. Edited by William Kelly Simpson. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003. Copyright © 2003 by Yale University Press. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

GREECE

31. The Persian Invasion of Greece

In 480 B.C., the Persians and their allies, under the leadership of King Xerxes, attempted to invade Greece with a huge navy and army. In the following passages from Book Seven of his Histories, the fifth-century B.C. Greek historian Herodotus provides the statistics of the campaign and the details of the Greek defense of the mountain pass at Thermopylae.

I find by calculation that their numbers [in the fleet] up to this stage were as follows: first there was the fleet of 1207 ships belonging to the various nations which sailed from Asia, with it original complement of 241,000 men . . . Each of these vessels carried . . . 30 fighting men . . . making an additional 36,210. Add to these the crews of the penteconters (50-oared galleys), carrying roughly 80 men apiece; there were . . . 3000 penteconters, so this will make another 240,000. This was the naval force brought by Xerxes from Asia . . .

As to the army, the infantry was 1,700,000 strong and the cavalry 80,000. Then there were the Arabian camel corps, which I reckon as a further 20,000. The grand total, therefore, of land and sea forces brought over from Asia was 2,317,610. To this, moreover, must be added the troops which were collected as Xerxes passed through Europe. Here I must be content with a rough estimate. [Herodotus then enumerates and itemizes the numbers of soldiers and ships gathered from Europe.] . . . thus [I] arrive at my final estimate which is, that Xerxes . . . reached [Greece] at the head of an army consisting, in all, of 5,283,320 men.

Herodotus next describes the Persian march toward the Greek peninsula, and how Xerxes's huge army—5,283,320 is probably an exaggeration, but it certainly was very large—was delayed for a time at the pass of Thermopylae, by a much smaller Greek army, the core of which was a force of 300 Spartans under King Leonidas of Sparta.

The Persian army was now close to the pass, and the Greeks, suddenly doubting their power to resist, held a conference to consider the advisability of retreat. It was proposed by the Peloponnesians generally that the army should fall back...[but] Leonidas [the Spartan king] gave his voice for staying where they were and sending, at the same time, an appeal for reinforcements... During the conference, Xerxes sent a man on horseback to ascertain the strength of the Greek force and to observe what the troops were doing... At that moment, these happened to be the Spartans, and some of them were stripped for exercise, while others were combing their hair. The Persian spy watched them in astonishment... Back in his own camp, he told Xerxes what he had seen. Xerxes was bewildered; the truth, namely that the Spartans were preparing themselves to die and deal death with all their strength, was beyond his comprehension, and what they were doing seemed to him merely absurd.

For four days, Xerxes waited, in constant expectation that the Greeks would make good their escape; then, on the fifth, when still they had made no move and their continued presence seemed mere impudent and reckless folly, he was seized with rage and sent forward [his best troops], with orders to take them alive and bring them into his presence... All day the battle continued;... [ultimately, Xerxes sent] his picked Persian troops—the King's Immortals—who advanced to the attack in full confidence of bringing the business to a quick and easy end. But, once engaged, they were no more successful than the [others] had been...

On the Spartan side, it was a memorable fight; they were men who understood war, pitted against an inexperienced enemy, and among the feints they employed was to turn their backs on a body and pretend to be retreating in confusion, whereupon the enemy would pursue them with a great clatter and roar. But the Spartans, just as the Persians were on them, would wheel and face them, and inflict in the new struggle innumerable casualties. The Spartans had their losses, too, but not many.

Herodotus then recounts that Xerxes, with the aid of an informant, learned more about the geography of the mountain pass the Greeks were defending. Meanwhile, most of the Greek force fled, but King Leonidas and his 300 Spartans felt that retreat was dishonorable, so they remained to defend the pass against the overwhelming numbers of the Persian army. Xerxes's new knowledge about the geography of the place, combined with his numerical advantage, spelled doom for the waiting Spartans.

In the morning, Xerxes poured a libation to the rising sun, and then waited till [the sun] was well up before he began to move forward... As the Persian army advanced to the assault, the Greeks under Leonidas, knowing that they were going to their deaths, went out into the wider part of the pass much further than they had done before; in the previous days' fighting, they had been holding the wall and making sorties from behind it into the narrow neck, but now they fought outside the narrows. Many of the invaders fell; behind them, the company commanders plied their whips indiscriminately, driving the men on. Many fell into the sea and were drowned, and still more were trampled

to death by their friends. No one could count the number of the dead. The Spartans, who knew that the enemy were on their way around the mountain track and that death was inevitable, put forth all their strength and fought with fury and desperation. By this time, most of their spears were broken, and they were killing Persians with their swords.

In the course of that fight, Leonidas fell, having fought most gallantly, and many distinguished Spartans with him—their names I have learned, as those of men who deserve to be remembered. Indeed, I have learned the names of all the three hundred...

Of all the Greeks who fought so valiantly, the most signal proof of courage was given by the Spartan Dieneces. It is said that before the battle, he was told...that, when the Persians shot their arrows, there were so many of them that they hid the sun. Dieneces, however, quite unmoved by the thought of the strength of the Persian army, merely remarked: "This is pleasant news...If the Persians hide the sun, we will have our battle in the shade."

Source: *Herodotus: The Histories*. Translated by Aubrey de Selincourt. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

32. Alexander the Great's Warhorse

As this excerpt from the Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius (A.D. c. 125–c. 180) records, Bucephalus, the warhorse of Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.), became almost as famous as its owner.

The horse of king Alexander was called *Bucephalus*, because of the shape of his head [in Greek, *bucephalus* means "ox-headed"]. [The historian] Chares wrote that he was bought for 13 talents [perhaps equivalent to four million dollars] and given to King Philip [Alexander's father]...It seemed a noteworthy characteristic of this horse that when he was armed and equipped for battle, he would never allow himself to be mounted by any other than the king. It is also related that Alexander in the war against India, mounted upon that horse and doing brave deeds, had driven him, with disregard of his own safety, too far into the enemies' ranks. The horse had suffered deep wounds in his neck and side from the weapons hurled from every hand at Alexander, but although dying and almost



Alexander the Great charging the Persian king Darius in his chariot, from amphora of the Greek painter, Darius, c. 330–20 B.C. The Art Archive/Musée Archéologique Naples/Alfredo Dagli Orti.

exhausted from loss of blood, yet he speedily bore the king from the midst of the enemy soldiers. But when he had taken him out of the range of the weapons, the horse at once fell, and satisfied with having saved his master, he breathed his last, with indications of relief that were almost human. Then the king Alexander, after winning the victory in that war, founded a city in that region and in honor of his horse called it Bucephalon.

Source: *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Volume I. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

33. Agesilaus's War Machine

According to this excerpt from the Greek writer Xenophon (c. 430–c. 354 B.C.), the Spartan general Agesilaus (444–360 B.C.) had unique methods of training and preparing his troops for battle.

When spring was just coming on [in 395 B.C.], he gathered his whole army at Ephesus. And desiring to train the army, he offered prizes both to the heavily-armed divisions, for the division which turned out to be in the best physical condition, and to the cavalry divisions, for the one which displayed the best horsemanship. And he also offered prizes to light infantrymen and archers, for all who should prove themselves best in their respective duties. So one might have seen all the gymnasiums full of men exercising, the hippodrome full of riders, and the javelin throwers and bowmen practicing. In fact, he made the entire city where he was staying a sight worth seeing, for the central part of the city was full of all sorts of horses and weapons, offered for sale, and the copper workers, carpenters, smiths, leather cutters, and painters were all engaged in making military weaponry, so that one might have thought that the city was really a workshop of war.

And one would have been encouraged at another sight also: Agesilaus in the forefront, and after him the rest of the soldiers, returning garlanded from the gymnasiums and dedicating their garlands to Artemis. For where people reverence the gods, train themselves in deeds of war, and practice obedience to authority, may we not reasonably suppose that such a place abounds in high hopes?

Source: *Xenophon: Hellenica*. Volume I. Translated by Carleton L. Brownson. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1918.

34. Is War Ever Profitable?

In this additional passage from his writings (see also Document 33, above), the fourth-century B.C. Greek writer Xenophon considers the question of the profitability of warfare.

If anyone supposes that financially war is more profitable to the state than peace, I really do not know how the truth of this can be tested better than by considering once more what has been the experience of our state in the past. He will find that in the old

days, a very great amount of money was paid into the treasury in time of peace, and that the whole of it was spent in time of war. He will conclude on consideration that in our own time, the effect of the late war [against the Persians] on our revenues was that many of them ceased, while those that came in were exhausted by the multitude of expenses, whereas the end of war by sea has been followed by a rise in revenues, and has allowed the citizens to devote them to any purpose they choose.

But someone may ask me: “Do you mean to say that, even if the state is wronged, it should remain at peace with the offender?” No, certainly not. But I do say that our vengeance would follow far more swiftly on our enemies if we provoked nobody by war-like behavior, for then they would look in vain for an ally.

Source: *Xenophon: Scripta Minora*. Volume VII. Translated by E. C. Marchant. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1925.

ROME

35. *An Early Version of a Pax Romana*

As described in the following passage from the writings of the Greek biographer Plutarch (A.D. c. 45–c. 120), Numa, one of Rome’s earliest kings (reigned 715–673 B.C.), presided over an era of peace and prosperity, a sort of preview of the Pax Romana (Roman Peace) that Roman rule later brought to the Mediterranean world during the reign of Augustus (27 B.C.–A.D. 14).

He has a temple at Rome with double doors, which they call the gates of war. For the temple always stands open in time of war, but is closed when peace has come. The latter was a difficult matter, and it rarely happened, since the realm was always engaged in some war, as its increasing size brought it into collision with the barbarous nations around it. But in the time of Augustus Caesar [ruled 27 B.C.–A.D. 14], it was closed, after he had overthrown Antony. And before that, when Marcus Atilius and Titus Manlius were consuls, it was closed a short time. Then war broke out again at once, and it was opened.

During the reign of Numa, however, it was not seen open for a single day, but remained shut for the space of 43 years together, so complete and universal was the cessation of war. For not only was the Roman people softened and charmed by the righteousness and mildness of their king, but also the surrounding cities, as if some cooling breeze or healthy wind were wafted upon them from Rome, began to experience a change of temper, and all of them were filled with longing desire to have good government, to be at peace, to till the earth, to raise their children in quiet, and to worship the gods. Festivals and feasts, hospitalities and friendly conversation between people who visited one another without fear—these prevailed throughout Italy, while honor and justice flowed into all hearts from the wisdom of Numa, as from a fountain, and the calm serenity of his spirit diffused itself abroad. Thus even the exaggerations of the poets fall short of picturing the state of man in those days: “And on the iron-bound shield handles lie the tawny spider’s webs,” and, “rust now subdues the sharp-pointed spears and two-edged swords; no longer is the blast of brazen trumpets heard, nor are the eyelids robbed

of delicious sleep.” For there is no record either of war, or faction, or political revolution while Numa was king.

Source: *Plutarch's Lives*. Volume I. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1914.

36. Military Strategies

The first-century A.D. Roman architect and engineer Sextus Julius Frontinus wrote a book about military strategies, entitled, appropriately, Stratagems. Frontinus also wrote a book about the Roman aqueducts; its pages are mostly filled with technical information about flow rates, pipe sizes and specifications, laws governing aqueduct usage, and the like; it is a very factual and detail-oriented monograph. But at one point, Frontinus seems overcome with emotion as he considers the sheer genius of the Roman aqueduct system: “With such an array of indispensable structures carrying so many waters, compare, if you will, the idle pyramids, or the useless, though famous, works of the Greeks!” (Frontinus: The Stratagems and The Aqueducts of Rome. Translated by Clemens Herschel. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1925.) Below are excerpts from Stratagems.

Since I alone of those interested in military science have undertaken to reduce its rules to a system [referring to a now-lost book which he wrote on warfare], and since I seem to have fulfilled that purpose . . . I still feel obligated, in order to complete the task I have begun, to summarize in convenient sketches the adroit operations of generals, which the Greeks embrace under the one name *strategemata*. For in this way, commanders will be furnished with specimens of wisdom and foresight, which will serve to foster their own power of conceiving and executing similar deeds. There will result the added advantage that a general will not fear the issue of his own stratagem, if he compares it with experiments already successfully made . . .

Types of stratagems for the guidance of a commander in matters to be attended to before battle:

- I. On concealing one's plans.
- II. On finding out the enemy's plans.
- III. On determining the character of the war.
- IV. On leading an army through places infested by the enemy.
- V. On escaping from difficult situations.
- VI. On laying and meeting ambushes while on the march.
- VII. How to conceal the absence of the things we lack, or to supply substitutes for them.
- VIII. On distracting the attention of the enemy.
- IX. On quelling a mutiny of soldiers.
- X. How to check an unseasonable demand for battle.
- XI. How to arouse an army's enthusiasm for battle.
- XII. On dispelling the fears inspired in soldiers by adverse omens.

Following is one example from each of Frontinus's twelve categories:

I. On concealing one's plans: Gaius [Julius] Caesar, distrusting the loyalty of the Egyptians, and wishing to give the appearance of indifference, indulged in riotous banqueting, while devoting himself to an inspection of the city [Alexandria] and its defenses, pretending to be captivated by the charm of the place and to be succumbing to the customs and life of the Egyptians. Having made ready his reserves while he thus dissembled, he seized Egypt [in 48 B.C.].

II. On finding out the enemy's plans: In the Etruscan war (third century B.C.), the consul Aemilius Paulus was on the point of sending his army down into the plain near the town of Vetulonia, when he saw from far off a flock of birds rise in somewhat startled flight from a forest, and realized that some treachery was lurking there, both because the birds had risen in alarm and at the same time, in great numbers. He therefore sent some scouts ahead and discovered that 10,000 Boii were lying in wait at that point to meet the Roman army. These he overwhelmed by sending his legions against them at a different point from that at which they were expected.

III. On determining the character of the war: When Hannibal was lingering in Italy, Scipio sent an army into Africa, and so forced the Carthaginians to recall Hannibal. In this way, he transferred the war from his own country to that of the enemy.

IV. On leading an army through places infested by the enemy: When the [fourth-century B.C.] Athenian general Iphicrates was engaged in a campaign against the Spartan Anaxibius on the Hellespont... he had to lead his army on one occasion through places occupied by enemy patrols, hemmed in on the one side by steep mountains, and on the other washed by the sea. For some time, he delayed, and then on an unusually cold day, when no one suspected such a move, he selected his most rugged men, rubbed them down with oil and warmed them up with wine, and then ordered them to skirt the very edge of the sea, swimming across the places that were too steep to pass. Thus by an unexpected attack from the rear, he overwhelmed the guards of the path.

V. On escaping from difficult situations: When Gnaeus Pompey [the Great] at Brundisium had planned to leave Italy and to transfer the war to another field, since Caesar was heavy on his heels, just as he was on the point of embarking, he placed obstacles in some roads; others he blocked by constructing walls across them; others he intersected with trenches, setting sharp stakes in the latter, and laying hurdles covered with earth across the openings. Some of the roads leading to the harbor he guarded by throwing beams across and piling them one upon another in a huge heap. After consummating these arrangements, wishing to produce the appearance of intending to retain possession of the city, he left a few archers as a guard on the walls. He led out the remainder of his troops to the ships. Then, when he was underway, the archers also withdrew by familiar roads, and caught up to him in small boats.

VI. On laying and meeting ambushes while on the march: When our army was about to pass through the Litana Forest, the Boii cut into the trees at the base, leaving them only a slender support by which to stand, until they should be pushed over. Then the Boii hid at the further edge of the woods and by toppling over the nearest trees, caused the fall of those more distant, as soon as our men entered the forest. In that way they spread general disaster among the Romans, and destroyed a large force [216 B.C.].

VII. How to conceal the absence of the things we lack, or to supply substitutes for them: This place, I think, is not inappropriate for recounting that famous deed of Alexander of Macedon. Marching along the desert roads of Africa, and suffering in common with his men from most distressing thirst, when some water was brought him in a helmet by a soldier, he poured it out on the ground in the sight of all, in this way serving his soldiers better by his example of restraint than if he had been able to share the water with the rest.

VIII. On distracting the attention of the enemy: Titus Didius at one time [in Spain, early first century B.C.] lacked confidence because of the small number of his troops, but continued the war in hopes of the arrival of certain legions which he was awaiting. On hearing that the enemy planned to attack these legions, he called an assembly of the soldiers and ordered them to get ready for battle, and purposely to exercise a careless supervision over their prisoners. As a result, a few of the latter escaped and reported to their people that battle was imminent. The enemy, to avoid dividing their strength when expecting battle, abandoned their plan of attacking those for whom they were lying in wait, so that the legions arrived without hindrance and in perfect safety at the camp of Didius.

IX. On quelling a mutiny of soldiers: When on one occasion legions of Roman soldiers had broken out in a dangerous mutiny, Lucius Sulla shrewdly restored sanity to the frenzied troops. For he ordered a sudden announcement to be made that the enemy was at hand, bidding a shout to be raised by those summoning the men to arms, and the trumpets to be sounded. Thus the mutiny was broken up by the union of all forces against the foe.

X. How to check an unseasonable demand for battle: When Agesilaus, the Spartan, was fighting against the Thebans and had encamped on the bank of a stream, being aware that the forces of the enemy far outnumbered his own, and wishing therefore to keep his men from the desire of fighting, he announced that he had been ordered by a response of the gods to fight on high ground. Accordingly, posting a small guard on the bank, he withdrew to the hills. The Thebans, interpreting this as a mark of fear, crossed the stream, easily dislodged the defending troops and, following the rest too eagerly, were defeated by a smaller force, owing to the difficulties of the terrain [369 B.C.].

XI. How to arouse an army's enthusiasm for battle: Gaius [Julius] Caesar, when about to fight the Germans and their king, Ariovistus, at a time when his own men had been thrown into a panic, called his soldiers together and declared to the assembly that on that day, he proposed to employ the services of the tenth legion alone. In this way, he caused the soldiers of this legion to be stirred by his tribute to their unique heroism, while the rest were overwhelmed with mortification to think that reputation for courage should rest with others [58 B.C.].

XII. On dispelling the fears inspired in soldiers by adverse omens: When Agathocles the Syracusan was fighting against the Carthaginians, and his soldiers on the eve of battle were thrown into panic by an eclipse of the moon, which they interpreted as a bad omen, he explained the reason why this happened, and showed them that, whatever it was, it had to do with nature, and not with their own purposes [310 B.C.].

Frontinus's manual on stratagems is divided into four books. The other three books, which all contain short examples similar to those above, include these topics:

Book Two: I. On choosing the time for battle; II. On choosing the place for battle; III. On the disposition of troops for battle; IV. On creating panic in the enemy's ranks; V. On ambushes; VI. On letting the enemy escape, so that he does not in desperation renew the battle; VII. On concealing reverses; VIII. On restoring morale by firmness; IX. On bringing the war to a close after a successful engagement; X. On repairing one's losses after a reverse; XI. On ensuring the loyalty of those whom one mistrusts; XII. What to do for the defense of the camp, in case a commander lacks confidence in his present forces; XIII. On retreating.

Book Three: I. On surprise attacks; II. On deceiving the besieged; III. On inducing treachery; IV. By what means the enemy may be reduced to want; V. How to persuade the enemy that the siege will be maintained; VI. On distracting the attention of a hostile garrison; VII. On diverting streams and contaminating waters; VIII. On terrorizing the besieged; IX. On attacks from an unexpected quarter; X. On setting traps to draw out the besieged; XI. On pretended withdrawals. Stratagems for protecting the besieged: XII. On stimulating the vigilance of one's own troops; XIII. On sending and receiving messages; XIV. On introducing reinforcements and supplying provisions; XV. How to produce the impression of abundance of what is lacking; XVI. How to meet the menace of treason and desertion; XVII. On sorties. XVIII. Concerning steadfastness on the part of the besieged.

Book Four: I. On discipline; II. On the effect of discipline; III. On restraint and disinterestedness; IV. On justice; V. On determination; VI. On good will and moderation; VII. On sundry maxims and devices.

Source: Frontinus: *The Stratagems*. Translated by Charles E. Bennett. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1925.

37. The First Pyrrhic Victory

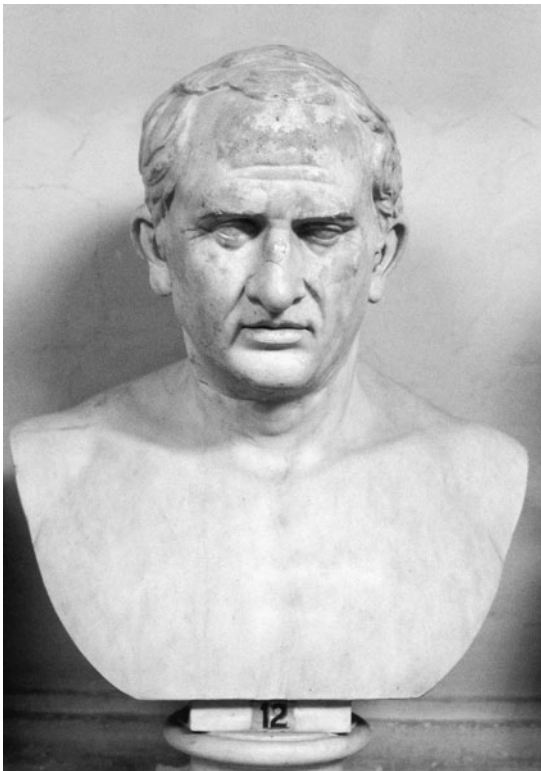
The famous third-century B.C. Greek general Pyrrhus tangled with the Romans, almost to his undoing, as the Greek biographer Plutarch (A.D. c. 45–c. 120) recounts in this passage from his biography of Pyrrhus.

After recuperating his army [from a previous battle], he marched to the city of Asculum, where he engaged the Romans. Here, however, he was forced into regions where his cavalry could not operate, and upon a river with swift current and wooded banks, so that his elephants could not charge and engage the enemy's phalanx. Therefore, after many had been wounded and slain, for the time being the struggle was ended by the coming of night. But on the next day, designing to fight the battle on level ground, and to bring his elephants to bear upon the ranks of the enemy, Pyrrhus occupied the unfavorable parts of the field with a detachment of his troops. Then he put great numbers of slingers and archers in the spaces between the elephants and led his forces to the attack in dense array and with a mighty impetus. So the Romans, having no opportunity for sidelong shifts and counter moves...were obliged to engage on level ground and front to front. And being anxious to repulse the enemy soldiers before their elephants

came up, they fought fiercely with their swords against the enemy's spears, reckless of their lives, and thinking only of wounding and slaying, while caring not at all for what they suffered. After a long time, however, . . . they began to be driven back at the point where Pyrrhus himself was pressing hard upon his opponents. But the greatest havoc was wrought by the furious strength of the elephants, since the courage of the Romans was of no use in fighting them, but they felt that they must yield before them as before an onrushing billow or a crashing earthquake, and not stand their ground only to die in vain, or suffer all that is most grievous without doing any good at all.

After a short flight, the Romans reached their camp, with a loss of 6,000 men . . . on the side of Pyrrhus, according to the king's own commentaries, 3,505 were killed . . . The two armies separated, and we are told that Pyrrhus said to one who was congratulating him on his victory, "If we are victorious in one more battle with the Romans, we will be utterly ruined." [This is source of the modern phrase *Pyrrhic victory*, a battle won at too great a cost to the victors.] For he had lost a great part of the forces with which he came, and all his friends and generals except a few. Moreover, he had no others whom he could summon from home, and he saw that his allies in Italy were becoming indifferent, while the army of the Romans, as if from a fountain gushing forth indoors, was easily and speedily filled up again, and they did not lose courage in defeat. In fact, their anger gave them all the more vigor and determination for the war.

Source: *Plutarch's Lives*. Volume IX. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1920.



Cicero, widely considered one of Rome's greatest orators and prose stylists. © (2008) Jupiterimages Corporation.

38. Rules of War According to Cicero

The first-century B.C. Roman orator Cicero, in this excerpt from his treatise "On Duties," discusses the various justifications for, and circumstances of, warfare and rules of engagement.

Then, too, in the case of a state in its external relations, the rights of war must be strictly observed. For since there are two ways of settling a dispute—first, by discussion, second, by physical force—and since the former is characteristic of human beings, the latter of animals, we must resort to force only in case we may not avail ourselves of discussion. The only excuse, therefore, for going to war is that we may live in peace unharmed; and when the victory is won, we should spare those who have not been bloodthirsty and barbarous in their warfare . . . In my opinion, at least, we should always strive to secure a peace that shall not admit of guile. And if my advice had been heeded on this point, we should still have at least some sort of constitutional government, if not the best in the world, whereas, as it is, we have none at all.

Not only must we show consideration for those whom we have conquered by force of arms, but we must also ensure protection to those who lay down their arms and throw themselves upon the

mercy of our generals, even though the battering ram has hammered at their walls. And among our countrymen, justice has been observed so conscientiously in this direction, that those who have given promise of protection to states or nations subdued in war become, after the custom of our forefathers, the patrons of those states.

As for war, humane laws touching it are drawn up in the fetial code of the Roman People under all the guarantees of religion. And from this it may be gathered that no war is just, unless it is entered upon after an official demand for satisfaction has been submitted or warning has been given and a formal declaration made . . . But when a war is fought out for supremacy and when glory is the object of war, it must still not fail to start from the same motives which I said a moment ago were the only righteous grounds for going to war. But those wars which have glory for their end must be carried on with less bitterness.

Source: Cicero: *De Officiis*. Translated by Walter Miller. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1913.

39. A Soldier's Perks

In this excerpt from his sixteenth Satire, the Roman poet Juvenal, who wrote in the early second century A.D., enumerates some of the advantages of soldiering.

Who, Gallius, can count the benefits of serving a term
 In the fortunate army? If I could enter a camp of affirmed
 Prosperity under a lucky star, I myself would enlist
 As a trembling recruit . . .
 Let's first consider advantages all our soldiers now share.
 Not the least of these is this, that no civilian would dare
 To beat you up. If *he* [a civilian] gets beaten [by a soldier], he'd better not breathe
 A word, or run to the praetor [judge], showing his knocked-out teeth,
 His swollen face, black and blue, and the one eye left, so mangled
 The doctor despairs of saving it. If he'd sue, he's entangled
 With rough courts martial, a judge in hobnailed infantry boots
 And a jury of brawny legs called up to hear the dispute
 At the solemn bench, according to old army rules and the law
 Of Camillus, forbidding that any soldier should be brought
 To court outside the camp and away from his battle corps . . .
 The whole battalion will be in cahoots
 Against you, each squad to a man will agree to give you a cure
 That will make your damages won in court far worse to endure
 Than those you complained of . . .
 Now let's note some other rewards and perquisites of the pledge
 To serve in the army. Should some conniving neighbor allege
 That a grove or field of my forbears' estate is his . . . [or]
 Should a debtor refuse to repay his loan and claim the seal
 Is faked, the signatures forged, the documents null and void,
 I must wait for the regular session of court, to be annoyed
 By everyone else with lawsuits on the docket and face
 Even then, a thousand tiresome postponements, a thousand delays.

Political Life

This happens so often . . .
But those privileged fellows [Roman soldiers] with buckled belts and a fine array
Of weapons get their cases scheduled whenever they please,
And their funds aren't erased by endless chains of legalities.
Moreover, only a soldier is given the right to make
A will while his father lives; for whatever a soldier may take
As pay for his army service is held under law not to be
Part of the estate that the father controls [contrary to the usual custom].

Source: *The Satires of Juvenal*. Translated by Hubert Creekmore. New York: The New American Library, 1963.

Part VII

RECREATIONAL LIFE

Sports and Games

Organized athletic competition, especially among the Greeks and Romans, always excited the interest of spectators and writers alike. References to sporting events in ancient literature are numerous, even in the writings of authors who were decidedly non-athletic.

One could begin with the Greek poet Homer, who described athletic competitions in both his classic epic poems, *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In the former, the funeral games in honor of Patroclus occupy most of Book 22, including a stirring account of a chariot race (Document 3). In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus is offered an opportunity to compete at various events with a group of younger athletes, who think that he will be easily defeated because of his age. But he turns the tables on them by hurling a discus farther than any of them (Document 4). Following in Homer's poetic footsteps, the Roman epic poet Virgil, in his epic masterpiece *Aeneid*, included an account of the funeral games for Anchises; his description of a boxing match is the subject of Document 15.

Playwrights also provided coverage of sporting events (Documents 5 and 6, where a foot race and a chariot race are described, respectively). However, probably the most famous organized athletic competition was the *Olympic Games*, traditionally said to have been founded in 776 B.C. (Document 7). A number of athletes gained Olympic fame (Documents 10, 11, and 12), but the most successful of all was undoubtedly the wrestler *Milo of Croton* (Document 9). As athletic competition became more specialized and more sophisticated, training manuals came into vogue; these included information on the requisite physical attributes for athletes competing in the various events. One of the most popular of these events was wrestling; whether it was the oldest sport is the topic of Document 13.

Philosophers and other social critics often debate the importance of athletic competition in the larger scheme of things, and such debates often occurred in both ancient Greece and Rome (Documents 14, 16, and 18). Chariot racing was one of the most popular spectator sports in ancient Rome. Documents 17 and 19 reflect this passion. But the Romans did not confine their interests to spectacularly big events.

They also enjoyed more cerebral games, including an ancient version of chess (Documents 20 and 21).

EGYPT

1. An Athletic Egyptian King

According to the following inscription from a stele, the Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian king Amenhotep II (reigned 1427–1400 B.C.) excelled in many athletic activities.

Now, further, his majesty appeared as a king as a goodly youth. When he had matured and completed 18 years on his thighs in valor, he was one who knew every task of Montu [an ancient Egyptian god of war]. There was no one like him on the field of battle. He was one who knew horses; there was not his like in this numerous army. There was not one therein who could draw his bow. He could not be approached in running.

Strong of arms, one who did not weary when he took the oar, he rowed at the stern of his falcon boat as the stroke for 200 men. When there was a pause, after they had attained half an *iter*'s course, they were weak, their bodies were limp, they could not draw a breath, whereas his majesty was still strong under his oar of 20 cubits in its length. He left off and moored his falcon boat only after he had attained three *iters* in rowing, without letting down in pulling. Faces were bright at the sight of him, when he did this.

He drew 300 stiff bows in comparing the work of the craftsmen of them, in order to distinguish the ignorant from the wise. When he had just come from doing this which I have called to your attention, he entered into his northern garden and found that there had been set up for him four targets of Asiatic copper of one palm in their thickness, with 20 cubits between one post and another. Then his majesty appeared in a chariot like Montu in his power. He grasped his bow and gripped four arrows at the same time. So he rode northward, shooting at them like Montu in his regalia. His arrows had come out on the back thereof while he was attacking another post. It was really a deed which had never been done nor heard of by report: shooting at a target of copper an arrow which came out of it and dropped to the ground—except for the king, rich in glory, whom Amon made strong, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt...

Now when he was still a lad, he loved his horses and rejoiced in them. It was a strengthening of the heart to work them, to learn their natures, to be skilled in training them, and to enter into their ways. When it was heard in the palace by his father, the Horus, Mighty Bull, Appearing in Thebes, the heart of his majesty was glad when he heard it, rejoicing at what was said about his eldest son... Then his majesty said to those who were at his side: "Let there be given to him the very best horses in my majesty's stable which is in Memphis and tell him: 'Take care of them, instill fear in them, make them gallop, and handle them if there be resistance to you!'" Now after it had been entrusted to the King's Son to take care of the horses of the king's stable, well then, he did that which had been entrusted to him. Rashap and Astarte were rejoicing in him for doing all that his heart desired.

He trained horses without their equal. They would not grow tired when he took the reins, nor would they sweat even at a high gallop. He would harness with the bit in Memphis and stop at the rest house of Harmakhis, so that he might spend a moment there, going around and around it and seeing the charm of this rest house.

Source: *Stele of Amenhotep II*. Translated by J. A. Wilson. Translation appearing in William C. McDermott and Wallace E. Caldwell, eds. *Readings in the History of the Ancient World*. New York: Rinehart and Company Inc., 1951.

2. An Athlete's Pension

In this excerpt from a papyrus from A.D. 276, an Egyptian Olympic athlete applies for a pension payment.

To their excellencies the senate of Hermopolis, the great, ancient, most august, and most illustrious city, from Aurelius Leucadius, Hermopolitan, victor in the sacred games, pankratiast [the pankration was an event that featured a combination of boxing and wrestling] . . . I request that an order be given to pay me from the municipal account as my pension for the victory for which I was crowned at the sacred triumphal games for the 48 months . . . at the rate of 180 drachmas per month, one talent, 2640 drachmas . . . and for the first victory for which I was crowned at the sacred triumphal universal juvenile contest, held also at Olympia, for 35 months . . . at the rate of 180 drachmas per month, one talent, 450 drachmas, making the total of the claim two talents, 3090 drachmas, without prejudice to any rights possessed by the city and the senate.

Source: *Select Papyri*. Volume II. Translated by A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

GREECE

3. An Epic Chariot Race

In the Iliad, the legendary Greek poet Homer describes the athletic contests held in honor of the recently deceased Patroclus. Achilles, as sponsor of the games, presides over the running of the various events. The first of these was a chariot race, which is described in the passage reproduced below.

First, for the fastest charioteers he set out glittering prizes:
 a woman to lead away, flawless, skilled in crafts,
 and a two-eared tripod, twenty-two measures deep—
 all that for the first prize.
 Then for the runner-up he brought forth a mare,
 unbroken, six years old . . .
 For the third he produced a fine four-measure cauldron
 never scorched by flames, its sheen as bright as new.
 For the fourth he set out two gold bars, for the fifth,

untouched by fire as well, a good two-handed jar.
[Achilles then stood up and asked for contestants to come forward.]

Achilles' call rang out,
and it brought the fastest drivers crowding forward.
The first by far, Eumelus... who excelled in horsemanship
and following him powerful Diomedes...
Then Atreus' son, Menelaus...
And the fourth to yoke his full-maned team was Antilochus...
Now after Meriones yoked his sleek horses fifth,
they boarded their chariots...
Ready, whips raised high, at the signal all together
lashed their horses' backs and shouted, urging them on.
They broke in a burst of speed, in no time swept the plain,
leaving the ships behind and lifting under their chests,
the dust clung to the teams like clouds or swirling gales
as their manes went streaming back in the gusty tearing wind.
The chariots shot on, now jouncing along the earth that rears us all,
now bounding clear in the air, but the drivers kept erect
in the lurching chariots and the heart of each man raced,
straining for victory—each man yelled at his horses
as they flew across the plain in a whirl of dust.
But just out of the turn,
starting the homestretch back to sunlit sea,
the horses lunged, each driver showed his form,
the whole field went racing full tilt and at once
the fast mares of Eumelus surged far out in front.
And after him came Diomedes' team [not far behind].
And at any moment it seemed they'd mount Eumelus' chariot,
their hot breath steaming his back and broad shoulders,
their heads hovering over him, breakneck on they flew.
And now he'd have passed him or forced a dead heat
if Apollo all of a sudden raging at Diomedes
had not knocked the shining whip from his fist.
Tears of rage came streaming down his cheeks
as he watched Eumelus' mares pulling farther ahead
and his team losing pace, no whip to lash them on.
But Athena, missing nothing of Apollo's foul play
that robbed Diomedes, sped to the gallant captain,
handed him back his whip, primed his team with power,
and flying after Eumelus in full immortal fury
the goddess smashed his yoke. His mares bolted apart,
careening off the track and his pole plowed the ground
and Eumelus hurled from the chariot, tumbling over the wheel,
the skin was ripped from his elbows, mouth and nostrils,
his forehead battered in, scraped raw at the brows,
tears filling his eyes, his booming voice choked.
But veering around the wreck, Diomedes steered his racers
shooting far ahead of the rest, leaving them in the dust
as Athena fired his team and gave the man his glory.
And after him came the son of Atreus, red-haired Menelaus,
next Antilochus, urging his father's horses:

“Drive, the two of you—full stretch and fast!
 I don’t tell you to match the leader’s speed,
 skilled Diomedes’ team...
 But catch Menelaus’ pair—fast—and don’t get left behind!”...
 Whipped with fear by their master’s threats, they put on a fresh burst
 for a length or two but suddenly brave Antilochus
 saw the narrow place where the road washed out—
 a sharp dip in the land where massing winter rains
 broke off the edge, making it all one sunken rut.
 There Menelaus was heading—no room for two abreast—
 but Antilochus swerved to pass him, lashing his horses
 off the track, then swerving into him neck-and-neck
 and Menelaus, frightened, yelled out at the man,
 “Antilochus, you drive like a maniac! Hold your horses!
 The track’s too narrow here—it widens soon for passing—
 Watch out; you’ll crash your chariot, wreck us both!”
 So he cried out, but Antilochus drove on all the wilder,
 cracking his lash for more speed like a man stone deaf.
 As far as a full-shoulder throw of a whirling discus
 hurled by a young contender testing out his strength,
 so far they raced dead even. But then Menelaus’ pair
 dropped back as he yielded, cut the pace on purpose.
 He feared the massive teams would collide on the track
 and the tight-strung chariots capsize, the men themselves
 go sprawling into the dust, striving, wild for triumph.
 As his rival passed, the red-haired captain cursed him:
 “Antilochus—no one alive more treacherous than you!
 Away with you, madman! Damn you!
 How wrong we were when we said you had good sense.
 You’ll never take the prize unless you take the oath!”
 Turning back to his team, calling, shouting them on:
 “Don’t hold back, don’t stop now—galled as you are—
 that team in the lead will sag in the leg before you.
 Robbed of their prime, their racing days are done!”
 And lashed with fear by their master’s angry voice
 they put on a surge, closing on them fast. And all the while
 the armies tense in a broad circle watched for horses
 flying back on the plain in a rising whirl of dust...
 [Two of the spectators, Idomeneus and Ajax, got into an argument over which chariot was
 in the lead. Achilles had to intervene.]

“Enough! No more trading your stinging insults now.
 Ajax, Idomeneus! It’s offensive; this is not the time.
 You’d be the first to blame a man who railed this way.
 Sit down in the ring, you two, and watch the horses.
 They’ll be home in a moment, racing hard to win.
 Then each can see for himself who comes in second,
 who takes off first prize.” In the same breath,
 Diomedes came on storming toward them. Closer, look,
 closing, lashing his team nonstop, full-shoulder strokes,
 making them kick high as they hurtled toward the goal.
 Constant sprays of dust kept pelting back on the driver,

the chariot sheathed in gold and tin careening on
in the plunging stallions' wake, its spinning rims
hardly leaving a rut behind in the thin dust
as the team thundered in, a whirlwind finish!
He reined them back in the ring with drenching sweat,
lather streaming down to the ground from necks and chests.
Their master leapt down from the bright burnished chariot,
propped his whip on the yoke. His [friend and] aide lost no time—
the hardy Sthenelus rushed to collect the prizes,
gave their proud troops the woman to lead away
and they carried off the handsome two-eared tripod
as he was loosing the horses from the harness.
Antilochus next, the son of Nestor, drove in second,
beating Menelaus not by speed but cunning,
but still Menelaus kept his racers close behind,
tight as the closing gap between the wheel and horse... that much, no more
Menelaus trailed Antilochus, dauntless driver...
And now, if the two teams had a longer course to run,
Menelaus would have passed him, no dead heat about it.
Then... Meriones came in fourth,
trailing the famed Menelaus by a spear-throw.
His team had sleek manes but the slowest pace on the field,
and the man himself was the poorest racing driver.
But Admetus' son Eumelus came in last of all,
dragging his fine chariot, flogging his team before him.
Seeing him there, the swift Achilles filled with pity,
rose in their midst and said these winging words:
"The best man drives his purebred team home last!
Come, let's give him a prize, it's only right,
but second prize, of course.
Diomedes, the son of Tydeus, must carry off the first." So he spoke,
and the armies assented to what he urged...
Achilles was just about to give the man the mare
when Antilochus, son of magnanimous old Nestor,
leapt to his feet and lodged a formal protest:
"Achilles, I'll be furious if you carry out that plan!
Do you really mean to strip me of my prize?...
I won't give up the mare! The one who wants her,
step this way, and try.
He'll have to fight me for her with his fists!"
He flared up and the swift runner Achilles smiled,
delighting in Antilochus; he liked the man immensely.
He answered him warmly, winged words: "Antilochus,
you want me to fetch an extra gift from my tents,
a consolation prize for Eumelus? I'm glad to do it."

Menelaus became angry at this compromise, and demanded the mare for himself, as compensation for Antilochus' unethical racing tactics. Antilochus yielded and apologized. Not only did Menelaus accept the apology, but gave him the mare as a gift. Five more events followed: boxing, wrestling, a foot race, sword fighting, and archery.

Source: *Homer: The Iliad*. Translated by W.H.D. Rouse. Originally published by Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1938. Reprinted by The New American Library of World Literature.

4. An Old Athlete Holds His Own

The Homeric hero Odysseus may not have been the prototypical athlete, and after many years of fighting in the Trojan War, he probably was not in the prime physical condition necessary for success in athletic competition, especially when matched against younger, stronger opponents. But when he was shipwrecked in the land of the Phaeacians, and their young men challenged him to compete in their athletic contests, his competitive spirit was aroused. Homer describes the context of the competition in this passage from the eighth book of The Odyssey.

Odysseus frowned, and eyed him coldly, saying:
 “That was uncalled for, friend, you talk like a fool.
 The gods deal out no gift, this one or any—
 birth, brains, or speech—to every man alike.
 In looks a man may be a shade, a specter,
 and yet be master of speech so crowned with beauty
 that people gaze at him with pleasure. Courteous,
 sure of himself, he can command assemblies,
 and when he comes to town, the crowds gather.
 A handsome man, contrariwise, may lack
 grace and good sense in everything he says.
 You now, for instance, with your fine physique—
 a god’s indeed—you have an empty noddle.
 I find my heart inside my ribs aroused
 by your impertinence. I am no stranger
 to contests, as you fancy. I rated well
 when I could count on youth and my two hands.
 Now pain has cramped me, and my years of combat
 hacking through ranks in war, and the bitter sea.
 Aye. Even so I’ll give your games a trial.
 You spoke heart-wounding words. You shall be answered.”
 He leapt out, cloaded as he was, and picked a discus,
 a rounded stone, more ponderous than those
 already used by the Phaiákian throwers,
 and, whirling, let it fly from his great hand
 with a low hum. The crowd went flat on the ground—
 all those oar-pulling, seafaring Phaiákians—
 under the rushing noise. The spinning disk
 soared out, light as a bird, beyond all others.
 Disguised now as a Phaiákain, Athena
 staked it and called out:
 “Even a blind man,
 friend, could judge this, finding with his fingers
 one discus, quite alone, beyond the cluster.
 Congratulations; this event is yours;
 not a man here can beat you or come near you.”
 That was a cheering hail, Odysseus thought,
 seeing one friend there on the emulous field,
 so, in relief, he turned among the Phaiákians
 and said:

 “Now come alongside that one, lads.

The next I'll send as far, I think, or farther.
 Anyone else on edge for competition
 try me now. By heaven, you angered me.
 Racing, wrestling, boxing—I bar nothing
 with any man except Laódamas,
 for he's my host. Who quarrels with his host?
 Only a madman—or no man at all—
 would challenge his protector among strangers,
 cutting the ground away under his feet.
 Here are no others I will not engage,
 none but I hope to know what he is made of.
 Inept at combat, am I? Not entirely.
 Give me a smooth bow; I can handle it,
 and I might well be first to hit my man
 amid a swarm of enemies, though archers
 in company around me drew together.
 Philoktêtês alone, at Troy, when we
 Akhaians took the bow, used to outshoot me.
 Of men who now eat bread upon the earth
 I hold myself the best hand with a bow—
 conceding mastery to the men of old,
 Heraklês, or Eurytos of Oikhalía,
 heroes who vied with gods in bowmanship.
 Eurytos came to grief, it's true; old age
 never crept over him in his long hall;
 Apollo took his challenge ill, and killed him.
 What then, the spear? I'll plant it like an arrow.
 Only in sprinting, I'm afraid, I may
 be passed by someone.

Source: Excerpts from THE ODYSSEY by Homer, translated by Robert Fitzgerald. Copyright © 1961, 1963 by Robert Fitzgerald. Copyright renewed 1989 by Benedict R. C. Fitzgerald, on behalf of the Fitzgerald children. Reprinted by permission of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, LLC.

5. Orestes the Runner

In this excerpt from the play Electra, a work of the Athenian playwright Sophocles (c. 496–406 B.C.), another legendary figure, Orestes, son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, journeys to Delphi to compete in the quadrennial Pythian Games in honor of Apollo. His first event, as described below, is the foot race.

He came to Delphi for the Pythian Games,
 That pride and glory of the land of Greece.
 So, when he heard the herald's voice proclaim
 The foot race, which was first to be contested,
 He stepped into the course, admired by all.
 And soon he showed that he was swift and strong
 No less than beautiful, for he returned
 Crowned with the glory of a victory.
 But though there's much to tell, I will be brief.
 That man was never known who did the like.

Of every contest in the Festival
 He won the prize, triumphantly. His name
 Time and again was heard proclaimed: "Winner:
 Orestes, citizen of Argos, son
 Of Agamemnon, who commanded all
 The Greeks at Troy," And so far, all was well.

Source: Sophocles. *Three Tragedies: Antigone; Oedipus the King; Electra*. Translated by H.D.F. Kitto, 1962. By permission of Oxford University Press.

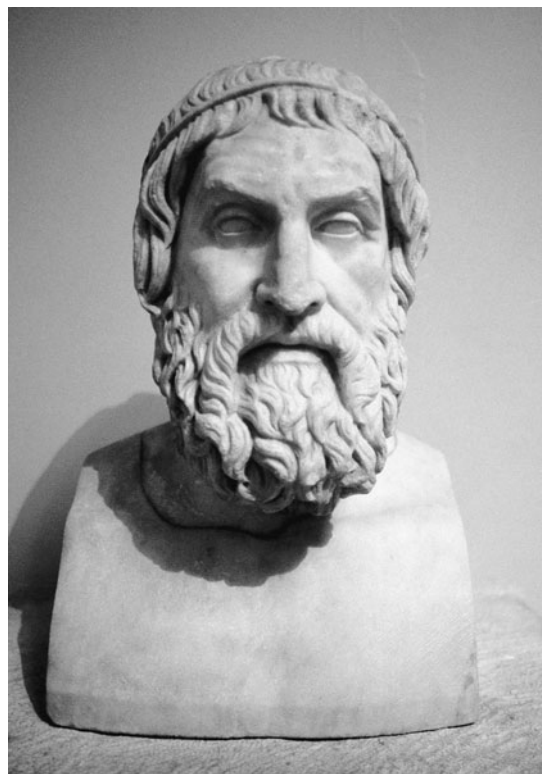
6. Orestes the Charioteer

In the following two passages from Sophocles's play Electra (see also Document 5, above,), Orestes, after glorying in his victorious efforts in all the other contests, prepares for the last competition, the chariot race.

But when the gods are adverse, human strength
 Cannot prevail, and so it was with him.
 For when upon another day, at dawn,
 There was to be a contest of swift chariots,
 He took his place, and he was one of many:
 One from Achaea, one from Sparta, two
 From Libya, charioteers of skill. Orestes
 Was next—the fifth—driving Thessalian mares.
 Then an Aetolian with a team of chestnut horses.
 The seventh was from Magnesia, the eighth
 From Aenia. He was driving bays.
 The ninth was from that ancient city Athens.
 The tenth and last was a Boeotian.
 They drew their places. Then the umpire set them
 Each at the station that had been allotted.
 The brazen trumpet sounded. They were off.
 They shouted to their horses, shook the reins.
 You could hear nothing but the rattling din
 Of chariots. Clouds of dust arose; they all
 Were bunched together. Every driver
 Goaded his horses, hoping so to pass
 His rival's wheels and then his panting horses.
 Foam from the horses' mouths was everywhere,
 On one man's wheels, upon another's back.
 So far, no chariot had been overturned.

Possibly one of the most dangerous moments in ancient chariot racing occurred when one of the chariots overturned. If the race was closely bunched, the other drivers would need to rely on all their strength and skill to avoid colliding with the overturned chariot, and suffering a similar setback themselves. The excerpt from Electra reproduced below describes what happens when this occurs to Orestes.

But now, the sixth lap finished and the seventh
 Begun, the Aenian driver lost control.



Sophocles, one of the great playwrights of the golden age of Greek drama. © (2008) Jupiterimages Corporation.

His horses, hard of mouth, swerved suddenly
And dashed against a Libyan team. From this
Single mishap there followed crash upon crash.
The course was full of wreckage. Seeing this,
The Athenian—a clever charioteer—
Drew out and waited, till the struggling mass
Had passed him by. Orestes was behind,
Relying on the finish. When he saw
That only the Athenian was left
He gave his team a ringing cry, and they
Responded. Now the two of them raced level.
First one, and then the other, gained the lead,
But only by a head. And as he drove,
Each time he turned the pillar at the end,
Checking the inside horse, he gave full rein
To the outer one, and so he almost grazed
The stone [which served as the turning post]. Eleven circuits now he had
Safely accomplished. Still he stood erect,
And still the chariot ran. But then, as he
Came to the turn, slackening the left-hand rein
Too soon, he struck the pillar. The axle shaft
Was snapped in two, and he was flung headlong,
Entangled in the reins. The horses ran
Amok into mid-course and dragged Orestes
Along the ground. Oh, what a cry arose
From all the company when they saw him thrown!
That he, who had achieved so much, should meet
With such disaster, dashed to the ground, and now
Tossed high, until the other charioteers,
After a struggle with the horses, checked them
And loosed him, torn and bleeding, from the reins,
So mangled that his friends would not have known him...
Such is my tale, painful enough to hear.
For those of us who saw it, how much worse!
For worse than anything I yet have seen.

Source: *Sophocles. Three Tragedies: Antigone; Oedipus the King; Electra.* Translated by H.D.F. Kitto, 1962.
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7. The Founding of the Olympics

According to tradition, the ancient Olympic games were founded in 776 B.C., and for that Olympiad, as well as the next 13, the only event was a stade race, a distance of 220 yards. Eventually, other events were added, as the second-century A.D. Greek travel writer Pausanias reveals in the following excerpt from his Guide to Greece.

In the period when the Olympic games have been continuously remembered [starting in 776 B.C.], the prize was first of all for a foot race, and Coroebus of Elis won it... At the 14th Olympics, they added the two-lap race, and a man from Pisa called Hypenos

won the wild olive for it, and the next time [the 15th Olympics, 720 B.C.], Acanthos the Laconian won the long distance race. At the 18th Olympics, they added the pentathlon and wrestling, and two more Laconians won, Lampis in the pentathlon and Eurybatos in wrestling. At the 23rd Olympics, they gave prizes for boxing; the winner was Onomastos of Smyrna... At the 25th, they added the race for fully grown horses, and Pagondas of Thebes and his team were proclaimed winners.

In the seventh game after those, they added the pankration [a combination of boxing and wrestling], and ridden horses. Crauxidas of Crannons' horse came in first, and Lygdamis of Syracuse beat the others who entered the pankration...

The boys' running and wrestling prizes [separate contests for athletes under the age of 18] were first offered at the 37th Olympics; Hipposthenes of Laconia won the wrestling, and Polynices of Elis won the running. Boy boxers were invited to the 41st Olympics, and Philytas of Sybaris beat the other boys who entered. The race in armor was tried at the 65th Olympics, I suppose for the sake of military training. The first winner among the armored runners was Damaretos of Heraea. [Various other kinds of horse and chariot races are next mentioned.]

Some contests at Olympia have been abolished, when the Eleans [the administrators of the games] decided to stop holding them. For example, there was a boys' pentathlon at the 38th Olympics—Eutelidas of Laconia won it—but the Eleans felt that it was better from then on for boys not to enter the pentathlon...

There are a lot of truly wonderful things you can see and hear about in Greece, but there is a unique divinity of disposition about... the games at Olympia.

Source: *Pausanias: Guide to Greece. Volume 2: Southern Greece.* Translated by Peter Levi. New York: Penguin Books, 1971. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

8. *Requisite Physical Attributes for Athletes*

A third-century A.D. treatise attributed to an author named Philostratus (there were three such authors bearing that name, and it is uncertain which one of the three authored the text below) describes the various physical qualities required for pentathletes, boxers, wrestlers, pankratiasts, and runners.

The contestant in the pentathlon [the five events were javelin and discus throwing, long jumping, wrestling, and racing] should be heavy rather than light, slender, of good build, tall, not excessively muscular, but not light, either. He should have long legs, rather than in proportion to his body, and hips that are flexible and limber, on account of bending backward in throwing the javelin, and the discus, as well as on account of the jump. He will jump with less jolting, and will break nothing in his body, if he gains a firm footing, letting his hips down gradually. His hands should be long and his fingers also, for he will throw the discus far better if the discus rim is sped upwards from the hollow of his hand because of the length of his fingers. And he will throw the javelin with less trouble if his fingers do not barely reach the strap, as will be the case if they are short.

The best candidate for the long distance race should have a powerful neck and shoulders just as for the pentathlon, but he should have light, slender legs just like the runners in the stade [220 yards] race. The latter, with the help of their hands, stir their legs into the quick run as if their hands were wings. The runners in the long distance race do this near the goal but the rest of the time they move almost as if they were walking, holding up their hands in front of them, with the result that they need stronger shoulders.

No one any longer makes any distinction between the contestants for the hoplite [in which the racers wore armor and carried a shield], stade, and double-stade races, since Leonidas of Rhodes won the three of them [beginning in 164 B.C.] for four Olympiads. Still, we should distinguish between those entering for just one of these, and those who do so for all of them. The athlete in the hoplite race should have a long waist, well-developed shoulders, and a knee tilted upwards, in order that the shield can be carried easily, with these parts holding it up.

Of the runners in the stade race—the least strenuous of the events—those of symmetrical build are very good, but better than these are those who are not too tall but yet a bit too tall for their proportion; excessive height lacks firmness, just like plants which have shot up high. They should be solidly built, because the fundamental thing in running well is to stand well. Their proportions should be as follows: the legs should balance with the shoulders; the chest should be smaller than normal and should contain sound inner organs; the knee must be limber, the shank straight, hands above average in size; the muscles should be only medium, for oversize muscles inhibit speed.

Candidates for the double-stade race should be stronger than those for the stade, but lighter than those in the hoplite race. Those who compete in all three of the races should be assembled from the best and should possess a combination of all the qualifications which are needed in each single race. Do not consider that this is impossible, because there have been runners such as these even in our day.

The boxer should have a long hand, strong forearm, and upper arm not weak, powerful shoulders, and a long neck. As for the wrists, thick ones deal heavier blows, whereas those less thick are flexible and strike with ease. Well-built hips should support him, for the forward thrust of the hands throws the body out of balance, unless it is held steady by firm hips. Thick calves, in my opinion, are not adapted to any of the events, and least of all to boxing, chiefly because they are especially slow in footwork against their opponent's legs and are easily caught off guard by the opponent's footwork. The boxer should have straight shins of proportionate size, while the thighs should be well-separated and set wide apart, because the figure of the boxer is better adapted for attack if the thighs do not come together. The best kind of a belly is one which recedes, for such men are nimble and have good wind. Still, a boxer derives some advantage from a belly, for it wards off blows from the face when it projects into the path of the opponent's punch.

Let us proceed to those aspiring to wrestle. The regulation wrestler should be tall rather than in proportion, but built like those in proportion, with neither a long neck, nor yet one set down on the shoulders. The latter type of neck is not ill-adapted but looks rather deformed than athletic, and to anyone who is familiar with the two kinds of statues of Hercules, ever so much more pleasing and godlike are the high-born types

and those without short necks. The neck should stand straight as in a handsome horse that is conscious of its own worth, and the throat should extend down to each collar bone. The shoulder blades should be drawn together, and the tips of the shoulders erect, thus lending to the wrestler size, nobility of aspect, force, and superiority in wrestling. A well-marked arm [i.e., with broad veins] is an advantage in wrestling... It is better to have a chest which is prominent and curved outward, for the organs rest in it as though in a firm, well-shaped room... In my opinion, persons with hollow, sunken chests should neither strip nor engage in exercises, for they suffer from stomach trouble, and they have unsound organs, and are short-winded.

The belly should be drawn back in its lowest part—for this is a useless burden to the wrestler—and it should be carried upon groins that are not hollow but well-rounded, for such groins in every move which wrestling presents are adapted to press together, and being pressed together, will cause pain to the opponent rather than suffer pain.

A back is suitable if it is straight, but the slightly curved one is [better]... because it is more naturally adapted to the position in the ring... The hip, placed as an axis for the members above and below it, should be supple, easy to turn and to rotate... A well-built thigh turned outwards combines strength with beauty and gives good support, and even better if the leg which supports it does not bow outward, and the thigh rests on a straight knee. Ankles which are not straight, but slanting inward, trip a person up, just as bases which are not straight spoil the balance of firmly fixed columns.

Such is the wrestler and such a man will be able to compete in the pankration, although he will do less well in the hand-holds. Perfect competitors for the pankration are those who are more adapted to wrestling than boxers, and more adapted to boxing than wrestlers.

Source: *Philostratus Gymnastics*. Translated by Rachel Sargent Robinson, in *Sources for the History of Greek Athletics*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1927.

9. The (Ancient) World's Greatest Athlete

Possibly the most famous Greek athlete of all time was the sixth-century B.C. wrestler Milo of Croton, winner of the wrestling matches in six consecutive Olympiads. Stories about his prowess, like the ones excerpted here from the writings of the second-century A.D. travel writer Pausanias, abounded.

Milo, the son of Diotomos, [was]... from Croton. Milo won six times in the wrestling at Olympia, once as a boy [there were separate competitions for those under the age of 18], and six times as a man and once as a boy at Delphi [at the quadrennial Pythian Games in honor of Apollo]. He came to wrestle at Olympia a seventh time, but he was not able to out-wrestle his fellow citizen Timasitheos, who was still young... Milo is supposed to have carried his own statue into the stadium, and there are other stories about Milo... He could hold a pomegranate so that no one could force him to release it, and yet the pressure of his hand did it no damage. And he could stand on a greased discus and laugh at people flinging themselves at him and trying to shove him off.

And there were other spectacular things he did. He tied a string around his brows like a ribbon or a wreath, and by holding his breath and filling the veins of his head with blood, he snapped the string with the power of his veins. He is supposed to have kept his right elbow by his side and held out his forearm straight to the front with the hand turned thumb uppermost and fingers flat, yet no one could pull down his little finger.

They say he was killed by wild beasts. Somewhere in the Crotonian territory, he came across a tree of dry wood split open, and held with wedges. It came into Milo's head to put his hands inside the tree; the wedges slipped, and Milo was held in the tree, and the wolves found him [and devoured him].

Source: *Pausanias: Guide to Greece. Volume 2: Southern Greece.* Translated by Peter Levi. New York: Penguin Books, 1971. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

10. Glaucos the Boxer

In this further excerpt from his Guide to Greece (see also Documents 7 and 9), Pausanias also recounts the exploits of a famed Olympic boxer, Glaucos of Carystos.

His father was named Demylos, and they say that he [Glaucos] began as a laborer on the land. [One day], when the ploughshare fell out of the plough, he stuck it in again using his hand for a hammer. Demylos happened to see what the boy had done, so he took him along to Olympia to box. Glaucos had no experience as a boxer and his opponents hurt him, and when he was boxing with the last one, people thought that he was too badly hurt to carry on. And then they say that his father shouted out to him: "Come on, son, remember the plough!", and he hit his opponent a harder punch, and suddenly found that he had won. They say he won other championships as well: twice at the Pythian Games, and eight times each at Nemea and the Isthmian Games [the latter three were all prestigious athletic festivals]... Glaucos had the best natural hand movement in his generation.

Source: *Pausanias: Guide to Greece. Volume 2: Southern Greece.* Translated by Peter Levi. New York: Penguin Books, 1971. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

11. A Very Noteworthy Greek Athlete

The ancient Greeks knew and recounted many fabulous stories about famous athletes; some of these tales may have contained a grain or two of truth, while others might have been strictly legends. In this passage from his Description of Greece, (see also Documents 7, 9, and 10), Pausanias profiles one of these athletes.

This man, Polydamus, the son of Nicias, is the tallest man of our own era... Others have won glorious victories in the pankration, but Polydamus, besides his prizes for the

pankration, has to his credit the following exploits of a different kind. The mountainous part of Thrace...breeds among other wild beasts lions...These lions often roam right into the land around Mount Olympus...Here on Mount Olympus, Polydamus slew a lion, a huge and powerful beast, without the help of any weapon...

In addition to this, Polydamus is remembered for another wonderful deed. He went among a herd of cattle and seized the biggest and fiercest bull by one of its hind feet, holding the hoof tightly in spite of the bull's leaps and struggles, until at last it put forth all its strength and escaped, leaving the hoof in Polydamus' grasp. It is also said of him that he stopped a charioteer who was driving his chariot at a high rate of speed. Seizing with one hand the back of the chariot, he kept a tight hold on both horses and driver [until the chariot ground to a halt].

Dareius...learning when he was king [of the Persians] of the exploits of Polydamus, sent messengers [to him], with the promise of gifts, and persuaded him to come into his presence at Susa. There he challenged three of the Persians called Immortals [the Persian king's best soldiers] to fight him—one against three—and Polydamus killed them.

But the prophecy...respecting those who take too much pride in their strength was to be fulfilled in the case of Polydamus, and he too was fated to perish through his own might. For Polydamus entered a cave with the rest of his good friends. It was in the summer, and, as bad luck would have it, the roof of the cave began to crack. It was obvious that it would quickly fall in, and could not hold out much longer. Realizing the impending disaster, the others turned and ran away, but Polydamus resolved to remain, holding up his hands in the belief that he could prevent the falling of the cave and would not be crushed by the mountain. Here Polydamus met his end.

Source: *Pausanias: Description of Greece*. Volume III. Translated by W.H.S. Jones. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1933.

12. A Boxer Who Was Wronged

In this further passage from his Description of Greece (see also Documents 7, 9, 10, and 11), Pausanias relates some interesting facts about the career of the boxer Euthymus, winner of the boxing crown in the 74th Olympiad in 484 B.C.

It would not be right for me to pass over the boxer Euthymus, his victories and his other glories...who, although he won the prize for boxing at the 74th Olympic festival, was not to be so successful at the next. Theagenes of Thasos, trying to win the prizes for boxing and for the pankration at the same festival, defeated Euthymus at boxing, although he did not have the strength to win the pankration, because he was already exhausted from his fight with Euthymus. Thereupon the umpires fined Theagenes a talent, to be sacred to the god, and a talent for the harm done to Euthymus, ruling that it was merely to spite him that he entered the boxing competitions. For this reason they ordered him to pay an extra fine privately to Euthymus. At the 76th festival, Theagenes paid in full the money owed to the god...and as compensation to Euthymus, he did

not enter the boxing match. At this Olympiad, and also the next one, Euthymus won the crown for boxing. His statue is the handiwork of Pythagoras, and is very well worth seeing. [Statues of champion athletes were erected in the environs of Olympia, a sort of hall of fame of famous athletes.]

Source: *Pausanias: Description of Greece*. Volume III. Translated by W. H. S. Jones. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1933.

13. Is Wrestling the Oldest Sport?

In this passage from his Moralia, the second-century A.D. Greek biographer Plutarch creates a banquet scene in which he and three guests—Lysimachus, Sosicles, and Philinus—discuss whether wrestling is the oldest sport.

The gymnastic contests being near, most of the conversation concerned the wrestlers, for it so happened that many famous ones had come. And Lysimachus . . . said that he had recently heard a grammarian show that wrestling, on the evidence even of the word, was the oldest of all sports, for it is reasonable to assume, he said, that the more recent institutions makes use of terms established for the older . . . And so one calls *palaestra* [a building where wrestlers trained and practiced] the place in which all athletes exercise, the inference being that wrestling—*pale*—occupied it first before sharing it with sports subsequently invented.

I said that this was not strong evidence, since the *palaestra*, I continued, is not named for wrestling because this is the oldest of the sports, but because it alone of the forms of gymnastic contests happens to require clay, dusting pit, and ring. It is not at running nor boxing that one trains for in the *palaestra*, but wrestling, and the rolling and tumbling of the pankration, which is clearly indeed a combination of boxing and wrestling. “And besides,” I said, “how does it make sense that wrestling, which is the most skillful and strategic of sports, is at the same time the oldest too? For necessity produces first what is simple, artless, and accomplished by force rather than systematic skill.” When I had spoken, Sosicles said, “You are right, and I’ll offer you confirmation with an etymology: ‘wrestling,’ *pale*, seems to me to be derived from *paleuein*, which means ‘to trick,’ or ‘to overthrow by deception.’”

And Philinus said, “It seems to me to be derived from *palaiste*, ‘palm,’ for it is principally with this part of the hand that wrestlers operate as, on the contrary, boxers do with the fist, *pugme*. So the one activity is called ‘boxing,’ *pugme*, the other ‘wrestling,’ *pale*. And there is another possibility. Since poets say ‘sprinkle,’ *palunai*, for ‘dusting’ and ‘powdering,’ of which we see wrestlers, *palaistai*, make much use, it is possible also in this way to derive the true meaning of the word.

“Consider again,” he said, “is it not the goal of runners to distance each other as much as possible, to put the maximum amount of space between each other? And boxers are not allowed by referees to clinch, however aggressive they may be. It is only the wrestlers we see grabbing hold of each other and grappling; most parts of the contest, frontal and lateral attacks, frontal and lateral stances, bring them together and mix

them up with each other. Clearly the inference is that wrestling, *pale*, got its name from ‘draw near,’ *plesiazein*, and ‘be close,’ *pelas*.”

Source: *Plutarch's Moralia*. Volume VIII. Translated by Paul A. Clement and Herbert B. Hoffleit. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1969.

14. Anacharsis Quizzes Solon on the Value of Sports and Athletic Training

In this excerpt from the writings of the second-century A.D. satirist Lucian, the itinerant Scythian (Scythia was in southern Russia) philosopher Anacharsis pays a visit to Athens, where he has several animated conversations with Solon about various Athenian customs, including athletics. In the dialogue that follows, Anacharsis has been observing boxers and wrestlers in training, and he has some questions for Solon.

[Anacharsis asks:] And why are your young men doing all this, Solon? Some of them, locked in each other's arms, are tripping one another up, while others are choking and twisting each other and groveling together in the mud, wallowing like pigs. Yet in the beginning, as soon as they had taken their clothes off, they put oil on themselves . . . very peacefully. I saw it. Since then, I do not know what got into them that they push one another about with lowered heads and butt their foreheads together like rams. And see there! That man picked the other one up by the legs and threw him to the ground, and then fell down upon him and will not let him get up, shoving him all down into the mud. And now, after winding his legs around his middle and putting his forearm underneath his throat, he is choking the poor man, who is slapping him sideways on the shoulder . . . so that he may not be strangled completely.

Even out of consideration for the oil, they do not avoid getting dirty. They rub off the ointment, plaster themselves with mud, mixed with streams of sweat, and make themselves a laughing stock, to me at least, by slipping through each other's hands like eels.

Another group is doing the same in the uncovered part of the gym, although not in mud. They have a layer of deep sand under them in the pit, as you see, and not only sprinkle one another, but of their free will, they heap the dust on themselves like so many young roosters, in order that it may be harder to break away in the clinches, I suppose, because the sand takes off the slipperiness and gives them a firmer grip on a dry surface.

Others, standing upright, covered with dust, are attacking each other with blows and kicks. This one here looks as if he were going to spit out his teeth, unlucky man, his mouth is so full of blood and sand. He has sustained a blow on the jaw, as you see. But even the official there does not separate them and break up the fight—I assume from his purple cloak that he is one of the officials—but on the contrary, he eggs them on and praises the one who struck the blow.

Others in other places are all exerting themselves. They jump up and down as if they were running, but they stay in the same place, and they spring high up and kick the air.

I want to know, therefore, what good it can be to do all this, because to me at least the thing looks more like insanity than anything else, and nobody can easily convince me that men who act in that way are not out of their minds.

[Solon replies:] It is only natural, Anacharsis, that what they are doing should have that appearance to you, since it is unfamiliar and very much different from Scythian customs. In a similar way, you yourselves probably have much in your education and training which would appear strange to us Greeks if one of us should look in upon it as you are doing now. But have no fear. It is not insanity, and it is not out of brutality that they strike one another and tumble each other in the mud, or sprinkle each other with dust. The thing has a certain usefulness, not unattended by enjoyment, and it gives much strength to their bodies. As a matter of fact, if you stop for some time, as I think you will, in Greece, before long you yourself will be one of the muddy or dusty group, so delightful and profitable will the thing seem to you.

[Anacharsis's retort:] Get out of town, Solon! You Greeks may have those benefits and pleasures, but as for me, if one of you were to treat me like that, he would find out that we do not carry these daggers at our belts for nothing! But tell me, what name do you give to these performances? What are we to say they are doing?

[Solon:] The place itself, Anacharsis, we call a gymnasium, and it is consecrated to [the god] Apollo. You see his statue. . . . As for these forms of athletics, that one over there in the mud is called wrestling, and the men in the dust are wrestling, too. When they stand up straight and hit each other, we call it the pankration [combination of boxing and wrestling]. We have other such athletic exercises, too: boxing, throwing the discus, and jumping, in all of which we hold contests, and the winner is considered best in his class, and carries off the prizes.

[Anacharsis:] And these prizes of yours. What are they?

[Solon:] At the Olympic Games, a wreath made of wild olive, at the Isthmian one of pine, and at the Nemean one of parsley, at the Pythian some of the apples sacred to Apollo, and with us at our Panathenaic Games, the oil from the holy olive. What made you laugh, Anacharsis? Because you think that these are trivial prizes?

[Anacharsis:] No, the prizes that you have described are absolutely overwhelming, Solon. They may well cause those who have offered them to brag about their generosity, and the athletes themselves to be tremendously eager to carry off such trophies, so that they will go through all these preliminary hardships and risks, getting choked and broken in half by each other, for apples and parsley, as if it were not possible for anyone who wants them to get plenty of apples without any trouble, or to wear a wreath of parsley or of pine without having his face splattered with mud or letting himself be kicked in the belly by his opponent!

[Solon:] But it is not the mere prizes that we consider. They are merely tokens of the victory, and marks to identify the winners. But the reputation that goes with them is worth everything to the winners, and to get it, even to be kicked, is nothing to athletes who seek to gain fame through hardships. It cannot be acquired without hard work. The athlete who really wants it must put up with many difficulties in the beginning, before at last he can expect the profitable and rewarding outcome of his exertions.

[Anacharsis:] By this profitable and rewarding outcome, Solon, you mean that everybody will see them wearing wreaths and will applaud them for their victory after

having pitied them a long time beforehand for their hard knocks, and that they will be overjoyed to have apples and parsley in compensation for their hard work!

[Solon:] You still don't understand our ways, I tell you. After a little while, you will think differently about them, when you go to the games and see that huge crowd of spectators gathering to watch the athletic events, and amphitheaters filling that will hold thousands, and the athletes applauded, and the one among them who succeeds in winning considered equal to the gods.

[Anacharsis:] That is precisely the most pitiful part of it, Solon. If they undergo this treatment not just in front of a few, but in the presence of so many spectators and witnesses of the brutality, who no doubt congratulate them on seeing them streaming with blood or getting strangled by their opponents... I am absolutely amazed at the spectators, the prominent people who come, you say, from all corners of the world to view the games, if they neglect their urgent business and fritter their time away in such ways. I cannot conceive of what enjoyment it is to them to see men struck, pummeled, dashed on the ground, and crushed by each other.

Source: *Lucian*. Volume IV. Translated by A. M. Harmon. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1925.

ROME

15. An Epic Boxing Match

In the Aeneid, the first-century B.C. Roman poet Virgil describes the funeral games held in honor and memory of Aeneas's father, Anchises. The account of these games recalls Homer's description of funeral games for Patroclus in the Iliad (see Document 3, above). The events include a boat race, a foot race, boxing, and archery. Following is the account of the boxing match, featuring the young braggart Dares against the grizzled veteran Entellus.

Next is a boxing bout. "Whoever has the courage
 And fighting spirit in his heart, step forward
 And put the gloves on!" There are double prizes:
 For the winner, a bullock, decked with gold and ribbons,
 A sword and shining helmet for the loser.
 Without delay, Dares gets up. A murmur
 Runs through the crowd as this big man comes forward...
 Now Dares holds his head up for the battle,
 Shakes his broad shoulders loose, warms up a little,
 A left, a right, a left, in shadow boxing.
 Who will oppose him? No one puts the gloves on,
 No one, from all that throng, is in a hurry
 To take on Dares. So, exultant, thinking
 Himself a winner by default, he grabs
 The bullock by one horn, says to Aeneas:
 "If no man is taking chances,
 How long must I keep standing here? How long
 Hang around waiting? Give the order, let me

Lead home my prize!" The Trojans all applaud him.
But King Acestes [king of the Sicilians, where the games are taking place], sprawling on the
greensward,
Beside Entellus, nudges him a little.
"What was the use, Entellus, of being a hero,
Of having been our bravest, after Eryx [a noted Sicilian boxer]?...
Does Dares get away with this, no contest,
And all those prizes, and you sit here tamely?"
Entellus answers: "Oh, I still love glory
And praise. There's nothing the matter with my courage,
But I'm too old, the blood is slow and colder,
The strength not what it used to be. That bragger
Has one thing, youth, and how he revels in it!
If I had what he has, I'd not need prizes,
Bullocks or helmets either, to get me fighting."
From somewhere he produced the gloves of Eryx
And tossed them into the ring, all stiff and heavy,
Seven layers of hide, and insewn lead and iron.
The spectators stand amazed, and Dares shudders,
Wanting no part of gloves like these. Aeneas
Inspects them, turning them slowly, over and over,
And old Entellus adds a word of comment:
"Why, these are nothing! What if you had seen
The gloves of Hercules? He used to fight here.
These are the gloves that Eryx wore against him.
You can still see the blood and a splash of brains
That stained them long ago. I used to wear them
Myself when I was younger, and unchallenged
By Time, that envious rival. But if Dares
Declines these arms, all right, make matters equal,
Don't be afraid. I waive the gloves of Eryx,
You put the Trojan gloves aside. Aeneas
Will see fair play...
He throws the double cloak from off his shoulders,
Strips down to the great limbs, great bones, great muscles,
A giant in the ring. Aeneas brings them
Matched pairs of gloves. They take their stand, each rising
On the balls of his feet, their arms upraised, and rolling
Their heads back from the punch. They spar, they lead,
They watch for openings. Dares, much the younger,
Is much the better in footwork. Old Entellus
Has to rely on strength. His knees are shaky,
His wind not what it was. They throw their punches,
And many miss. And some, with a solid thump,
Land on the ribs or chest. Temples and ears
Feel the wind of a miss, or the jaws rattle
When a punch lands. Entellus stands flat-footed,
Wasting no motion, just a slip of the body,
The watchful eyes alert. And Dares, feinting,
Like one who artfully attacks a city,
Tries this approach, then that, dancing around him
In varied vain attack. Entellus, rising,

Draws back his right (in fact, he telegraphs it),
 And Dares, seeing it coming, slips aside.
 Entellus lands on nothing but the wind
 And, thrown off balance, heavily comes down
 Flat on his face...
 Roaring, the Trojans and Sicilians both
 Rise to their feet. The noise goes up to heaven.
 Acestes rushes in, to raise his comrade
 In pity and sorrow. But that old-time fighter
 Is not slowed down a bit, nor made more wary.
 His rage is terrible, and his shame awakens
 A consciousness of strength. He chases Dares
 All over the ring, left, right, left, right, the punches
 Rattle like hailstones on a roof. He batters Dares,
 Spins him halfway around with one hand, clouts him
 Straight with the other again. At last Aeneas
 Steps in and stops it, with a word of comfort
 For the exhausted Dares. "Unlucky man,
 Yield to the god! What madness blinds your vision
 To strength beyond your own?" They rescue Dares,
 And drag him to the ships, with his knees caving,
 Head rolling side to side, spitting out blood
 And teeth. He hardly sees the sword and helmet.
 They leave the palm and bullock for Entellus,
 Who, in the pride of victory, cries aloud:
 "Look, goddess-born [Aeneas]! Watch, Trojans, and discover
 Two things: how strong I was when I was younger,
 And what a death you've kept away from Dares!"
 And, with the word, he faced his prize, the bullock,
 Drew back his right hand, poised it, sent it smashing
 Between the horns, shattering the skull, and splashing
 Brains on the bones, as the great beast came down, lifeless.
 "This life, a better one than Dares', Eryx,
 I vow as sacrifice, and so, victorious,
 Retire, and lay aside the gloves forever."

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Virgil, one of the most influential Roman authors throughout history. © (2008) Jupiterimages Corporation.

16. Not Interested in Chariot Races

The second-century A.D. writer and government official Pliny the Younger was one Roman who could do without the delights of the race track, as the following excerpt from his letters indicates.

I have been spending all the last few days among my notes and papers in most welcome peace. How could I do so in the city? The chariot races were on, a type of spectacle which has never had the slightest attraction for me. I can find nothing new or different in them. Once seen is enough, so it surprises me all the more that so many

thousands of adult men should have such a childish passion for watching galloping horses and drivers standing in chariots, over and over again. If they were attracted by the speed of the horses or the drivers' skill, one could account for it, but in fact it is the racing colors [i.e., the factions, or racing teams] they really support and care about. And if the colors were to be exchanged in mid-course during a race, they would transfer their favor and enthusiasm, and rapidly desert the famous drivers and horses whose names they shout as they recognize them from a distance. Such is the popularity and importance of a worthless shirt. I don't mean with the crowd, which is worth less than the shirt, but with certain serious individuals. When I think how this futile, tedious, monotonous business can keep them sitting endlessly in their seats, I take pleasure in the fact that their pleasure is not mine. And I have been very glad to make good use of my idle hours with literary work during these days which others have wasted in the idlest of occupations.

Source: *Pliny: Letters and Panegyricus*. Volume II. Translated by Betty Radice. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1969.

17. The (Ancient) World's Best Charioteer

Pliny (see Document 16, above) probably would not have been overly impressed with the statistics amassed by one of the most famous and successful charioteers in Roman history, Appuleius Diocles, who survived for 24 years in his high-risk profession. Upon his retirement, at age 42, the following long inscription was carved to detail his career highlights.

Appuleius Diocles, a driver of the Red faction [charioteers were grouped into four teams, or factions, designated by colors: Red, Green, Blue, White], from Lusitania in Spain, aged 42 years, seven months, 23 days. He first drove for the White faction, during the consulship of Acilius Aviola and Corellius Pansa [A.D. 122]. He first won in the same faction, during the consulship of Manlius Acilius Glabrio and Caius Bellicius Torquatus [A.D. 124]. He first drove for the Green faction during the consulship of Torquatus Asprens and Annius Libo [A.D. 128]. He first won for the Red faction during the consulship of Laenus Pontianus and Antonius Rufinus. Summary [of his career]: he drove chariots for 24 years, having been sent from the gate 4257 times [that is, he competed in 4,257 races]. He won 1462: from the procession [the first race of the day], 110 wins. Singles races [where he competed on his own, instead of cooperatively with other faction teammates]: 1064 wins. Of these, he won the major prize 92 times: 30,000 sesterces 32 times, including three times with a six-horse team [four horses was the standard number]; 40,000 sesterces 28 times. He won 50,000 sesterces 29 times; of these, one was with a seven-horse team. He won 60,000 sesterces three times. He won 347 doubles races, and 51 triples races. In the three-horse chariots, he won the 15,000 sesterces prize four times. He placed [that is, finished first, second, or third] 2900 times.

He finished second 861 times, third 576 times. He failed to place 1351 times. He won ten times for the Blue faction, 91 times for the White faction, including two wins worth 30,000 sesterces each. He won 35,863,120 sesterces [overall in his career]. Furthermore, he won three races in two-horse chariots. He won once for the Whites and twice for the Greens in three-horse chariots. He won by taking the lead at the start

815 times. He won by coming from behind 67 times. He won after deliberately falling behind 36 times. He won using various other strategies 42 times. He won on the stretch run 502 times, including 216 wins over the Green faction, 205 against the Blue faction, and 81 against the White faction. He gained the 100th wins for nine horses, and the 200th win for one horse.

Source: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Collection of Latin Inscriptions) 6.10048. Translated by David Matz.

18. Attitudes Towards Charioteers and Gladiators

The ambivalent attitude of so-called polite society towards charioteers and gladiators is outlined by the early Christian apologist Tertullian (A.D. c. 160–c. 225) in this excerpt from his treatise De Spectaculis.

Consider those who produce and administer the spectacles [chariot races; gladiatorial shows; theatrical productions]. Look at their attitude to the charioteers, players, athletes, gladiators, most loving of men, to whom men surrender their souls, and women their bodies, for whose sake they commit the sins they blame. On one and the same account they glorify them and they degrade and diminish them. Yes, further, they openly condemn them to disgrace and civil degradation. They keep them religiously excluded from council chamber, rostrum, senate, knighthood, and every other kind of office and a good many distinctions. The perversity of it! They love whom they lower; they despise whom they approve; the art they glorify, the artist they disgrace. What sort of judgment is this: that a man should be denounced for what he shines in?

Source: *Tertullian: Apology; De Spectaculis*. Translated by T. R. Glover. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1931.

19. The Circus Maximus: A Great Place to Meet People

The bleacher seats of the Circus Maximus—the huge racetrack in Rome that could accommodate 250,000 spectators—offered many opportunities for sitting at close quarters, a situation that could be used to advantage by an amorous young man trying to make contact with a young lady, as the Roman poet Ovid (43 B.C.–A.D. 17) relates below in one of his love poems.

I'm no great student of horse-racing myself, but if you're a fan of one of the drivers, then he's my man, too. I've come here so as to be able to sit by you and talk, and let you know how I feel about you. You look at the races. I'll look at you. Then we will both be looking at what we like!

Whoever your favorite charioteer may be, what a lucky man he is! He's the one you care about. How I wish I were that man! As soon as my horses shot out of the traps, I would urge them on regardless. One moment, I'd give them free rein, the next I would ply the whip furiously, then graze the turning post with my near-side wheel. If I saw you

among the crowd as I flashed past, I would pull back, and the reins would fall slack in my hands...

Why are you edging away from me? It's no use. We must keep inside our lines on the seats. That's the best part of being in the Circus.

You, there, on the lady's right! Be careful! You're hurting her with your pushing. And you behind, keep your feet to yourself and don't poke your knee into her back.

Now your dress is trailing in the dust. Pick it up—or rather, let me. I can brush the dirt off it. It was too bad of that dress to hide such great looking legs. The longer I look, the lovelier they are...

Would you like me to fan you with my race card? Or maybe it's my love that is so warm, not the day...

But look, your legs are dangling, with nothing to rest them on. I'm sorry I forgot to bring a stool. If you like, you can poke your toes through the holes in the railings in front. Let me straighten your seat cushion.

Now the track is clear for the big race... The starter has given the signal. I can see your man. With you as his supporter, he's sure to win. Even his horses seem to know what you want.

But look! He has swung wide round the turn. What are you doing? The man just behind is coming up inside you. What are you doing, you fool? You're really letting my lady down. For Heaven's sake, throw your weight into those left-hand reins...

Come on, boys, demand a re-run [apparently, the finish was too close to determine a winner, so an additional lap would have to be run]. Toss up your cloaks, and show the starter what you want.

Yes, it's a re-run. But all those waving cloaks are spoiling your hair-do. Snuggle up to me and let me protect you.

Now it's a fresh start, and the drivers' colors are flashing onto the track again. Do better this time. Make the pace right from the start, and make my lady friend's prayers come true—and mine.

Well, my lady's prayers have been granted, and her charioteer has won; mine remain to be gratified. He has his palm of victory. I have still to ask for mine... She smiled, and her bright eyes flashed a promise. That is enough in the Circus; the rest awaits another place.

Source: *Ovid: Amores*. Translated by H. A. Harris. In Harris, H. A. *Sport in Greece and Rome*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972.

20. A Game of Chance

In this passage, the Roman biographer Suetonius (A.D. c. 70–c. 140) relates that the emperor Augustus (reigned 27 B.C.–A.D. 14) enjoyed games of chance, particularly dice games.

He did not in the least shrink from a reputation for gaming, and played earnestly and openly for recreation, even when he was well on in years, not only in the month of December [during the Saturnalia, probably the most raucous holiday of the Roman

year], but on other holidays as well, and on working days, too. There is no question about this, for in a letter in his own handwriting, he says: “Dear Tiberius: I dined with the same company of people. We also had as guests Vicinius and the elder Silius. We gambled like old men during the meal both yesterday and today. When the dice were thrown, whoever turned up the ‘dog’ [when only ones appeared] or the six, put a coin in the pool for each one of the dice, and the whole pot was taken by anyone who threw the ‘Venus’ [when all different numbers turned up].” And in another letter: “Dear Tiberius: We spent the Quinquatria [a five-day festival held each March] very happily, for we played all day long and kept the gaming board warm. Your brother made a great outcry about his luck, but when all was said and done, he did not come out far behind in the long run. After losing heavily, he unexpectedly, and little by little, got back a good deal. For my part, I lost 20,000 sesterces, but because I was extravagantly generous in my play, as usual. If I had demanded of everyone the stakes which I let go, and had kept everything that I gave away, I would have won at least 50,000. But I like that better, because my generosity will exalt me to immortal glory.” To his daughter, he writes: “I sent you 250 denarii, the sum which I gave to each of my guests, in case they wanted to play at dice or at odd and even during the dinner.”



Suetonius, Roman scholar and official, best-known as the author of the *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*. Library of Congress.

Source: *Suetonius*. Volume I. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1913.

21. A Roman Chess Game

A very popular board game among the Romans was Latrunculi, or “Robbers.” The game was apparently similar to chess, in that the capture of an opponent’s game pieces played a major role in determining the outcome. The most complete description of the game’s strategies and moves is provided in the passage below by the unknown author of the first-century A.D. Panegyric on Piso.

[I]n more cunning fashion, a piece is moved into different positions and the contest is waged to a finish with glass soldiers, so that white checks the black pieces, and black checks white. But what player has not retreated before you? What piece is lost when you are its player? Or what piece before capture has not reduced the enemy? In a thousand ways, your army fights: one piece, as it retreats, itself captures its pursuer; a reserve piece, standing on the alert, comes from its distant retreat—this one dares to join the fray and cheats the enemy coming for his spoil. Another piece submits to risky delays and, seemingly checked, itself checks two more. This one moves toward higher results so that, quickly played and breaking the opponent’s defensive line, it may burst out on

his forces and, when the rampart is down, devastate the enclosed city... You win with your phalanx intact or deprived of only a few men, and both your hands rattle with the crowd of pieces you have taken.

Source: *Panegyric on Piso* (in *Minor Latin Poets*). Translated by J. Wight Duff. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

Fishing and Hunting

All kinds of creatures were hunted in the ancient world: elephants (Document 22); tigers (Document 23); turtles (Document 24); rabbits (Documents 25 and 31); foxes (Document 25); boars (Document 29); hedgehogs (Document 40); and lions (Document 38). Then as now, hunting dogs were often employed in the hunts (Documents 28 and 30), and, in at least one case, an unfortunate hunter was devoured by his own hounds (Document 28). Some creative hunters even used music as a way to lure unwary prey (Document 39). Hunting licenses were sometimes required (Document 27), and hunting and fishing regulations had to be observed and obeyed (Documents 27 and 35). Game refuges were established (Document 34), and, in some areas, the equivalent of “No Hunting” signs were posted (Document 26).

Fishing was also very popular, and many methods of catching fish were employed (Documents 32 and 41), including enlisting the aid of dolphins (Document 36). The ancient Greeks knew about fly-fishing, as Document 33 reveals. Sometimes, as Document 37 indicates, overeager fishermen could be taken advantage of.

INDIA

22. Hunting Elephants in India

The ancient Indians had a unique method of hunting elephants, as described by in this passage from the writings of the second-century A.D. Greek historian Arrian.

The Indians hunt wild animals in general in the same way as the Greeks, but their way of hunting elephants is unique, like the animals themselves. They choose a level place, open to the sun's heat, and dig a ditch in a circle, large enough for a great army to camp in, about 30 feet wide and 24 feet deep. The earth thrown out of the ditch is heaped on either side, and used as a wall. Then they make dugout shelters for themselves beneath the mound on the outside lip of the ditch, and leave small windows in them through which the light reaches them, and they can see the animals coming up to and charging up to the enclosure. Within the enclosure, they put three or four of the tamest females and leave only one entrance in the ditch by making a bridge over it, where they heap a great deal of earth and grass so that the animals cannot distinguish the bridge, in case they might suspect a trap. The hunters themselves keep out of the way, hiding in the shelters under the ditch.

The wild elephants do not approach inhabited places by daylight, but at night they wander everywhere and feed in herds, following the largest and finest of their number,

as cows follow bulls. When they get near the enclosure and hear the voice of the females and scent their presence, they charge to the enclosed place and, working around the outside edge of the ditch, find the bridge and shove their way over it into the enclosure. The hunters observe the entry of the wild elephants. Some smartly remove the bridge, others run off to the neighboring villages and report that the elephants are caught in the enclosure, and the inhabitants, on hearing the news, mount the most spirited and manageable elephants and drive them towards the enclosure, but on arrival they do not at once join battle, but let the wild elephants grow distressed by hunger and mastered by thirst. Only when they think that they are in a bad way, do they erect the bridge again, and drive into the enclosure.

At first there is a fierce battle between the tame elephants and the captives, and then, as one would expect, the wild elephants are overcome, distressed as they are by sinking of their spirits and hunger. Then the men dismount from their elephants, tie together the feet of the wild elephants, which are now exhausted, and then order the tame elephants to punish the rest by repeated blows, till in their distress they fall to the ground. They then stand by them, throw nooses around their necks and climb on them as they lie there. To prevent them tossing their drivers or doing them an injury, they make an incision around their necks with a sharp knife, and bind the noose around the cut, so that the sore makes them keep their head and neck still. If they were to turn around to do mischief, the wound beneath the rope would chafe them. So they keep quiet and, knowing themselves beaten, they are roped to the tame elephants and led away.

Elephants not yet full grown or not worth acquiring because of a defect are released to their own haunts. The captives are led off to the villages, and first of all are given green stalks and grass to eat. From want of spirit, they are not willing to eat anything, so the Indians arrange themselves around them and lull them to sleep with songs, drums, and cymbals, beating and singing. For if there is an intelligent animal, it is the elephant. Some elephants, when their drivers have died in battle, have actually caught them up and carried them to burial. Others have protected them where they lay or risked their own lives for the fallen. One indeed, who in a passion killed his driver, died from remorse and grief.

Source: Arrian: *History of Alexander and Indica*. Volume II. Translated by E. Iliff Robson, with revisions by P. A. Brunt. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1933.



Akbar inspecting a wild elephant captured near Malwa. From the Akbarnama, Moghul dynasty, c. 1590. Victoria & Albert Museum, London/Art Resource, NY.

23. Hunting Tigers in India

The first-century A.D. Roman writer Pliny the Elder describes the Indian method of hunting and capturing tigers in the following passage from his Natural History.

India produces the tiger, an animal of terrific speed, which is most noticeable when the whole of its litter, which is always numerous, is being captured. The litter is taken by

a man lying in wait with the swiftest horse obtainable, and is transferred successively to fresh horses. But when the mother tiger finds the lair empty (for the males do not look after their young) she rushes off at headlong speed, tracking them by scent. The captor, when her roar approaches, throws away one of the cubs. She snatches it up in her mouth, and returns and resumes the pursuit at even a faster pace owing to her burden, and so on in succession until the hunter has regained the ship and her ferocity rages vainly on the shore.

Source: *Pliny: Natural History*. Volume III. Translated by H. Rackham. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1940.

24. Hunting Turtles in India

In this further excerpt from his Natural History (see also Document 23, above), Pliny the Elder also states that the Indian Ocean abounds in turtles, which were hunted and caught.

The Indian Ocean produces turtles of such size that the natives roof houses with the expanse of a single shell, and use them as boats in sailing... They are caught in a number of ways, but chiefly as they rise to the surface of the sea when the weather in the morning attracts them, and float across the calm waters with the whole of their backs projecting, and this pleasure of breathing freely cheats them into self-forgetfulness so much that their hide gets dried up by the heat and they are unable to dive, and go on floating against their will, an opportune prey for their hunters. They also say that turtles come ashore at night to graze and after gorging greedily grow languid, and when they have gone back in the morning, doze off to sleep on the surface of the water. They say that this is disclosed by the noise of their snoring, and that then the natives swim quietly up to them, three men to one turtle, and two turn it over on its back while the third throws a noose over it as it lies, and so it is dragged ashore by more men hauling from the beach.

Source: *Pliny: Natural History*. Volume III. Translated by H. Rackham. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1940.

25. Hunting Rabbits and Foxes in India

In this passage from his On the Characteristics of Animals, the Roman writer Aelian (A.D. c. 170–235) describes the Indian method of hunting rabbits and foxes.

This is the way in which Indians hunt rabbits and foxes. They have no need of hounds for the hunt, but they catch the young of eagles, ravens, and kites also, rear them, and teach them how to hunt. This is their method of instruction: to a tame rabbit or to a domesticated fox, they attach a piece of meat, and then let them run. And having sent the birds in pursuit, they allow them to pick off the meat. The birds give chase at full speed, and if they catch the rabbit or the fox, they have the meat as a reward for the capture. It is for them a highly attractive bait.

When, therefore, they have perfected the birds' skill at hunting, the Indians let them loose after mountain rabbits and wild foxes. And the birds, in expectation of

their accustomed feed, whenever one of these animals appears, fly after it, quickly seize it, and bring it back to their masters, as [the historian and diplomat] Ctesias tell us. And from the same source, we also learn that in place of the meat which has before this been attached, the entrails of the animals they have caught provide a meal.

Source: *Aelian: On the Characteristics of Animals*. Volume I. Translated by A. F. Scholfield. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1958.

26. Off-Limits to Hunters

In another excerpt from On the Characteristics of Animals (see also Document 25, above), Aelian describes other species of birds that are not hunted but are raised in parks and other protected areas.

In the royal residences of India where the greatest of the kings of that country lives, there are so many objects for admiration that neither Memnon's city of Susa with all its extravagance, nor the magnificence of Ecbatana is to be compared with them. These places appear to be the pride of Persia, if there is to be any comparison between the two countries... [I]n the parks, tame peacocks and pheasants are kept, and they live in the cultivated shrubs to which the royal gardeners pay due attention. Moreover, there are shady groves and foliage growing among them, and the boughs are interwoven by the woodman's art. And what is more remarkable about the climate of the country, the actual trees are of the evergreen type, and their leaves never grow old and fall... And these... are an ornament to the place and enhance its beauty.

There are other birds besides, free and unenslaved, which come of their own accord, and make their nests and resting places in these trees. There, too, parrots are kept and crowd around the king. But no Indian eats a parrot in spite of their great numbers, the reason being that the Brahmins regard them as sacred and even place them above all other birds. And they add that they are justified in so doing, because the parrot is the only bird that gives the most convincing imitation of human speech.

There are also in these royal domains beautiful lakes, the work of human hands, which contain tame fish, of immense size. And nobody hunts them, only the king's sons during their childhood.

Source: *Aelian: On the Characteristics of Animals*. Volume III. Translated by A. F. Scholfield. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1958.

EGYPT

27. Hunting Licenses

Hunting licenses are not a modern phenomenon, as the following excerpt from a second-century A.D. Egyptian papyrus indicates.

To Philippus . . . and his fellow superintendents of pastures in the marshland of the village of Theadelphia, from Heron, son of Apollonius . . . hunter . . . I desire to be granted a permit by you for hunting and catching in the aforesaid marshland every bird in the locality, for the present 18th year only of Antoninus Caesar the lord [A.D. 154–155], at a total rent of 40 silver drachmas which I will pay in the month of Pharmouthi [March] of the said present year, and I will have with me two assistants, if you agree to give the concession.

Source: *Select Papyri: Non-Literary Papyri. Public Documents.* Volume II. Translated by A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

GREECE

28. A Hunter Devoured by His Own Hunting Dogs

In his Metamorphoses, the Roman poet Ovid (43 B.C.–A.D. 17) recounts the following story from Greek mythology about Actaeon, a hunter devoured by his own hunting dogs.

One of the grandsons [of the Theban king Cadmus] was the lad Actaeon,
First cause of Cadmus' sorrow. On his forehead
Horns sprouted, and his hound dogs came to drink
The blood of their young master. In the story,
You will find Actaeon guiltless; put the blame
On luck, not crime. What crime is there in error?
There was a mountain, on whose slopes had fallen
The blood of many kinds of game; high noon,
Short shadows, and Actaeon, at ease, and friendly
Telling his company: "Our nets and spears
Drip with the blood of our successful hunting.
Today has brought us luck enough; tomorrow
We try again. The Sun-god, hot and burning,
Is halfway up his course. Give up the labor,
Bring home the nets." And they obeyed his orders.
There was a valley there, all dark and shaded
With pine and cypress, sacred to [the goddess] Diana,
Gargaphie, its name was, and it held
Deep in its inner shade a secret grotto
Made by no art, unless you think of Nature
As being an artist. Out of rock and tufa
She had formed an archway, where the shining water
Made slender watery sound, and soon subsided
Into a pool, and grassy banks around it.
The goddess of the woods, when tired from hunting,
Came here to bathe her limbs in the cool crystal.
She gave her armor-bearer spear and quiver
And loosened bow; another's arm received
The robe, laid off; two nymphs unbound her sandals . . .
But look! While she was bathing there, all naked,
Actaeon came, with no more thought of hunting

Till the next day, wandering, far from certain,
 Through unfamiliar woodland till he entered
 Diana's grove, as fate seemed bound to have it.
 And when he entered the cool dripping grotto,
 The nymphs, all naked, saw him, saw a man,
 And beat their breasts and screamed, and all together
 Gathered around their goddess, tried to hide her
 With their own bodies, but she stood above them,
 Taller by head and shoulders...
 Diana blushed at being seen, and turned
 Aside a little from her close companions,
 Looked quickly for her arrows, found no weapon
 Except the water, but scooped up a handful
 And flung it in the young man's face, and over
 The young man's hair. Those drops had vengeance in them.
 She told him so: "Tell people you have seen me,
 Diana, naked! Tell them if you can!"
 She said no more, but on the sprinkled forehead
 Horns of the long-lived stag began to sprout,
 The neck stretched out, the ears were long and pointed,
 The arms were legs, the hands were feet, the skin
 A dappled hide, and the hunter's heart was fearful.
 Away in flight he goes and, going, marvels
 At his own speed, and finally sees, reflected,
 His features in a quiet pool. "Alas!"
 He tries to say, but has no words. He groans,
 The only speech he has, and the tears run down
 Cheeks that are not his own. There is one thing only
 Left him, his former mind. What should he do?
 Where should he go? Back to the royal palace
 Or find some place of refuge in the forest?
 Fear argues against one, and shame the other.
 And while he hesitates, he sees his hounds,
 Blackfoot, Trailchaser, Hungry, Hurricane,
 Gazelle and Mountain-Ranger, Spot and Sylvan,
 Swift Wingfoot, Glen, wolf-sired, and the bitch Harpy
 With her two pups, half-grown, ranging beside her,
 Tigress, another bitch, Hunter, and Lanky,
 Chop-jaws, and Soot, and Wolf, with the white marking
 On his black muzzle, Mountaineer, and Power,
 The Killer, Whirlwind, Whitey, Blackskin, Grabber,
 And others it would take too long to mention,
 Arcadian hounds, and Cretan-bred, and Spartan.
 The whole pack, with the lust of blood upon them,
 Come baying over cliffs and crags and ledges
 Where no trail runs. Actaeon, once pursuer
 Over this very ground, is now pursued,
 Fleeing his old companions. He would cry
 "I am Actaeon! Recognize your master!"
 But the words fail, and nobody could hear him,
 So full the air of baying. First of all
 The Killer fastens on him, then the Grabber,

Then Mountaineer gets hold of him by a shoulder.
These three had started last, but beat the others
By a short-cut through the mountains. So they run him
To stand at bay until the whole pack gathers
And all together nip and slash and fasten
Till there is no more room for wounds...
Actaeon goes to his knees, like a man praying,
Faces them all in silence, with his eyes
In mute appeal, having no arms to plead with,
To stretch to them for mercy...
He would rather see and hear the dogs than feel them.
They circle him, dash in, and nip, and mangle
And lacerate and tear their prey, not master,
No master whom they know, only a deer.
And so he died, and so Diana's anger
Was satisfied at last.

Source: *Ovid: Metamorphoses*. Translated by Rolfe Humphries. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957.
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29. *The Hunt for the Calydonian Boar*

In another passage from the poem Metamorphoses (see also Document 28, above), Ovid also describes the hunt for the fearsome Calydonian Boar, one of the most famous stories of Greek mythology.

King Oeneus, in giving thanks for a rich harvest...
...paid his due homage also
To all the gods of heaven, but Diana,
Somehow or other, slipped his mind; her altar
Received no incense. But the gods are subject
To anger, even as humans. "They will pay for this,"
Diana said. "We may be without honor,
But without vengeance, never!" And the goddess
Set loose over Calydon a great avenger,
A boar as big as a bull, with blood-shot eyes,
A high stiff neck, and the bristles rising from it
Like spears along a wall, and hot foam flecking
The shoulders, dripping from the jaws that opened
With terrible grunting sounds; his tusks were long
As an Indian elephant's, and lightning flashed
Out of his mouth, and his breath would burn the grasses.
He would trample down the corn in blade or ear,
So that the threshing floor, the storage bin, stood empty
Waiting in vain for harvest...
The people fled behind walls, their only hope of safety.
Then Meleager, and young men, spurred by glory,
Began to come together... [Many noted legendary heroes are named.]
And there came the pride of the Arcadian woodlands, Atalanta.

A buckle, polished, clasped her robe at her neck.
 One knot held back her hair; from her left shoulder,
 An ivory quiver hung, and with her motion
 Resounded, and her left hand carried a bow.
 You would call her features girlish in a boy,
 Or boyish in a girl. As soon as he saw her,
 The Calydonian hero longed for her,
 Though the gods willed it otherwise. He felt
 The flame in his heart. "O happy man," he thought,
 "If she ever loves a man." But neither the time
 Nor his own sense of self-restraint would let him
 Go any further. The greater task was waiting.
 There was a forest, virgin and primeval,
 Rising above the plain and looking down
 Over the spreading ploughland, and the heroes
 Came here, and spread the nets, and set free the hounds,
 Keen on the trail. And there was a deep valley,
 Draining the rainy rivulets from the mountains...
 And out of this, like lightning out of cloud,
 The boar came charging, and the weight of his onrush
 Laid low the grove, and the great trees came down crashing.
 The young men shouted, but with steady hands
 Kept the broad iron of the spearheads level.
 The boar came rushing on, scattered the pack,
 Thrusting and slashing. The first spear, Echion's,
 Went wide, glanced off a maple tree. The next one,
 Jason's, was thrown too far. Then Mopsus cried:
 "If I have been your worshipper, Apollo,
 As I am still, grant me good aim!" The god
 Granted his prayer, in part at least. The spear
 Did strike the beast, but did him little damage,
 For, as the weapon flew, Diana twisted
 The iron from the shaft, and only the wood
 With no barb in it, found the mark and, raging,
 With hotter fire than lightning, the boar's eyes
 Burned, and the breath of the throat was hot. As a rock
 Flies from the catapult at walls, at towers,
 At soldiers, so the beast came rushing on,
 Death-dealing, irresistible. Two men,
 Eupalamus and Pelagaon, went down,
 And their companions dragged them out of danger.
 They could not save Enaësimus, who turned
 To run, was caught by a slash of the tusks, and hamstrung.
 And Nestor came near missing the Trojan War,
 But used his spear to vault with, and went flying
 Into the branches of a tree. From there,
 He watched the boar, using an oak to sharpen
 The edge of his tusks, and then, with one stroke, gashing
 Hippasus' thigh wide open. Castor and Pollux
 Came riding up, showy above the others
 On horses white as snow. They poised their spears,

Rifled them, quivering, through the air. These would have
Ended the hunt, but the boar turned suddenly cunning,
Took to the woods where neither spear nor charger
Could follow . . .
Atalanta sent her arrow flying.
It grazed the back of the boar, struck under the ear,
Staining the bristles red. And Meleager
Was happier than Atalanta even
At her good luck. He was the first to see
The blood, to point it out to his companions,
To offer praise: "All honor to your prowess!"
The men, ashamed, urged on each other, gaining
Courage from their own cries, flinging the spears
With no particular aim, so many missiles
That none of them were any use. Ancaeus,
A man from Arcas, grabbed an axe and shouted:
"The weapons of a man are always better
Than any girl's. Make room for me! Diana
Can shield the brute from arrows, but the axe
And my right hand will fix him!" Swollen with pride,
The bragger heaved his two-edged axe on high,
Reared to full height to strike, but the boar got him
Between the legs, first one tusk, then the other,
And Ancaeus fell, and the ground was soaked in blood,
Smeared with his entrails. Then Ixion's son,
Pirithous, came forward, brandishing
His hunting spear, with Theseus, frightened, calling,
"Stay out of it, keep far away, my friend . . .
Brave men can fight long range, with no disgrace. Ancaeus
Brought himself hurt with his excess of daring."
As he spoke, he hurled his spear, bronze-tipped and heavy,
And well-aimed, too, but an oak tree's leafy branch
Made it glance off, and the spear . . .
Had bad luck also, as it struck and wounded
One of the hounds, and pinned him to the ground.
Meleager flung two spears: one missed, and one
Struck in the monster's back, and he whirled around
In circles, spouting blood and foam, and the huntsman
Closed in, and drove a spear straight through the shoulder,
And all the hunters cheered, seeking the hand
That won the victory, and stood in wonder
Watching the boar brought low, and covering acres,
And though they thought it hardly safe to touch him,
All dipped their spears in his blood.
And Meleager, his foot upon that deadly head, was speaking
To Atalanta: "O Arcadian maiden,
The prize is yours. I share my glory with you."
He gave the spoils to her, the bristling hide,
The long-tusked head, and she was very happy
In both the gift and the giver.

Source: *Ovid: Metamorphoses*. Translated by Rolfe Humphries. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957. Reprinted with permission of Indiana University Press.

30. The Ideal Hunting Hound

In the following excerpt from his writings, the fourth-century B.C. Greek historian Xenophon gives advice on the characteristics of the ideal hunting hound.

First, then, they should be big. Next, the head should be light, flat [in profile], and muscular. The lower parts of the forehead should be sinewy; the eyes prominent, black, and sparkling; the forehead broad, with a deep dividing line; the ears small and thin with little hair behind. The neck should be long, loose, and round; the chest broad and fleshy; the shoulder blades slightly outstanding from the shoulders; the forelegs short, straight, round and firm; the elbows straight. The ribs should be not low down on the ground, but sloping in an oblique line. The loins should be fleshy, of medium length, and neither too loose nor too hard; the flanks of medium size; the hips round and fleshy at the back, not close at the top, and smooth on the inside. The under part of the belly, and the belly itself, should be slim; the tail long, straight, and thin; the thighs hard; the shanks long, round, and solid; the hind legs much longer than the forelegs and slightly bent; the feet round. Hounds like these will be strong in appearance, agile, well-proportioned, and speedy, and they will have a jaunty expression and a good mouth.

When tracking, they should get out of the game paths quickly, hold their heads well down and aslant, smiling when they find the scent, and lowering their ears. Then they should all go forward together along the trail... with eyes continually on the move and tails wagging. As soon as they are close to the rabbit, they should let the hunter know, quickening the pace and showing more emphatic signs by their excitement, movements of the head and eyes, changes of attitude, by looking up and looking into the covert and returning again and again to the rabbit's form, by leaps forward, backward, and to the side, displays of unaffected agitation and overpowering delight at being near the quarry.

They should pursue with endless energy, ... barking freely, dogging the rabbit's steps wherever she goes. They should be fast and brilliant in the chase... and they should not leave the track and go back to the hunter.

Along with this appearance and behavior, they should be enthusiastic, and have keen noses, sound feet, and good coats. They will be enthusiastic if they do not leave the hunting ground when the heat is oppressive; keen-nosed if they smell the game on bare, parched, and sunny ground; ... sound in the feet if at the same season their feet are not torn to bits during a run in the mountains; they will have a good coat if the hair is fine, thick, and soft.

The color of the hounds should be not entirely tawny, black, or white, for this is not a sign of good breeding. On the contrary, unbroke color indicates a wild strain. So the tawny and the black hounds should show a patch of white about the face, and the white hounds a tawny patch. At the top of the thighs, the hair should be straight and thick, and on the loins and at the lower end of the tail, but it should be moderately thick higher up.



A later engraving of Xenophon. Library of Congress.

It is advisable to take the hounds to the mountains often, but less frequently to cultivated land. In the mountains, it is possible to track and follow a rabbit without hindrance, whereas it is impossible to do either in cultivated land... It is also well to take the hounds out into rough ground, whether they find a rabbit or not, for they get healthy in the feet, and hard work in such country is good for their bodies. In summer, they should be out till midday; in winter, at any hour of the day, in autumn, at any time except midday, and before evening during the spring, for at these times, the temperature is mild...

The equipment of hounds are collars, leashes, and harnesses. The collars should be soft and broad, so as not to chafe the hound's coat. The leashes should have a noose for the hand, and nothing else, for if the collar is made in one piece with the leash, perfect control of the hounds is impossible. The harness straps should be broad, so as not to rub the flanks, and they should have little spurs sewed on to them, to keep the breed pure.

Hounds should not be taken out hunting when off their feed, since this is a proof that they are ailing; nor when a strong wind is blowing, since it scatters the scent and they cannot smell [nor will the snares stay in position]. But when neither of these hindrances prevents it, have the hounds out every other day. Do not let them take to pursuing foxes, for it is utter ruin, and they are never at hand when wanted. Vary the hunting ground frequently, so that the hounds may be familiar with the hunting grounds and the master with the country. Start early, and so give the hounds a fair chance of following the scent. A late start robs the hounds of the find and the hunters of the prize, for the scent is by its nature too thin to last all day.

Source: *Xenophon: Scripta Minora*. Volume VII. Translated by E. C. Marchant. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1925.

31. Hunting Rabbits in Greece

In this excerpt from his treatise on hunting, the Greek writer Xenophon (see also Document 30, above) describes methods and tracking for hunting rabbits.

Track the hare when it snows so hard that the ground is covered, but if there are black spaces, it will be hard to find. When it is cloudy and the wind is from the north, the tracks lie plain on the surface for a long time, because the snow melts slowly, but only for a short time if the wind is from the south and the sun shines, since the snow soon melts.

When it snows without stopping, don't try rabbit hunting, because the tracks are covered, nor when there is a strong wind, since they are buried in the snowdrifts it causes. On no account have the dogs out with you for this kind of hunting, because the snow freezes their noses and feet, and destroys the scent of the rabbit... But take the hunting nets, and go with a friend to the mountains, passing over the cultivated land, and as soon as the tracks are found, follow them. If they are complicated, go back from the same ones to the same place and work in circles and examine them, trying to find where they lead. Rabbits roam about, uncertain where to rest, and moreover, it is their habit to be tricky in their movements, because they are constantly being pursued in this manner.

As soon as the track is clear, push straight ahead. It will lead either to a thickly wooded spot, or to a steep downward slope. The gusts of wind carry the snow over such places; consequently, many resting places are created, and the rabbit looks for one of these. As soon as the tracks lead to such a place, don't go near, or the rabbit will run off, but walk around and explore [to determine if the tracks really end there]. But it is probably there, and there will be no doubt about the matter, since nowhere will the tracks run out from such places. As soon as it is evident that the rabbit is there, leave it—for it will not move—and look for another before the tracks become obscure, and take care, in case you find others, that you will have enough daylight left to surround them with the nets.

When the time has come, stretch the nets around each of them in the same way as in places where there is no snow, enclosing anything that the rabbit may be near, and as soon as the nets are set, approach the rabbit and startle it. If it wiggles out of the hunting nets, run after it along the tracks. It will make for other places of the same sort, unless it squeezes itself into the snow. Wherever it may be, mark the place and surround it, or, if it doesn't wait, continue the pursuit. The rabbit will be caught even without the nets, for it soon tires because of the depth of the snow, and because large lumps of it cling to the bottom of its hairy feet.

Source: *Xenophon: Scripta Minora*. Volume VII. Translated by E. C. Marchant. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1925.

32. Four Ways to Catch Fish

In this passage from his On the Characteristics of Animals (see also Documents 25 and 26, above), Aelian (A.D. c. 170–235) describes four methods of fishing.

There are, they say, four different methods of fishing: with nets, with a pole, with a trap, and with a hook. Netting fish brings wealth, and may be compared to the capture of a camp and the taking of prisoners. It requires a variety of gear, for instance, rope, fishing line white and black, cord . . . corks, lead, pine timber . . . a six-oared ship . . . And there fall into the nets fish of different kinds, varied droves in their multitude.

Fishing with a pole is the most manly form and needs a fisherman of very great strength. He must have a straight pole of pine wood, ropes, and firesticks of thoroughly sappy pine. He also needs a small boat and vigorous oarsmen with strong arms.

Fishing with a trap is a pursuit that calls for much craft and deep design, and seems highly unbecoming to free men. The essentials are club rushes . . . a large stone, anchors, sea weed, leaves of rushes and cypress, corks, pieces of wood, a bait, and a small skiff.

Fishing with a hook is the most accomplished form and the most suitable for free men. One needs horse hair, white, black, red, and gray in color. If the hairs are dyed, fishermen select only those colored blue-gray, and sea purple. All the rest, they say, are bad. Fishermen also use the straight bristles of wild boars and flax also [for fish lines], and a quantity of bronze, lead, cords of esparto, feathers [for fly fishing], especially white, black, and multi-colored. And anglers also use crimson and sea-purple wool, corks, and pieces of wood. Iron and other materials are needed, among them reeds

of straight growth and unsoaked, club-rushes that have been soaked, stalks of fennel rubbed smooth, a fishing rod of cornel wood, the horns and hide of a goat. Some fish are caught by one device, others by another.

Source: *Aelian: On the Characteristics of Animals*. Volume III. Translated by A. F. Scholfield. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1959.

33. Fly-Fishing

Fly-fishing was practiced by the ancient Greeks. In this further excerpt from his On the Characteristics of Animals (see also Documents 25, 26, and 32), Aelian describes the method they used.

I have heard and can tell of a way of catching fish in Macedonia [in Greece], and it is this... Now there are in [Macedonian rivers] fishes of a speckled color... These fish feed upon the flies of the country which flit about the surface of the river, and are very unlike flies elsewhere. They do not look like wasps... nor bumblebees, although they possess a distinctive feature of both of those insects... You might say they are the size of a bumblebee but their color is similar to that of the wasp, and they buzz like a honeybee. All the natives call them *hippurus*.

These flies settle on the stream and seek the food that they like. They cannot, however, escape the notice of the fishes that swim below. So when a fish observes a *hippurus* on the surface, it swims up noiselessly under water for fear of disturbing the surface and to avoid scaring its prey. Then, when close at hand in the fly's shadow, it opens its jaws and swallows the fly.

Although fishermen know of these happenings, they do not use these flies as fish bait, because if the human hand touches them, it destroys the natural bloom. Their wings wither, and the fish refuse to eat them... And so with angling skill, the fishermen circumvent the fish with the following clever trick. They wrap the hook in scarlet wool, and to the wool they attach two feathers that grow beneath a rooster's wattles, and are the color of wax. The fishing rod is six feet long, and so is the line. So they let down this lure, and the fish, attracted and excited by the color, comes to meet it, and believing from the beauty of the sight that he is going to have a wonderful banquet, opens wide his mouth, is entangled with the hook, and gains a bitter feast, for he is caught.

Source: *Aelian: On the Characteristics of Animals*. Volume I. Translated by A. F. Scholfield. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1959.

34. Game Refuges

As recounted below by Aelian in his On the Characteristics of Animals (see also Documents 25, 26, 32, and 33), game refuges were established in both ancient Greece and Cyprus.

In Arcadian territory, there is a shrine of [the god] Pan; Aule is the name of the place. Any animals that take refuge there, the god respects as suppliants and protects

in complete safety. Wolves in pursuit are afraid to enter it and are checked at the mere sight of the place of refuge. So there is private property for these animals, too, to enable them to survive.

In Cyprus, when the deer (of which there are a great number and many hunters keen in pursuit of them) take refuge in the temple of Apollo there—the precinct is of very wide extent—the hounds bay at them but do not dare to approach. But the deer in a body graze undeterred and without fear and by some mysterious instinct trust to the god for their safety.

Source: Aelian: *On the Characteristics of Animals*. Volume III. Translated by A. F. Scholfield. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1959.

35. *Hunting and Fishing Regulations*

Hunting and fishing regulations are by no means a phenomenon of the modern world, as the fourth-century B.C. Greek philosopher Plato reminds us in this passage from The Laws.

Hunting is a large and complex matter, all of which is now generally embraced under this single name. Of the hunting of water animals, there are many varieties, and many of the hunting of fowls. And very many varieties of hunts of land animals, not of beasts only, but also, of men, both in war and often too, in friendship, a kind of hunt that is partly approved, and partly disapproved. And then there are robberies and hunts carried on by pirates and by gangs.

When the lawgiver is making laws about hunting, he is necessarily bound to make this point clear, and to lay down directions by imposing regulations and penalties for all these kinds. When, then, ought to be done about these matters? The lawgiver, for his part, will be right in praising or blaming hunting with an eye to the toils and pursuits of the young. And the young person will be right in listening and obeying, and in allowing neither pleasure nor toil to hinder him, and in holding in greater respect the orders that are sanctioned by praise, and carrying them out, rather than those which are enacted by law under threat of penalties.

After these prefatory observations, there will follow adequate praise and blame of hunting: praise of the kind which renders the souls of the young better, and blame of the kind which does the opposite. Our next step will be to address the young people with prayer: “O friends, would that you might never be seized with any desire or craving for hunting by sea, or for angling, or for ever pursuing water animals with creels that do your lazy hunting for you, whether you sleep or wake. And may no longing for man hunting by sea and piracy overtake you, and render you cruel and lawless hunters. And may the thought of committing robbery in country or city not so much as cross your minds. Neither may there seize upon any of the young the crafty craving for snaring birds, not a very gentlemanly pursuit! Thus there is left for our athletes only the hunting and capture of land animals. Of this branch of hunting, the kind called night stalking, in which the work is intermittent, being the job of lazy men who take turns sleeping, is one that deserves no praise. Nor does that kind deserve praise in which

there are intervals of rest from toil, when hunters master the wild force of beasts by nets and traps instead of doing so by the victorious might of a toil-loving soul. Accordingly, the only kind left for all, and the best kind, is the hunting of quadrupeds with horses and dogs and the hunter's own limbs, when men hunt in person, and subdue all the creatures by means of their own running, striking, and shooting. All the hunters, that is to say, who cultivate the courage that is divine."

Concerning the whole of this subject, the exposition we have now given will serve as the praise and blame. And the law will run thus: "None shall hinder these truly sacred hunters from hunting wheresoever and howsoever they wish. But the night trapper who trusts to nets and snares, no one shall ever allow to hunt anywhere. No man shall hinder the fowler on fallow land or mountain. But he that finds him on tilled fields or on sacred lands shall drive him off. The fisherman shall be allowed to fish in all waters except havens and sacred rivers and pools and lakes, but only on the condition that he makes no use of muddying juices [poisons to kill the fish]."

Source: *Plato: Laws*. Volume II. Translated by R. G. Bury. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1926.

ROME

36. Dolphins That Helped Fishermen

There were many stories and legends in the ancient Greek and Roman world about interactions between humans and dolphins. One of these tales, recounted in Pliny the Elder's (A.D. 23–79) Natural History, concerned dolphins helping fishermen.

In the region of Nîmes in the province of Narbonne [France], there is a marsh named Latera, where dolphins catch fish in partnership with a human fisherman. At a regular season, a countless shoal of mullet rushes out of the narrow mouth of the marsh into the sea, after watching for the turn of the tide, which makes it impossible for nets to be spread across the channel—indeed, the nets would be equally incapable of withstanding the mass of the weight even if the craft of the fish did not watch for the opportunity. For a similar reason, they make straight out into the deep water produced by the neighboring eddies, and hasten to escape from the only place suitable for setting nets. When this is observed by the fishermen—and a crowd collects at the place, because they know the time, and even more because of their enthusiasm for this sport—and when the entire population from the shore shouts as loud as it can, calling for "Snubnose" for the conclusion of the show, the dolphins quickly hear their wishes if a northerly breeze carries the shout to sea, although if the wind is from the south, against the sound, it carries it more slowly. But then they hasten to the spot, to offer their assistance.

Their line of battle comes into view, and at once deploys in the place where they are to join in battle. They bar the passage on the side of the sea and drive the scared mullet into the shallows. Then the fishermen put their nets around them and lift them out of the water with forks. Nonetheless, the pace of some mullets enables them to leap over

obstacles, but these are caught by the dolphins, which are satisfied for the time being with merely having killed them, postponing a meal until victory is won. The action is hotly contested, and the dolphins pressing on with the greatest bravery are delighted to be caught in the nets, and for fear that this itself may hasten the enemy's flight, they glide out between the boats and the nets or the swimming fishermen so gradually as not to open ways of escape. None of them try to get away by jumping out of the water, which otherwise they are very fond of doing, unless the nets are put below them...

When in this way the catch has been completed, they tear in pieces the fish they have killed. But since they know that they have had too strenuous a task for only a single day's pay, they wait there until the following day, when they are given a feed of bread mash dipped in wine, in addition to the fish.

Source: Pliny: *Natural History*. Volume III. Translated by H. Rackham. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1940.

37. Scamming the Fisherman

In this excerpt from his essay "On Duties," the first-century B.C. Roman orator Cicero relates the story of a Roman knight by the name of Gaius Canius, who bought some waterfront property in the erroneous belief that good fishing was available. Unfortunately, he had been duped.

Gaius Canius, a Roman knight, a man of considerable wit and literary culture, once went to Syracuse for a vacation, as he himself used to say, and not for business. He gave out that he had a mind to purchase a little country house, where he could invite his friends and enjoy himself, uninterrupted by troublesome visitors. When this fact was made known, one Pythius, a banker of Syracuse, informed him that he had such an estate, and that it was not for sale. However, Canius might make himself at home there, if he pleased, and at the same time, he invited him to the estate for dinner the next day. Canius accepted.

Then Pythius, who, as might be expected of a money lender, could command favors of all classes, called the fishermen together and asked them to do their fishing the next day out in front of his villa, and he told them what he wanted them to do. Canius came to dinner at the appointed hour. Pythius had a sumptuous banquet prepared. There was a whole fleet of boats before their eyes. Each fisherman brought in, in turn, the catch that he had made, and the fish were deposited at the feet of Pythius.

"Tell me, Pythius," said Canius, "what does this mean? All these fish? All these boats?"

"No wonder," answered Pythius. "This is where all the fish in Syracuse are. Here is where the fresh water comes from. The fishermen cannot get along without this estate."

Inflamed with desire for it, Canius insisted on Pythius's selling it to him. At first, he hesitated. To make a long story short, Canius won out. The man was rich and, in his desire to own the country house, he paid for it all that Pythius asked, and he bought all the furniture, too. Pythius entered the amount in his ledger and completed the transfer.

The next day, Canius invited his friends, and he himself came early. Not so much as an oar was in sight. He asked his next door neighbor whether it was a fisherman's holiday, for not a sign of any fisherman did he see.

"Not so far as I know," he said, "but none are in the habit of fishing here. And so I couldn't figure out what was happening yesterday!"

Canius was furious, but what could he do?

Source: *Cicero: De Officiis*. Translated by Walter Miller. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1913.

38. *Hunting and Capturing Lions*

In another excerpt from his Natural History (see also Document 36, above), the first-century A.D. writer Pliny the Elder explains how the Romans hunted and captured lions.

Capturing lions was once a difficult task, chiefly accomplished by means of pitfalls. In the principate of Claudius [A.D. 41–54], chance taught a shepherd a method that was almost one to be ashamed of in the case of a wild animal of this nature. When it charged, he flung a cloak against its attack—a feat that was immediately transferred to the arena as a show—the creature's great ferocity abating in an almost incredible manner when its head is covered with even a light wrap, with the result that it is vanquished without showing fight. The fact is that all its strength is concentrated in its eyes.

Source: *Pliny: Natural History*. Volume III. Translated by H. Rackham. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1940.

39. *Using Music in Hunting*

In this passage from On the Characteristics of Animals (see also Documents 25, 26, 32, 33, and 34), Aelian describes an Etruscan method of hunting and capturing animals with music. The Etruscans lived in Etruria, a region just north of Rome.

There is an Etruscan story current which says that the wild boars and the stags in that country are caught by using nets and hounds, as is the usual manner of hunting, but that music plays a part, and even the larger part, in the struggle.

And how this happens I will now relate. They set the nets and other hunting gear that ensnare the animals in a circle, and a man proficient on the pipes stands there and tries his utmost to play a rather soft tune, avoiding any shriller note, but playing the sweetest melodies possible. The quiet and the stillness easily carry [the sound] abroad, and the music streams up to the heights and into ravines and thickets; in a word, every lair and resting place of these animals. At first, when the sound penetrates to their ears, it strikes them with terror and fills them with dread, and then an unalloyed and irresistible delight in the music takes hold of them, and they are so beguiled as to forget about their offspring and their homes. And yet wild beasts do not care to wander away from their native haunts. But little by little these creatures in Etruria are attracted as though

by some persuasive spell, and beneath the wizardry of the music they come and fall into the snares, overpowered by the melody.

Source: *Aelian: On the Characteristics of Animals*. Volume III. Translated by A. F. Scholfield. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1959.

40. Hunting Hedgehogs

Pliny the Elder describes the method of hunting hedgehogs in this passage from his Natural History (see also Documents 36 and 38).

Hedgehogs prepare food for winter, and fixing fallen apples on their spines by rolling on them and holding one more in their mouth, they carry them to hollow trees. The same animals foretell a change in wind direction from north to south by holing up in their den. But when they perceive someone hunting them, they draw together their mouth and feet and all their lower part, which has thin and harmless down on it, and roll up into the shape of a ball, so that it would not be possible to take hold of any part of them except by the prickly spines... Afterwards, the ball into which they roll up can be made to unroll by a sprinkle of hot water, and to fasten them up by one of their hind feet kills them through starvation when hanging. It is not possible to kill them in any other way and avoid damaging the hide, ... [which] is used in dressing cloth for garments.

Source: *Pliny: Natural History*. Volume III. Translated by H. Rackham. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1940.

41. Catching the Big Ones

In another excerpt from On the Characteristics of Animals (see also Documents 25, 26, 32, 33, 34, and 39), Aelian describes the methods employed in catching large ocean-dwelling fish.

Those who are in the habit of fishing around the Tyrrhenian Islands [off the northern coast of Sicily] go after a gigantic fish which they call the *aulopias*. . . In the matter of size, the largest *aulopias* is smaller than the largest tunas, but if matched against them it would take the prize for strength and courage. True, the tuna is also a powerful species of fish, but after its first encounter with its adversary and vigorous opponent [i.e., the fisherman] it loses its strength, and as its blood congeals, it very soon surrenders, and then is caught. The *aulopias*, on the other hand, carries on the fight for a long time . . . and withstands the fisherman . . . and on most occasions, gets the better of him by gathering itself together, bowing its head, and thrusting down into the depths. It has a forceful jaw and a powerful neck, and is very strong. But when it is captured, it is a most beautiful sight. It has wide open eyes, round and large . . . And the jaw, although powerful, as I remarked, contributes to its beauty . . . A stripe of a golden color starts at the head and descending to the region of the tail, ends in a circle.

I wish also to speak of the methods employed in catching it which I remember to have heard. The fishermen previously select spots from a large area where they think that the *aulopiae* might be congregating, and after catching a number of crowfish [species uncertain], they anchor their boat and create continuous noise; meanwhile, they bind up the crowfish with nooses, and let them out on a line. The *aulopiae*, hearing the noise and seeing the bait, come swimming up from all sides and congregate and circle around the boat. And the noise and the quantity of food have such a soothing effect on them that, even though the fishermen reach out their hands, they remain and submit to the human touch because, in my opinion, they are slaves to food and in fact, as their pursuers maintain, because their strength gives them confidence. There are also tame ones among them, which the fishermen recognize as their benefactors, . . . so with them they maintain a truce. And other strange fish follow them like leaders, and these aliens, as one might call them, the fishermen hunt and kill, but they do not hunt the tame fish, which may be compared to decoy doves, but they spare them, nor would any prudent fisherman ever be reduced to such a condition as to catch a tame *aulopias* deliberately, for if by some accident one happens to be caught, it brings trouble. The [non-tame] fish is captured either by being pierced with a hook or by being mortally wounded.

We see bird hunters also refraining from killing birds that decoy others, whether for sale or for the table.

Source: *Aelian: On the Characteristics of Animals*. Volume III. Translated by A. F. Scholfield. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1959.

Vacations, Celebrations, and Festivals

Everyone needs some time off now and then, and this was certainly true in the ancient world. National holidays dotted the calendars of the ancient Greeks and Romans (Documents 42 and 45). Sometimes, celebrations were declared to commemorate a major military triumph (Document 43). But, undoubtedly, most people enjoyed most of all the private family vacations (Document 44), and some expressed their longing for such a vacation when work schedules became too oppressive (Document 46).

GREECE

42. A Celebration of Freedom

In this passage, the Greek biographer Plutarch (A.D. c. 45–c. 120) describes the annual festivities held in the town of Plataea to commemorate the Battle of Plataea, a victory over the mighty Persian army fought in 478 B.C.

At a general assembly of the Greeks, Aristides moved a resolution that delegates and religious representatives from all the Greek states should meet every year at Plataea, and that every four years the Eleutheria, or festival games in honor of freedom, should be celebrated. . .

The Plataeans undertook to offer up a sacrifice to the dead every year in honor of those Greeks who had fallen in battle and were buried in the field, and this ceremony

they still carry out to this day in the following manner... They conduct a procession; this is led forth at daybreak by a trumpeter who sounds the charge. After him come wagons full of myrtle leaves and garlands, and then a black bull. These are followed by young men of free birth who carry libations of wine and milk in jars and pitchers of olive oil and myrrh, and no slave is allowed to play any part in the ceremony, since the men who are being honored gave their lives for freedom. Last of all comes the chief magistrate of Plataea, who for the rest of his term of office is forbidden to touch iron or to wear clothes of any color but white, but on this occasion is dressed in a scarlet tunic. He carries aloft an urn from the public record office and proceeds, sword in hand, through the middle of the city to the tombs. There with his own hands he takes water from the sacred spring, washes the gravestones, and anoints them with myrrh. Then he slaughters the bull by the funeral pyre, offers prayers to Zeus and Hermes of the Underworld, and calls upon the brave men who died for Greece to come to the banquet and drink the libations of blood. After this, he mixes a bowl of wine and water, drinks and pours a libation from it, saying these words: "I drink to the men who died for the freedom of Greece." These rites have been observed by the Plataeans down to the present day.

Source: *The Rise and Fall of Athens: Nine Greek Lives* by Plutarch. Translated by Ian Scott-Kilvert. New York: Penguin Books, 1960. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

ROME

43. Festivities in Honor of a Roman General

In this passage from his writings, the historian Livy (59 B.C.–A.D. 17) describes the festivities held in Greece in 167 B.C. in honor of the Roman general Lucius Aemilius Paulus and his various military conquests in Greece.

The serious business was followed by an entertainment, a most elaborate affair staged at Amphipolis [in Greece]. This had been under preparation for a considerable time, and Paulus had sent messengers to the cities and kings of Asia to give notice of the event, while he had announced it in person to the leading citizens in the course of his tour of the Greek states. A large number of skilled performers of all kinds in the sphere of entertainment assembled from all over the world, besides athletes and famous horses, and official representatives with sacrificial victims. And all the other usual ingredients of the great games of Greece, provided for the sake of gods and men, were supplied on such a scale as to excite admiration not merely for the splendor of the display, but also for the well-organized showmanship in a field where the Romans were at that time mere beginners. Banquets for the official delegations were put on, equally sumptuous and arranged with equal care. A remark of Paulus himself was commonly quoted, to the effect that a man who knew how to conquer in war was also a man who would know how to arrange a banquet and to organize a show...

The stage show, the contests between men, the horse races, were not the only sights to interest the crowds which had come to Amphipolis. They were equally attracted by all the booty from Macedonia. There were statues, pictures, textiles, vessels of gold,

silver, bronze, and ivory, fashioned with immense pains in the king's palace, not for temporary display, like the objects with which the palace at Alexandria was crammed, but for lasting use.

Source: *Livy: Rome and the Mediterranean: Books XXXI–XLV of The History of Rome from its Foundation.* Translated by Henry Bettenson. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1977. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

44. Cicero's Vacation in Antium

Around the year 59 B.C., the Roman orator Cicero (106–43 B.C.) took a vacation in Antium, a seacoast town about 30 miles south of Rome. He wrote the following letter to his friend Atticus about his experiences there.

I am not so certain now about fulfilling the promises that I made in former letters to produce some work during my vacation tour, because I have fallen so in love with idleness that I can't tear myself from it. So I either enjoy myself with my books, of which I have a pleasant abundance here at Antium, or else I count the sea waves. The rough weather won't allow me to catch shads. My soul utterly rebels against writing. The geographical work I had planned is a big undertaking... The subject is frustratingly hard to explain, and it is boring, nor does it give one as many opportunities for flowers of fancy as I imagined. Besides—and this is the main point—I find any excuse for laziness good enough. I am even debating settling down at Antium and spending the rest of my life here. I really wish I had been a magistrate here instead of in Rome... To think of there being a place so close to Rome where there are lots of people who have never seen Vatinius [a rival politician], where there is not a single soul except for me who cares whether any of our new commissioners are alive or dead, where no one bothers me, although everyone likes me. This, this is the very place for me to play the politician.

Source: *Cicero: Letters to Atticus.* Volume I. Translated by E. O. Winstedt. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1912.

45. Roman Holidays

According to the following excerpt from the Saturnalia of the early fifth-century A.D. writer Macrobius, there were four kinds of vacation days permissible and celebrated during the Roman year (see Saturnalian Festival in Glossary).

The celebration of a religious festival consists of the offering of sacrifices to the gods or the marking of the day by a ritual banquet, or the holding of public games in honor of a god, or the observance of rest days. Public rest days are of four kinds: they are either fixed, movable, extraordinary, or market days. In the fixed rest days, all the people share. They are held on set and appointed days, in set and appointed months. They are noted in the calendar, and the observances are defined...

Movable rest days are those which are proclaimed yearly by the magistrates or the priests, to be held on days which may or may not be set days... Extraordinary rest days

are those which are promulgated by the consuls or the praetors by virtue of their discretionary powers. Market days are the concern of the villagers and country people, who assemble on these days to attend to their private affairs and to market their wares.

Besides the public rest days, there are those which belong exclusively to certain families... Rest days are also kept by individuals; for example, on the occasion of a birthday, the fall of a thunderbolt, a funeral, or an act of atonement...

The priests used to maintain that a rest day was desecrated if, after it had been duly promulgated and proclaimed, any work was done on it. Furthermore, the [priests] might not see work in progress on a rest day, and for this reason, they would give public warning by a herald that nothing of the sort should be done. Neglect of this command was punished by a fine, and it was said that one who had inadvertently done any work on such days had, in addition to the fine, to make atonement by the sacrifice of a pig... [The pontiff] Scaevola, when asked what might be done on a rest day replied that anything might be done which it would be harmful to have left undone. And so a head of a household who, on a rest day, collected his laborers and freed an ox from a pit into which it had fallen was not thought to have desecrated the day, nor a man who propped up a broken roof beam to save it from a threatening collapse. And that is why Vergil, who is an authority in every branch of learning, knowing that sheep are washed either to clean the wool or to cure mange, declared that a sheep might be dipped on a rest day, if the intention was to effect some cure, as appears from the line:

“To dip the bleating flock into the health-giving stream.”

The use of the adjective “health-giving” makes it clear that the action is permissible only if its aim is to prevent disease and if there is no ulterior motive of cleaning the wool to make a profit.

Source: From *Macrobius: The Saturnalia*. Translated by Percival Vaughn Davies. Copyright © 1969 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

46. Oh, for a Vacation!

Pliny the Younger's (A.D. 62–114) heavy work schedule in Rome kept him from enjoying a greatly needed vacation, as he relates in this letter to his friend Caninius Rufus.

Are you reading, fishing, or hunting, or doing all three? You can do all together on the shores of Lake Como, for there are plenty of fish in the lake, game to hunt in the woods around, and every opportunity to study in the depths of your retreat. Whether it is everything or only one thing, I can't say that I begrudge you your pleasures. I am only annoyed at being denied them myself, for I hanker after them like a sick man does for wine, baths, and cool springs. I wonder if I will ever be able to shake off these constricting chains if I am not allowed to undo them, and I doubt if I ever will. New business piles up on the old before the old is finished, and as more and more links are added to the chain, I see my work stretching out farther and farther every day.

Source: *Pliny: Letters and Panegyricus*. Volume I. Translated by Betty Radice. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1969.

Part VIII

RELIGIOUS LIFE

Deities

The origin of the gods was a matter of curiosity and speculation (Document 8); there seemed to have been some thought that the gods originated in Egypt (Document 5). The Egyptian goddess Isis was known to the Romans, and one Roman author, Apuleius, even claimed to have seen Isis in a dream (Document 4). There was also a tradition of animal worship in Egypt (Documents 6 and 7).

The Greeks and the Romans both felt a healthy measure of respect for their deities (Documents 9 and 10), and had fixed ideas on how best to worship them (Document 11). But in India, there was at least one school of thought that subscribed to the belief that there was no divine input into the creation of the world (Document 3).

The Greeks and Romans were adept at the construction of large, ornate, and imposing temples in honor of their gods and goddesses, but it is doubtful that any of those structures could rival the magnificent temple built by Solomon in honor of the Hebrew God (Document 2).

The Romans never seemed to know exactly how to deal with the growing influence of Christianity. Pliny the Younger, normally a gentle man not prone to violence, had no apparent problem with ordering the execution of Christians in his capacity as the governor of Bithynia in the early second century A.D. It may have been easier for him to order the executions knowing that he enjoyed the support of the emperor *Trajan* for his actions (Document 12).

SUMERIA

1. A Prayer to Shamash

The Babylonian sun-god, Shamash, was one of the most powerful gods in the pantheon, as the following prayer, from the early part of the second millennium B.C., indicates.

Shamash, at your arising mankind bows down...
Illuminator, dispeller of darkness of the vault of the heavens,
Who sets aglow the beard of light, the corn field, the life of the land.

Your splendor covers the vast mountains,
 Your fierce light fills the lands to their limits.
 You climb to the mountains surveying the earth,
 You suspend from the heavens the circle of the lands.
 You care for all the peoples of the lands,
 And everything that Ea [god of wisdom], king of the counselors, had created is entrusted to you.
 Whatever has breath you shepherd without exception,
 You are their keeper in upper and lower regions.
 Regularly and without cease you traverse the heavens,
 Every day you pass over the broad earth...
 In the underworld, you care for the counselors of Kusu, the Anunnaki [underworld judges],
 Above, you direct all the affairs of mankind,
 Shepherd of that beneath, keeper of that above,
 You, Shamash, direct, you are the light of everything...
 There is none who is supreme like you in the whole pantheon of gods.
 At your rising, the gods of the land assemble;
 Your fierce glare covers the land.
 Of all the lands of varied speech,
 You know their plans, you scan their way.
 The whole of mankind bows to you,
 Shamash, the universe longs for your light...
 You stand by the traveler whose road is difficult,
 To the seafarer in dread of the waves...
 It is you who patrol the unseen routes,
 You constantly tread paths which confront Shamash alone.
 You save from the storm the merchant carrying his capital,
 The [...] who goes down to the ocean you equip with wings.
 You point out settling places to refugees and fugitives,
 To the captive, you point out routes that only Shamash knows...
 A man who covets his neighbor's wife
 Will [...] before his appointed day.
 A nasty snare is prepared for him [...]
 Your weapon will strike at him, and there will be none to save him...
 You give the unscrupulous judge experience of fetters,
 Him who accepts a present and yet lets justice miscarry, you make bear his punishment.
 As for him who declines a present, but nevertheless takes the part of the weak,
 It is pleasing to Shamash, and he will prolong his life.
 The merchant who practices trickery as he holds the balances,
 Who uses two sets of weights, thus lowering the [...]
 He is disappointed in the matter of profit and loses his capital.
 The honest merchant who holds the balances and gives good weight—
 Everything is presented to him in good measure [...]
 The merchant who practices trickery as he holds the corn measure,
 Who weighs out loans of corn by the minimum standard, but requires a large quantity in
 repayment,
 The curse of the people will overtake him before his time,
 If he demanded repayment before the agreed date, there will be guilt upon him...
 The honest merchant who weighs out loans of corn by the maximum standard, thus
 multiplying kindness,
 It is pleasing to Shamash, and he will prolong his life.
 He will enlarge his family, gain wealth,
 And like the water of a never failing spring, his descendants will never fail...

The progeny of evil-doers will fail.
Those whose mouth says “No”—their case is before you.
In a moment you discern what they say.
You hear and examine them; you determine the lawsuit of the wronged.
Every single person is entrusted to your hands.
You manage their omens; that which is perplexing, you make plain.
You observe, Shamash, prayer, supplication, and benediction,
Obeisance, kneeling, ritual murmurs, and prostration.
The feeble man calls you from the hollow of his mouth,
The humble, the weak, the afflicted, the poor,
She whose son is captive constantly and unceasingly confronts you . . .
Which are the mountains not clothed with your beams?
Which are the regions not warmed by the brightness of your light?
Brightener of gloom, illuminator of darkness,
Dispeller of darkness, illuminator of the broad earth.

Source: *Readings in Ancient History. From Gilgamesh to Diocletian*. Bailkey, Nels, *Readings in Ancient History*. Copyright © 1969 by Houghton Mifflin Company. Reprinted with permission.

ISRAEL

2. Solomon Constructs God’s Temple

The construction of the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem is described in First and Second Chronicles in the Bible. Fundraising is described in the first excerpt and the preparations for building the temple in the second.

David told the crowd: “God chose my son Solomon to build the temple, but Solomon is young and has no experience. This is not just any building—this is the temple for the LORD God! That’s why I have done my best to get everything Solomon will need to build it: gold, silver, bronze, iron, wood, onyx, turquoise, colored gems, all kinds of precious stones, and marble.

“Besides doing all that, I have promised to give part of my own gold and silver as a way of showing my love for God’s temple. Almost one hundred twenty tons of my finest gold and over two hundred fifty tons of my silver will be used to decorate its walls and to make gold and silver objects. Now, who else will show their dedication to the LORD by giving gifts for building his temple?”

After David finished speaking, the family leaders, the tribal leaders, the army commanders, and the government officials voluntarily gave gifts for the temple. These gifts included almost two hundred tons of gold, three hundred eighty tons of silver, almost seven hundred tons of bronze, and three thousand seven hundred fifty tons of iron. Everyone who owned precious stones also donated them to the temple treasury . . . David and the people were very happy that so much had been given to the LORD, and they all celebrated.

Next described are the preparations for building the temple.

Solomon decided to build a temple where the LORD would be worshiped, and also to build a palace for himself. He assigned seventy thousand men to carry building

supplies and eighty thousand to cut stone from the hills. And he chose three thousand six hundred men to supervise these workers.

Solomon sent the following message to King Hiram of Tyre:

“Years ago, when my father David was building his palace, you supplied him with cedar logs. Now will you send me supplies? I am building a temple where the LORD my God will be worshiped... Send me a worker who can not only carve, but who can work with gold, silver, bronze, and iron, as well as make brightly-colored cloth. The person you send will work here in Judah and Jerusalem with the skilled workers that my father has already hired.

“I know that you have workers who are experts at cutting timber in Lebanon. So would you please send me some cedar, pine, and juniper logs? My workers will be there to help them, because I’ll need a lot of lumber to build such a large and glorious temple. I will pay your woodcutters one hundred twenty-five thousand bushels of wheat, the same amount of barley, one hundred fifteen thousand gallons of wine, and that same amount of olive oil.”

Hiram sent his answer back to Solomon:

“I know that the LORD must love his people, because he has chosen you to be their king... I am sending Hiram Abi to you. He is very bright... Not only is Hiram an expert at working with gold, silver, bronze, iron, stone, and wood, but he can also make colored cloth and fine linen. And he can carve anything if you give him a pattern to follow. He can help your workers and those hired by your father, King David.

“Go ahead and send the wheat, barley, olive oil, and wine you promised to pay my workers. I will tell them to start cutting down trees in Lebanon. They will cut as many as you need, then tie them together into rafts, and float them down along the coast to Joppa. Your workers can take them to Jerusalem from there.”...

Solomon’s workers began building the temple in Jerusalem... The inside of the temple was ninety feet long and thirty feet wide... Across the front of the temple was a porch thirty feet high. The inside walls of the porch were covered with pure gold. Solomon had the inside walls of the temple’s main room paneled first with pine and then with a layer of gold, and he had them decorated with carvings of palm trees and designs that looked like chains... Solomon also had the workers carve designs of winged creatures into the walls.

The most holy place was thirty feet square, and its walls were covered with almost twenty-five tons of fine gold. More than a pound of gold was used to cover the heads of the nails. The walls of the small storage rooms were also covered with gold...

A curtain was made of fine linen woven with blue, purple, and red wool, and embroidered with designs of winged creatures.

Two columns were made for the entrance to the temple. Each one was fifty-two feet tall and had a cap on top that was seven and a half feet high...

After the LORD’S temple was finished, Solomon put in its storage rooms everything that his father David had dedicated to the LORD, including the gold and silver, and the objects used in worship.

Source: *The Holy Bible: Contemporary English Version*. Translator(s) not stated. New York: American Bible Society, 1995.

INDIA

3. *God Did Not Create the World*

The ninth-century B.C. authors of this passage from the literature of ancient India took a skeptical point of view about the existence of God, and the need for divine input for the creation of the world.

Some foolish men declare that Creator made the world,
 The doctrine that the world was created is ill-advised, and should be rejected.
 If God created the world, where was he before creation?
 If you say he was transcendent then, and needed no support, where is he now?
 No single being had the skill to make this world—
 For how can an immaterial god create that which is material?
 How could God have made the world without any raw material?
 If you say he made this first, and then the world, you are faced with an endless
 regression.
 If you declare that this raw material arose naturally, you fall into another fallacy,
 For the whole universe might thus have been its own creator, and have arisen equally
 naturally.
 If God created the world by an act of his own will, without any raw material,
 Then it is just his will and nothing else—and who will believe this silly stuff?
 If he is ever perfect and complete, how could the will to create have arisen in him?
 If, on the other hand, he is not perfect, he could no more create the universe than
 a potter could.
 If he is formless, actionless, and all-embracing, how could he have created the world?
 Such a soul, devoid of all modality, would have no desire to create anything.
 If he is perfect, he does not strive for the three aims of man [righteousness, profit, and
 pleasure],
 So what advantage would he gain by creating the universe?
 If you say that he created to no purpose, because it was his nature to do so, then God is
 pointless.
 If he created in some kind of sport, it was the sport of a foolish child, leading to trouble.
 If he created because of the karma of embodied beings [acquired in a previous creation],
 He is not the Almighty Lord, but subordinate to something else...
 If out of love for living things and need of them he made the world,
 Why did he not make creation wholly blissful, free from misfortune?
 If he were transcendent he would not create, for he would be free;
 Nor if involved in transmigration, for then he would not be almighty.
 Thus the doctrine that the world was created by God makes no sense at all.
 And God commits great sin in slaying the children whom he himself created.
 If you say that he slays only to destroy evil beings, why did he create such beings in the first
 place...?
 Good men should combat the believer in divine creation, maddened by an evil doctrine.
 Know that the world is uncreated, as time itself is, without beginning and end,
 And is based on the principles, life and the rest.
 Uncreated and indestructible, it endures under the compulsion of its own nature,
 Divided into three sections—hell, earth and heaven.

Source: From *Sources of Indian Tradition*. Volume I. Edited by William Theodore de Bary. Copyright © 1958
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EGYPT

4. Apuleius Sees the Goddess Isis in a Dream

In this passage from his Latin novel The Metamorphoses (also known as The Golden Ass), the second-century A.D. Roman author Apuleius describes a dream in which a vision of the Egyptian goddess Isis appeared to him.

[As I was sleeping, there] appeared to me from the midst of the sea a divine and venerable face, worshipped even by the gods themselves. Then, little by little, I seemed to see the whole figure of her body, bright and mounting out of the sea and standing before me. Therefore, I propose to describe her divine appearance if the poverty of my human speech will allow me, or her divine power gives me a power of eloquence rich enough to express it.

First, she had a great abundance of hair, flowing and curling, dispersed and scattered about her divine neck. On the crown of her head, she bore many garlands interlaced with flowers, and in the middle of her forehead was a plain circlet in the fashion of a mirror, or rather resembling the moon by the light that it gave forth. And this was borne up on either side by serpents that seemed to rise from the furrows of the earth, and above it were blades of corn set out. Her vestment was of the finest linen, yielding diverse colors, somewhere white and shining, somewhere yellow like the crocus flower, somewhere rosy red, somewhere flaming. And (which very much troubled my sight and spirit) her cloak was utterly dark and obscure, covered with shining black, and being wrapped around her from under her left arm to her right shoulder in the manner of a shield. Part of it fell down, pleated in most subtle fashion, to the skirts of her garment, so that the welts appeared attractive. Here and there upon its edge and throughout its surface, the stars glittered, and in the middle of them was placed the moon in mid-month, which shone like a flame of fire. And round about the whole length of the border of that fine robe was a crown or garland with an unbroken wreath, made with all flowers and all fruits. She bore many diverse things: in her right hand, she had a timbrel of brass, a flat piece of metal curved in the manner of a girdle, wherein passed not many rods through the periphery of it. And when with her arm she moved these triple chords, they gave forth a shrill and clear sound. In her left hand, she bore a cup of gold like a boat; upon its handle, in the upper part which is best seen, an asp lifted up its head with a wide-swelling throat. Her pleasant feet were covered with shoes interlaced and crafted with victorious palm. Thus the divine shape, breathing out the pleasant spice of fertile Arabia, did not disdain to speak to me with her holy voice.

Source: *Apuleius: The Golden Ass, Being the Metamorphoses of Lucius Apuleius*. Translated by W. Adlington, with revisions by S. Gaselee. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1915.

5. The Gods Originated in Egypt

In the following excerpt from his writings, the first-century B.C. Greek historian Diodorus Siculus puts forward the idea that Egypt was the birthplace of the gods.

Since Egypt is the country where mythology places the origin of the gods, where the earliest observations of the stars are said to have been made, and where, furthermore, many noteworthy deeds of great men are recorded, we will begin our history with the events connected with Egypt.

The Egyptians have an account like this: When in the beginning the universe came into being, humans first came into existence in Egypt, both because of the favorable climate of the land and because of the nature of the Nile. For this stream, since it produces much life and provides a spontaneous supply of food, easily supports whatever living things have been engendered... It is manifest that, when the world was first taking shape, the land of Egypt could better than any other have been the place where mankind came into being because of the well-tempered nature of its soil...

The people of Egypt, they say, when ages ago they came into existence, as they looked up at the firmament and were struck with both awe and wonder at the nature of the universe, conceived that two gods were both eternal and first, namely, the sun and the moon, whom they called respectively Osiris and Isis, these appellations having in each case been based upon a certain meaning in them. For when the names are translated into Greek, Osiris means "many-eyed," and properly so; for in shedding his rays in every direction he surveys with many eyes, as it were, all land and sea. And the words of the poet [i.e., Homer] are also in agreement with this conception, when he says:

"The sun, who sees all things and hears all things."

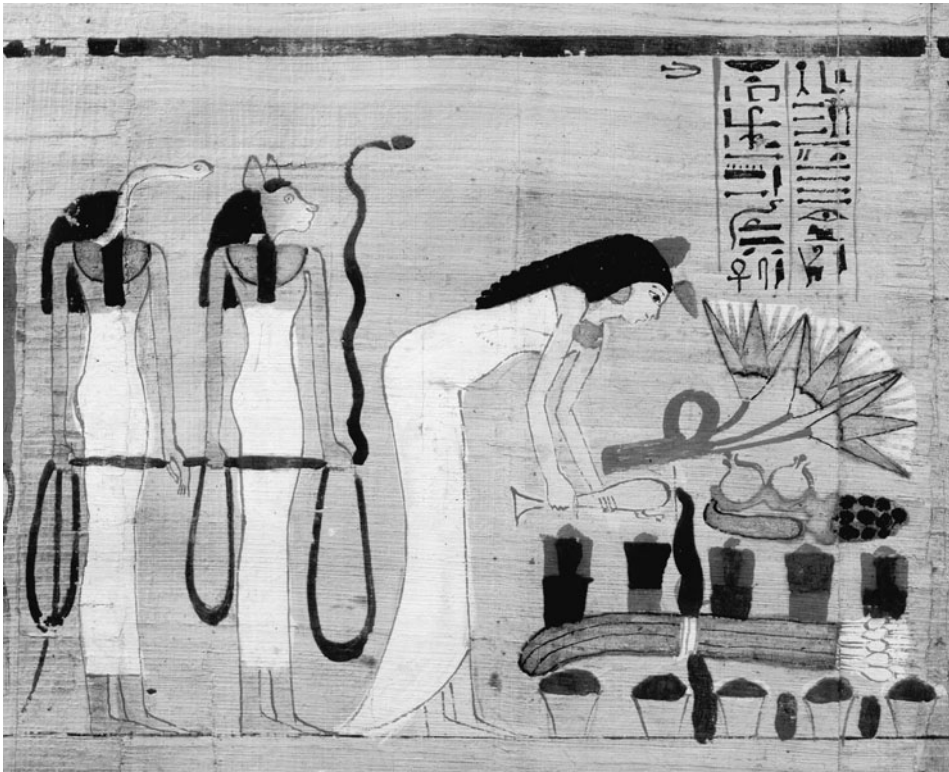
And of the ancient Greek writers of mythology, some give to Osiris the name Dionysus... Some say that Osiris is also represented with the cloak of fawn skin about his shoulders, as imitating the sky when spangled with the stars. As for Isis, when translated the word means "ancient," the name having been given to her because her birth was from everlasting and ancient. And they put horns on her head both because of the appearance which she has to the eye when the moon is crescent-shaped, and because among the Egyptians a cow is held sacred to her.

These two gods, they believe, regulate the entire universe, giving both nourishment and increase to all things by means of a system of three seasons which complete the full cycle through an unobservable movement, these being spring and summer and winter... Moreover, practically all the physical matter which is essential to the generation of all things is furnished by these gods, the sun contributing the fiery element and the spirit, the moon the wet and the dry, and both together, the air. And it is through these elements that all things are engendered and nourished. And so it is out of the sun and the moon that the whole physical body of the universe is made complete.

Source: *Diodorus of Sicily*. Volume I. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1933.

6. Animal Worship in Egypt: Plutarch

The following anecdote, recorded in Plutarch's Moralia, pertains to the Egyptian worship of various kinds of animals. Plutarch was a Greek biographer and essayist who wrote in the second century A.D.



Detail of the Book of the Dead showing the deceased laying an offering on a table with two goddesses behind, one lion-headed and the other snake-headed, both holding a long black snake. The Art Archive/Egyptian Museum Cairo/Alfredo Dagli Orti.

Granted that [pigs are] ugly and dirty, still they are no more absurd in appearance or crude in disposition than dung beetle, field mouse, crocodile, or cat, each of which is treated as sacred by a different group of Egyptian priests... The field mouse is said to have been deified among the Egyptians because of its blindness, since they regarded darkness as superior to light. And they thought that the field mouse was born of ordinary mice every fifth generation at the new moon, and also that its liver was reduced in size at the dark of the moon.

They associate the lion with the sun because it, alone of quadrupeds that have claws, bears young that can see at birth, sleeps only for a moment, and has eyes that gleam in sleep. Egyptian fountains pour forth their water through lion mouths, because the Nile brings new water to the fields of Egypt.

Source: *Plutarch's Moralia*. Volume VIII. Translated by Paul A. Clement. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1969.

7. Animal Worship in Egypt: Pliny the Elder

In this excerpt from his Natural History, the first-century A.D. writer Pliny the Elder reports that in Egypt a sacred ox called Apis was the object of veneration.

In Egypt an ox is even worshipped in place of a god; its name is Apis. Its distinguishing mark is a bright white spot in the shape of a crescent on the right flank, and it has a knob under the tongue which they call a beetle. It is not lawful for it to exceed a certain number of years of life, and they kill it by drowning it in the fountain of the priests, proceeding with lamentation to look for another to put in its place, and they go on mourning until they have found one, actually shaving the hair off their heads. Nevertheless, the search never continues long.

When the successor is found, it is led by 100 priests to Memphis. It has a pair of shrines, which they call its bedchambers... When it enters one, this is a joyful sign, but in the other one, it portends terrible events. It gives answers to private individuals by taking food out of the hand of those who consult it... Usually living in retirement, when it comes out into assemblies, it proceeds with bodyguards to clear the way, and companies of boys escort it singing a song in its honor. It seems to understand, and to desire to be worshipped. These companies are suddenly seized with frenzy and chant prophecies of future events. Once a year, a cow is displayed to it, she too with her decorations, although they are not the same as his. And it is traditional for her always to be found and put to death on the same day.

At Memphis, there is a place in the Nile which from its shape they call the Goblet. Every year they throw into the river there a gold and silver cup on the days which they keep at the birthdays of Apis. These are seven, and it is a remarkable fact that during these days, nobody is attacked by crocodiles, but that after midday on the eighth day, the creature's savagery returns.

Source: *Pliny: Natural History*. Volume III. Translated by H. Rackham. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1940.

GREECE

8. The Birth of the God Zeus

The eighth-century B.C. Greek poet Hesiod, in this excerpt from his lengthy poem "Theogony," tells the tale of the birth of the god Zeus.

Rhea, overpowered by Cronus, bore him splendid children: Hestia, Demeter, and golden-sandaled Hera, and powerful Hades, who dwells in mansions beneath the earth and has a pitiless heart, and the loud-sounding Earthshaker [Poseidon], and the counselor Zeus, the father of gods and of humankind, by whose thunder the broad earth is shaken. Great Cronus would swallow these down as each one came from his mother's holy womb to her knees, mindful that no one else of Sky's illustrious children should have the honor of kingship among the immortals. For he had heard from Earth and starry Sky that, mighty though he was, he was destined to be overpowered by a child of his, through the plans of great Zeus. For this reason, then, he held no unseeing watch, but observed closely, and swallowed down his children, and unrelenting grief gripped Rhea. But when she was about to bear Zeus, the father of gods and of humankind, she begged her own dear parents, Earth and starry Sky, to contrive some scheme so that she could bear her dear son

without being noticed, and take retribution for the avenging deities of her father and of her children, whom great crooked-counseled Cronus had swallowed down.

They listened well to their dear daughter and obeyed her, and they revealed to her everything that was fated to come about concerning Cronus the king and his strong-spirited son. They told her to go to Lyctus, to the rich land of Crete, when she was about to bear the youngest of her children, great Zeus. And huge Earth received him in broad Crete, to nurse him and rear him up. There she came first to Lyctus, carrying him through the swift black night. Taking him in her hands, she concealed him in a deep cave, under the hidden places of the holy earth, in the Aegean mountain, abounding with forests. And she wrapped a large stone in swaddling clothes and put it into the hand of Sky's son, the great ruler, the king of the earlier gods [the Titans]. He seized this with his hands and put it down into his belly—cruel one, nor did he know in his spirit that in place of the stone, his son remained hereafter, unconquered and untroubled, who would overpower him with force and his own hands, and would soon drive him out from his honor and be king among the immortals.

Swiftly, then, the king's strength and his splendid limbs grew. And when a year had revolved, great crooked-counseled Cronus, deceived by Earth's very clever suggestions, brought his offspring up again, overcome by his son's devices and force. First, he vomited up the stone, since he had swallowed it down last of all. Zeus set it fast in the broad-pathed earth . . . to be a sign thereafter, a marvel for mortal human beings.

And he freed from their deadly bonds his father's brothers, Sky's sons [the Cyclopes], whom their father had bound in his folly. And they repaid him in gratitude for his kind deed, giving him the thunder and the blazing thunderbolt and the lightning, which huge Earth had concealed before. Relying on these, he rules over mortals and immortals.

Source: *Hesiod: Theogony; Works and Days; Testimonia*. Translated by Glenn W. Most. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 2006.

9. Divine Omnipotence

In this passage from his Moralia (see also Document 6, above), the second-century A.D. Greek biographer Plutarch recounts the thoughts of the philosopher Anacharsis on the role and power of the divine in the natural world.

Anacharsis said that as Thales had set forth the excellent hypothesis that soul exists in all the most dominant and most important parts of the universe, there is no proper ground for wonder that the most excellent things are brought to pass by the will of God. "For the body," he continued, "is the soul's instrument, and the soul is God's instrument. And just as the body has many movements of its own, but the most, and most excellent, from the soul, so the soul performs some actions by its own instinct, but in others it yields itself to God's use for Him to direct it and turn it in whatsoever course He may desire, since it is the most adaptable of all instruments. For it is a dreadful mistake to assume that, on the one hand, fire is God's instrument, and wind and water also, and clouds and rain, by means of which He preserves and fosters many things, and ruins and destroys

many others, but that, on the other hand, He never as yet makes any use whatever of living creatures to accomplish any one of his purposes. It is far more likely that the living, being dependant on God's power, serve Him and are responsive to His movements even more than bows are responsive to the Scythians, or lyres and flutes to the Greeks."

Source: *Plutarch's Moralia*. Volume II. Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1928.

ROME

10. Definitions of the Gods and Their Power

In this passage from his philosophical essay "On the Nature of the Gods," the first-century B.C. Roman orator Cicero discusses the variety of opinions about the gods.

There are a number of branches of philosophy that have not as yet been by any means adequately explored. But the inquiry into the nature of the gods, which is both highly interesting in relation to the theory of the soul, and fundamentally important for the regulation of religion, is one of special difficulty and obscurity...

As regards the present subject, most thinkers have affirmed that the gods exist, and this is the most probable view and the one to which we are all led by nature's guidance... The upholders of the divine existence differ and disagree so widely, that it would be a troublesome task to recount their opinions. Many views are put forward about the outward form of the gods, their dwelling places and abodes, and mode of life, and these topics are debated with the widest variety of opinion among philosophers. But as to the question upon which the whole issue of the dispute principally turns, whether the gods are entirely idle and inactive, taking no part at all in the direction and government of the world, or whether on the contrary all things both were created and ordered by them in the beginning and are controlled and kept in motion by them throughout eternity, here there is the greatest disagreement of all. And until this issue is decided, mankind must continue to labor under the profoundest uncertainty, and to be in ignorance about matters of the highest moment.

For there are and have been philosophers who hold that the gods exercise no control over human affairs whatever. But if their opinion is the true one, how can piety, reverence or religion exist? For all these are tributes which it is our duty to render in purity and holiness to the divine powers solely on the assumption that they take notice of them, and that some service has been rendered by the immortal gods to the human race. But if on the contrary, the gods have neither the power nor the will to aid us, if they pay no heed to us at all and take no notice of our actions, if they can exert no possible influence upon the life of humans, what ground have we for rendering any sort of worship, honor, or prayer to the immortal gods? Piety, however, like the rest of the virtues, cannot exist in mere outward show and pretense, and with piety, reverence and religion must likewise disappear. And when these are gone, life soon becomes a welter of disorder and confusion. And in all probability, the disappearance of piety towards the gods will entail the disappearance of loyalty and social union among people as well, and of justice itself, the queen of all the virtues.

Later in the same treatise, Cicero discusses various proofs for the existence of the gods:

When we gaze upward to the sky and contemplate the heavenly bodies, what can be so obvious and so manifest as that there must exist some power possessing transcendent intelligence by whom these things are ruled? Were it not so, how comes it that the words of [the poet] Ennius carry conviction to all readers:

“Behold this dazzling vault of heaven, which all mankind as Jove invoke” and not only as Jove, but as sovereign of the world, ruling all things with his nod, and as Ennius likewise says, “father of gods and mankind” a deity omnipresent and omnipotent? If anyone doubts this, I really cannot see why he should not also be capable of doubting the existence of the sun. How is the latter fact more evident than the former? Nothing but the presence in our minds of a firmly grasped concept of the deity could account for the stability and permanence of our belief in him, a belief which is only strengthened by the passage of the ages and grows more deeply rooted with each successive generation of mankind. In every other case, we see that fictitious and unfounded opinions have dwindled away with the lapse of time...

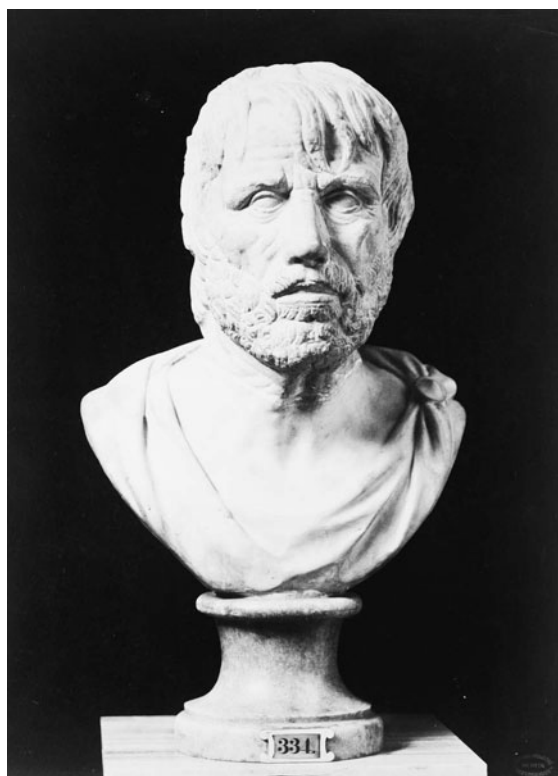
Hence both in our own nation and among all others reverence for the gods and respect for religion grow continually stronger and more profound. Nor is this unaccountable or accidental. It is the result, first, of the fact that the gods often manifest their power in bodily presence...Prophecies and premonitions of future events must be understood as proofs that the future may appear or be foretold as a warning or portended or predicted to mankind...Our empire was won by those commanders who obeyed the dictates of religion. Moreover, if we care to compare our national characteristics with those of foreign peoples, we will find that, while in all other respects we are only the equals or even the inferiors of others, yet in the sense of religion, that is, in reverence for the gods, we are far superior.

Source: Cicero: *De Natura Deorum*. Translated by H. Rackham. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1933.

11. Some Advice on How to Worship the Gods

In this excerpt from his 95th Epistle, the first-century A.D. Roman philosopher Seneca offers some advice about the proper way to worship the gods.

Precepts are commonly given as to how the gods should be worshipped. But let us forbid lamps to be lighted..., since the gods do not need light, nor do humans take pleasure in soot. Let us forbid the practice of offering morning salutation and to throng the doors of the temples; mortal ambitions are attracted by such ceremonies, but the gods are worshipped by those who truly know them. Let us forbid bringing towels and



Seneca, Roman Stoic philosopher, statesman, dramatist, tutor, and later advisor to emperor Nero. Library of Congress.

flesh-scrappers [i.e., athletic supplies, most likely offered by men] to Jupiter, and offering mirrors [i.e., most like offered by women] to Juno, for the gods do not seek servants. Of course not. Jupiter himself does service to mankind; everywhere and to all he is at hand to help. Although a suppliant hears what limit he should observe in sacrifice, and how far he should recoil from burdensome superstitions, he will never made sufficient progress until he has conceived a right idea of the gods—regarding them as beings who possess all things, and who bestow them without price. And what reason do the gods have for doing deeds of kindness? It is their nature. One who thinks that they are unwilling to do harm is wrong; they *cannot* do harm. They cannot receive or inflict injury; for doing harm is in the same category as suffering harm. The universal nature, all-glorious and all-beautiful, has rendered incapable of inflicting ill those whom it has removed from the danger of ill.

The first way to worship the gods is to believe in the gods; the next, to acknowledge their majesty, to acknowledge their goodness, without which there is no majesty. Also, to know that they are supreme commanders in the universe, controlling all things by their power and acting as guardians of the human race, even though they are sometimes unmindful of the individual. They neither give nor have evil, but they do chasten and restrain certain persons, and impose penalties, and sometimes punish by giving that which seems good outwardly. Do you want to win over the gods? Then be a good person. Whoever imitates them is worshipping them sufficiently.

Source: Seneca: *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*. Volume III. Translated by Richard M. Gummere. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1925.

12. When Romans Come into Contact with Christians

Reproduced below is one of the most famous of the many letters of Pliny the Younger (A.D. 62–114). In about A.D. 111, when Pliny was governor of the province of Bithynia in Asia Minor, he wrote to the emperor Trajan to ask how best to deal persons accused of being Christians. The letter is thus one of the earliest non-Christian accounts of early Christian worship and of the official reasons for punishing Christians. Also given below is Trajan's letter of reply.

It is my custom to refer all my difficulties to you, Sir, for no one is better able to resolve my doubts and to inform my ignorance.

I have never been present at an examination of Christians. Consequently, I do not know the nature or the extent of the punishments usually meted out to them, nor the grounds for starting an investigation and how far it should be pressed. Nor am I at all sure whether any distinction should be made between them on the grounds of age, or if young people and adults should be treated alike; whether a pardon ought to be granted to anyone retracting his beliefs, or if he has once professed Christianity, he will gain nothing by renouncing it, and whether it is the mere name of Christian which is punishable, even if innocent of crime, or rather the crimes associated with the name.

For the moment, this is the course of action I have taken with all persons brought before me on the charge of being Christians. I have asked them in person if they are Christians, and if they admit it, I repeat the question a second and third time, with a warning of the punishment awaiting them. If they persist, I order them to be led away

for execution; for, whatever the nature of their admission, I am convinced that their stubbornness and unshakeable obstinacy ought not to go unpunished. There have been others similarly fanatical who are Roman citizens. I have entered them on the list of persons to be sent to Rome for trial.

Now that I have begun to deal with this problem, as so often happens, the charges are becoming more widespread and increasing in variety. An anonymous pamphlet has been circulated which contains the names of a number of accused persons. Among these I considered that I should dismiss any who denied that they were or ever had been Christians when they had repeated after me a formula of invocation to the gods and had made offerings of wine and incense to your statue, which I had ordered to be brought into court for this purpose along with the images of the gods, and furthermore had reviled the name of Christ. None of these things, I understand, can any genuine Christian be induced to do.

Others, whose names were given to me by an informer, first admitted the charge and then denied it. They said that they had ceased to be Christians two or more years previously, and some of them even 20 years ago. They all did reverence to your statue and the images of the gods in the same way as the others, and reviled the name of Christ. They also declared that the sum total of their guilt or error amounted to no more than this: they had met regularly before dawn on a fixed day to chant verses alternately among themselves in honor of Christ as if to a god, and also to bind themselves by oath, not for any criminal purpose, but to abstain from theft, robbery and adultery, to commit no breach of trust and not to deny a deposit when called upon to restore it.

After this ceremony, it had been their custom to disperse and reassemble later to take food of an ordinary, harmless kind. But they had in fact given up this practice since my edict, issued on your instructions, which banned all political societies. This made me decide it was all the more necessary to extract the truth by torture from two slave women, whom they call deaconesses. I found nothing but a degenerate sort of cult carried to extravagant lengths.

I have therefore postponed any further examination and hastened to consult you. The question seems to me to be worthy of your consideration, especially in view of the number of persons endangered. A great many individuals of every age and class, both men and women, and being brought to trial, and this is likely to continue. It is not only the towns, but villages and rural districts too which are infected through contact with this wretched cult. I think, though, that it is still possible for it to be checked and directed to better ends, for there is no doubt that people have begun to throng the temples which had been almost entirely deserted for a long time. The sacred rites which had been allowed to lapse are being performed again, and flesh of sacrificial victims is on sale everywhere, though up till recently scarcely anyone could be found to buy it. It is easy to infer from this that a great many people could be reformed if they were given an opportunity to repent.

Trajan's reply:

You have followed the right course of procedure, my friend, in your examination of the cases of persons charged with being Christians, for it is impossible to lay down a general rule to a fixed formula. These people must not be hunted out; if they are brought before you and the charge against them is proved, they must be punished, but in the case of anyone who denies that he is a Christian, and makes it clear that he is

not, by offering prayers to our gods, he is to be pardoned as a result of his repentance, however suspect his past conduct may be. But pamphlets circulated anonymously must play no part in any accusation. They create the worst sort of precedent and are quite out of keeping with the spirit of our age.

Source: *Pliny: Letters and Panegyricus*. Volume II. Translated by Betty Radice. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1915.

Priests and Religious Rituals

Priests in all the ancient cultures had to fulfill the expectations of the faithful to maintain their credibility. Standards of behavior were strict, as in Egypt, where priests were expected to be fair, honest, and trustworthy, and to live lives that were free of sin (Document 15). In Rome, the priests and priestesses who presided over the worship of the god Jupiter had to be fully versed in all the details of the ceremonial rituals pertaining to that god. They faced odd prohibitions, such as not being allowed to ride a horse, nor to walk under an arbor of vines, nor to touch yeast-fermented bread (Document 19). Although priests were generally well respected, the same was not always true of soothsayers (Document 23).

The Romans observed and obeyed many rituals in connection with deity worship (Document 20). Sometimes, specific events would cause an outpouring of religious veneration; for example, whenever the Romans “felt an earthquake or received report of one,” they immediately declared a holy day of prayer and repentance (Document 21).

Not only were the gods thought to have originated in Egypt, but so too were many often well-attended rituals and ceremonies. The fifth-century B.C. Greek historian Herodotus claimed that at one particular annual religious festival as many as 700,000 people might appear (Document 14). And it was an Egyptian priest who foretold the birth and eventual power of Moses (Document 13). Under certain circumstances, priestly offices in Egypt could be bought and sold (Document 16). In Rome, the rules for the selection of the priestesses of the goddess Vesta were strict and prescriptive (Document 24). Sometimes, kings did not wish to hear advice from priests, but failure to heed these messages could result in disaster, as *Agamemnon* (Document 18) and *Pentheus* (Document 17) learned to their dismay.

ISRAEL/EGYPT

13. *The Birth of Moses*

As recounted by the first-century A.D. Jewish historian Josephus in this excerpt from his Jewish Antiquities, an Egyptian priest foretold the birth of Moses.

One of the [Egyptian] sacred scribal priests—persons with considerable skill in accurately predicting the future—announced to the king that there would be born to the Israelites at that time one who would abase the sovereignty of the Egyptians and exalt the Israelites, were he reared to manhood, and would surpass all people in virtue and win everlasting renown. Alarmed, the king, on this sage’s advice, ordered that every

male child born to the Israelites should be destroyed by being cast into the river, and that the labors of pregnant Hebrew women should be observed and watch kept for their delivery by the Egyptian midwives. For this duty was, by his orders, to be performed by women who, as compatriots of the king, were not likely to transgress his will. Those who defied this decree and stealthily ventured to save their offspring, he ordered to be put to death, along with their progeny. So the calamity confronting the victims was terrible: not only were they to be bereft of their children, not only must the parents themselves be accessories to the destruction of their offspring, but the plan to extinguish their race by the massacre of the infants and their own approaching dissolution rendered their lot cruel and insoluble. Such was their miserable situation.

But no one can defeat the will of God, whatever countless devices he may contrive to that end. For this child, whose birth the sacred scribe had foretold, was reared, eluding the king's vigilance, and the prophet's words concerning all that was to be done through him proved true.

Source: *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities*. Volume IV. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1930.

EGYPT

14. Egyptian Religious Rituals

In this passage from his Histories, the fifth-century B.C. historian Herodotus provides an extensive account of Egyptian religious rituals.

It was the Egyptians who originated and taught the Greeks to use ceremonial meetings, processions, and liturgies, a fact which can be inferred from the obvious antiquity of such ceremonies in Egypt, compared with Greece, where they have been only recently introduced. The Egyptians meet in solemn assembly not once a year only, but on a number of occasions, the most important and best attended being the festival of Artemis at Bubastis. Second in importance is the assembly at Busiris—a city in the middle of the Delta, containing a vast temple dedicated to Isis, the Egyptian equivalent to Demeter, in whose honor the meeting is held...

The procedure at Bubastis is this: They come in barges, men and women together, a great number in each boat. On the way, some of the women keep up a continual clatter with castanets and some of the men play flutes, while the rest, both men and women, sing and clap their hands. Whenever they pass a town on the river bank, they bring the barge close to the shore, some of the women continuing to act as I have said, while others shout abuse at the women of the place, or start dancing, or stand up and hitch up their skirts. When they reach Bubastis, they celebrate the festival with elaborate sacrifices, and more wine is consumed than during all the rest of the year. The numbers that meet there are, according to native report, as many as 700,000 men and women, excluding children.

[As for] the festival of Isis at Busiris: it is here that everybody—tens of thousands of men and women—when the sacrifice is over, beat their breasts... Any Carians who happen to live in Egypt go even further and cut their foreheads with knives, thus proving that they are foreigners and not Egyptians. At Sais, on the night of the sacrifices,

everybody burns a great number of lights in the open air around the houses; the lamps they use are flat dishes filled with oil and salt, with a floating wick which keeps burning throughout the night. The festival is called the Festival of Lamps, and even the Egyptians who cannot attend it mark the night of the sacrifice by lighting lamps, so that on that night lamps are burning not only in Sais, but throughout the country. There is a sacred tradition which accounts both for the date and for the manner of these observances.

Source: *Herodotus: The Histories*. Translated by Aubrey de Selincourt, with revisions by R. Burn. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

15. A Job Description for Priests

The following inscribed text from a Ptolemaic temple provides information about expectations of priests (Ptolemaic Egypt lasted from 305–30 B.C.).

O you prophets, great pure priests, guardians of what is secret, pure priests of the god, all you who enter into the presence of the gods, ritual priests who are in the temple! Oh all of you, judges, administrators of the domain, intendants who are in your mouth . . . turn your face toward this domain in which His Majesty has placed you! When he sails across the sky, he looks below, and he is satisfied if his law is observed! Do not present yourselves in a state of sin! Do not enter in a state of filth! Do not tell lies in his house! Divert none of the provisions. Do not levy taxes injuring the little person in favor of the powerful! Do not add to the weight and the measure, but lessen them! Do not set to pillaging with the bushel . . . Do not reveal what you see in any secret matter of the sanctuary! Do not stretch out your hand over anything in his home, and do not go as far as to steal before the lord, bearing a sacrilegious thought in your heart! One lives on the provisions of the gods, but one calls “provision” that which leave the altar after the god has satisfied himself with it!

Source: Dunand, Françoise, and Christiane Zivie-Coche. *Gods and Men in Egypt: 3000 B.C.E. to 395 C.E.* Translated from the French by David Lorton. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004. Courtesy of Cornell University Press and Armand Colin. © Armand Colin, 2001.

16. Office of Prophet for Sale!

An Egyptian papyrus dated A.D. 146 contains the following account of a certain Pakebis and his attempt to buy a priestly office.

To Tiberius Claudius Justus, administrator of the private account, from Pakebis . . .
I wish to purchase the office of prophet in the aforesaid temple [of Soknebtunis, a crocodile god], which has been offered for sale for a long time, on the understanding that I shall . . . carry the palm branches and perform the other functions of the office of prophet, and receive in accordance with the orders the fifth part of all the revenue which falls to the temple, at the total price of 2200 drachmas . . . which sum I will pay if my appointment is ratified, into the local bank at the customary dates. And I and my descendants and successors shall have the permanent ownership and possession of this

office forever with all the same privileges and rights, on payment by each one of 200 drachmas for admission.

If therefore it seems good to you, my lord, you will ratify my appointment here in the city [Alexandria] upon these terms and write to the strategus of the nome about this matter, in order that the due services of the gods who love you may be performed. The 5th share of the proceeds of the revenues which falls to me, as aforesaid, after deducting expenses is 50 measures of wheat, nine and five-eighths of lentils, 60 drachmas of silver. Farewell.

Source: *Select Papyri: Non-Literary Papyri. Public Documents.* Volume II. Translated by A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

GREECE

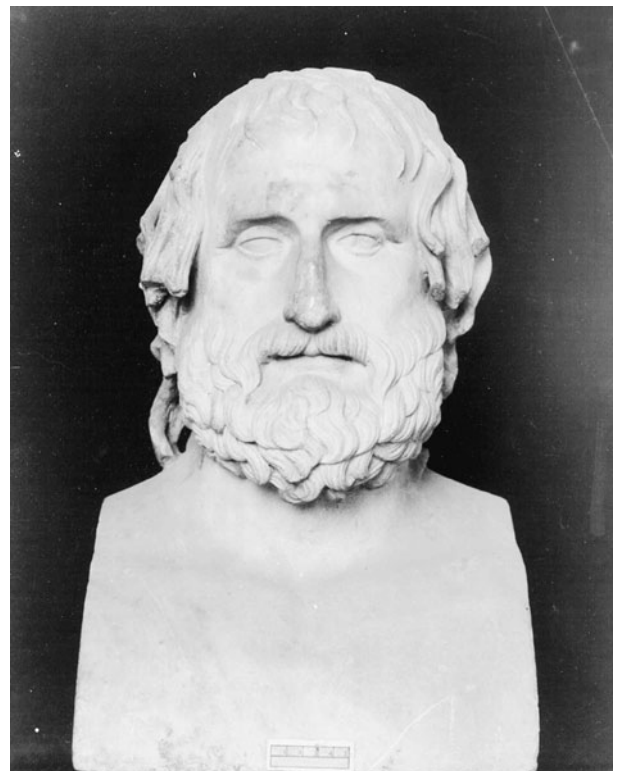
17. Some Priestly Advice for King Pentheus

One of the most famous soothsayers in Greek literature and mythology was the blind prophet Tiresias. In this excerpt from the play Bacchae by the Athenian playwright Euripides (c. 480–406 B.C.), the elderly Tiresias chides the Theban king Pentheus for refusing to pay homage to the god Dionysus.

When a clever man has a plausible theme to argue, to be eloquent is no great feat. But though you seem, by your glib tongue, to be intelligent, yet your words are foolish. Power and eloquence in a headstrong man can only lead to folly; and such a man is a danger to the state.

This new divinity [Dionysus] whom you ridicule—no words of mine could adequately express the ascendancy he is destined to achieve through the length and breadth of Greece. There are two powers, young man, which are supreme in human affairs: first, the goddess Demeter; she is the Earth—call her by what name you will—and she supplies mankind with solid food. Second, Dionysus, the son of Semele; the blessing he provides is the counterpart to the blessing of bread. He discovered and bestowed on humankind the service of drink, the juice that streams from the vine-clusters. People have but to take their fill of wine, and the sufferings of an unhappy race are banished, each day's troubles are forgotten in sleep. Indeed, this is our only cure for the weariness of life. Dionysus, himself a god, is poured out in offering to the gods, so that through him, mankind receives blessing.

Now, for the legend that he was sewn up in Zeus's thigh—do you mock it? Then I will explain to you the truth that lies in the legend. When Zeus snatched the infant Dionysus away



Euripides, ancient Greek dramatist. Library of Congress.

from the fire of the lightning, and brought him to Olympus as a god, Hera wanted to cast him out of heaven. So, to prevent her, Zeus, as you would expect, devised a plan. He broke off a piece of the sky that envelopes the earth, made it into the likeness of a child, and gave it to Hera as a pledge, to soothe her jealousy. He entrusted the true Dionysus to others to bring up...

And this god is a prophet. For the Bacchic [i.e., Dionysian] ecstasy and frenzy contain a strong element of prophecy. When Dionysus enters in power into a human body, he endows the possessed person with power to foretell the future. He also in some degree shares the function of Ares, god of war. It has happened that an army, equipped and stationed for battle, has fled in panic before a spear has been raised. This, too, is a madness sent by Dionysus...

Come, Pentheus, listen to me. You rely on force, but it is not force that governs human affairs. If you think otherwise, beware of mistaking your perverse opinion for wisdom. Welcome Dionysus to Thebes; pour libations to him, garland your head and celebrate his rites. Dionysus will not compel women to control their lusts. Self-control in all things depends on our own natures. This is a fact you should consider... And think of this too: when crowds stand at the city gates, and the people glorify the name of Pentheus, you are filled with pleasure. So, I think, Dionysus is glad to receive honor.

So then I, and Cadmus [grandfather of Pentheus], whom you mock, will wear the ivy wreath and join in the dancing. We are both old men, but this is our duty. And no words of yours will persuade me to fight against the gods. For your mind is most pitifully diseased, and there is no medicine that can heal you.

Source: Euripides: *The Bacchae and Other Plays*. Translated by Philip Vellacott. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

18. Shooting, or at Least Upbraiding, the Messenger

When prophets and soothsayers in ancient Greece bore bad news, the recipients of that news often reacted angrily. As related in this passage from Homer's Iliad, the soothsayer Calchas found this out during the darkest days of the Trojan War, when he reported to Agamemnon, king of the Greeks, that the plague sweeping through the Greek army was Agamemnon's fault.

Calchas rose among them,
Thestor's son, the clearest by far of all the seers
who scan the flight of birds. He knew all things that are,
all things that are past and all that are to come,
the seer who had led the Greek ships to Troy
with the second sight that god Apollo gave him.
For the armies' good, the seer began to speak:
"Achilles, dear to Zeus...
you order me to explain Apollo's anger,
the distant deadly archer? I will tell it all.
But strike a pact with me, swear you will defend me
with all your heart, with words and strength of hand.

For there is a man I will enrage—I see it now—
a powerful man who lords it over all the Greeks,
one the Greeks must obey. A mighty king,
raging against an inferior, is too strong.
Even if he can swallow down his anger today,
still he will nurse the burning in his chest
until, sooner or later, he sends it bursting forth.
Consider it closely, Achilles. Will you protect me?”
And the matchless runner reassured him: “Courage!
Out with it now, Calchas. Reveal the will of god,
whatever you may know. And I swear by Apollo
dear to Zeus, the power you pray to, Calchas,
when you reveal the god’s will to the Greeks, no one,
not while I am alive and see the light on earth, no one
will lay his heavy hands on you by the hollow ships.
None among all the armies. Not even if you mean
Agamemnon here, who now claims to be, by far,
the best of the Greeks.”
The seer took heart
and this time he spoke out, bravely: “Beware,
the god [Apollo] casts no blame for a vow we failed, a sacrifice.
The god’s enraged because Agamemnon spurned his priest,
he refused to free his daughter, he refused the ransom.
That’s why the Archer-god sends us pains and he will send us more
and never drive this shameful destruction from the Greeks,
not till we give back the girl with sparkling eyes
to her loving father—no price, no ransom paid—
and carry a sacred hundred bulls to Chryse’s town [the priest whom Agamemnon had
offended].
Then we can calm the god, and only then appease him.”
So he declared, and sat down. But among them rose
the fighting son of Atreus, lord of the far-flung kingdoms,
Agamemnon—furious, his dark heart filled to the brim,
blazing with anger now, his eyes like searing fire.
With a sudden, killing look, he wheeled on Calchas first:
“Seer of misery! Never a word that works to my advantage!
Always misery warms you heart, your prophecies.
Never a word of profit said or brought to pass.
Now, again, you predict god’s will for the armies,
spread the rumor around as fact, why the deadly Archer
multiplies our pains, because I, I refused
[to return the priest’s kidnapped daughter to him].”

Source: “The Rage of Achilles” by Homer, from THE ILIAD by Homer, translated by Robert Fagles, copyright
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ROME

19. A Job Description for Priests

*In this excerpt from his Attic Nights, the Latin writer Aulus Gellius (A.D. c. 125–c. 180)
describes the rituals and duties of the priest and priestess of Jupiter.*

Ceremonies in great number are imposed upon the priest of Jupiter and also many abstentions of which we read in the books written *On Public Priests* . . . Of these, the following are in general what I remember:

It is unlawful for the priest of Jupiter to ride upon a horse. It is also unlawful for him to see the classes arrayed outside the religious boundaries of the city, that is, the army in battle array. Hence the priest of Jupiter is rarely made consul, since wars were entrusted to the consuls. Also, it is always unlawful for the priest to take an oath, and likewise to wear a ring, unless it be perforated and without a gem. It is against the law for fire to be taken from the *flaminia*, that is, from the home of the flamen *Dialis* [priest of Jupiter], except for a sacred rite. If a person in chains enters his house, he must be freed, the bonds must be drawn up through a skylight in the ceiling to the roof and from there let down into the street. He has no knot in his head-dress, girdle, or any other part of his clothing. If anyone is being taken to be flogged, and falls at his feet as a suppliant, it is unlawful for the man to be flogged on that day. Only a free man may cut the hair of the priest. It is not customary for the priest to touch, or even name, a she-goat, raw flesh, ivy, and beans.

The priest of Jupiter must not pass under an arbor of vines. The feet of the couch on which he sleeps must be smeared with a thin coating of clay, and he must not sleep away from this bed for three nights in succession, and no other person must sleep in that bed. At the foot of his bed, there should be a box with sacrificial cakes. The cuttings of the nails and hair of the priest must be buried in the earth under a fruitful tree. Every day is a holy day for the priest. He must not be in the open air without his cap; that he may go without it in the house only recently has been decided by the pontiffs . . . and it is said that some other ceremonies have been remitted, and he has been excused from observing them.

The priest of Jupiter must not touch any bread fermented with yeast. He does not remove his inner tunic except under cover, in order that he may not be naked in the open air, as it were under the eye of Jupiter. No other person has a place at the table above the priest of Jupiter, except for the priest who presides over sacrifices. If the priest has lost his wife, he abdicates his office. The marriage of the priest cannot be dissolved except by death. He never enters a place of burial, he never touches a dead body, but he is not forbidden to attend a funeral.

The ceremonies of the priestess of Jupiter are about the same. They say that she observes other separate ones. For example, she wears a dyed robe, that she has a twig from a fruitful tree in her head-dress, that it is forbidden for her to go up more than three rounds of a ladder. Also, when she goes to a chapel, that she neither combs her head nor dresses her hair.

I have added the words of the praetor in his standing edict concerning the priest of Jupiter and the priestess of [the goddess] Vesta: "In the whole of my jurisdiction, I will not compel the priest of Jupiter or a priestess of Vesta to take an oath." The words of Marcus Varro about the priest of Jupiter . . . : "He alone has a white cap, either because he is the greatest of priests, or because a white victim should be sacrificed to Jupiter."

Source: *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Volume II. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

20. Religious Rules, Regulations, and Rituals

In this passage from his book entitled Laws, the first-century B.C. Roman orator Cicero provides information on various religious rituals.

They shall approach the gods in purity, bringing piety, and leaving riches behind. Whoever shall do otherwise, God Himself will deal out punishment to him.

No one shall have gods to himself, either new gods or alien gods, unless recognized by the state. Privately they shall worship those gods whose worship they have duly received from their ancestors.

In cities they shall have shrines; they shall have groves in the country and homes for the Lares [household gods].

They shall preserve the rites of their families and their ancestors.

They shall worship as gods both those who have always been regarded as dwellers in heaven, and also those whose merits have admitted them to heaven... They shall perform the established rites.

On holidays they shall refrain from lawsuits. Holidays they shall celebrate together with their slaves, after their tasks are done. Let holidays be so arranged as to fall at regularly recurring breaks in the year. The priest shall offer on behalf of the State the prescribed grains and the prescribed fruits. This shall be done according to prescribed rites and on prescribed days... And so that no violation of these customs shall take place, the priests shall determine the mode and the annual circuit of such offerings. And they shall prescribe the victims which are proper and pleasing to each of the gods.

The several gods shall have their several priests, the gods all together their pontiffs, and the individual gods their priests. The Vestal Virgins shall guard the eternal fire on the public hearth of the city.

Those who are ignorant as to the methods and rites suitable to these public and private sacrifices shall seek instruction from the public priests. Of them, there shall be three kinds: one to have charge of ceremonies and sacred rites; another to interpret those obscure sayings of soothsayers and prophets which shall be recognized by the senate and the people; and the interpreters of Jupiter the Best and the Greatest, namely the public augurs, shall foretell the future from portents and auspices, and maintain their art. And the priests shall observe the omens in regard to vineyards and orchards and the safety of the people; those who carry on war or affairs of state shall be informed by them beforehand of the auspices, and shall obey them. The priests shall foresee the wrath of the gods and yield to it. They shall observe flashes of lightning in fixed regions of the sky, and shall keep free and unobstructed the city and fields and their places of observation. Whatever an augur shall declare to be unjust, unholy, pernicious, or ill-omened, shall be null and void. And whosoever does not obey shall be put to death.

The fetial priests [priests involved with solemnizing treaties, truces, and other international matters; see the following selection for a description of their rituals] shall be judges and messengers for treaties, peace and war, truces, and embassies. They shall make the decisions in regard to war.

Prodigies and portents shall be referred to the Etruscan soothsayers, if the senate so decree... They shall make expiatory offerings to whatever gods they decide upon,

and shall perform expiations for flashes of lightning and for whatever shall be struck by lightning...

Sacrilege which cannot be expiated shall be held to be impiously committed. That which can be expiated shall be atoned for by the public priests.

At the public games which are held without chariot races or athletic contests, the public pleasure shall be provided for with moderation by song to the music of harp and flute, and this shall be combined with honor to the gods...

Whoever steals or carries off what is sacred or anything entrusted to what is sacred shall be considered as equal in guilt to a parricide.

For the perjurer, the punishment from the gods is destruction. The human punishment shall be disgrace.

The pontiffs shall inflict capital punishment on those guilty of incest.

No wicked man shall dare to appease the wrath of the gods with gifts.

Vows shall be scrupulously performed. There shall be a penalty for the violation of the law.

No one shall consecrate a field. The consecration of gold, silver, and ivory shall be confined to reasonable limits.

The sacred rites of families shall remain forever.

The rights of the gods of the lower world shall be sacred. Kinsfolk who are dead shall be considered gods. The expenditure and mourning for them shall be limited.

Source: Cicero: *De Re Publica*; *De Legibus*. Translated by Clinton Walker Keyes. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1928.

21. Religious Rituals in Case of an Earthquake

The causes of earthquakes were not well known in the ancient world, but just in case some god happened to be responsible, the Romans believed that religious expiation was in order, as the Latin author Aulus Gellius (A.D. c. 125–c. 180) explains in this passage from his Attic Nights (see also Document 19, above).

What is to be regarded as the cause of earthquakes is not only not obvious to the ordinary understanding and thought of mankind, but it is not agreed upon even among the natural philosophers whether they are due to the mighty winds that gather in the caverns and hollow places of the earth, or to the ebb and flow of subterranean waters in its hollows, as seems to have been the view of the earliest Greeks, who called Neptune “the Earth Shaker,” or whether they are due to the divine power of some other god—all this, I say, is not yet a matter of certain knowledge. For that reason, the Romans of long ago, who were not only exceedingly scrupulous and careful in discharging all the other obligations of life, but also in fulfilling religious duties and venerating the immortal gods, whenever they felt an earthquake or received report of one, decreed a holy day on that account, but refused to declare and specify in the decree, as is commonly done, the name of the god in whose honor the holy day was to be observed, for fear that by naming one god instead of another, they might involve the people in a false observance. If anyone had desecrated that festival, and expiation was therefore necessary, they used

to offer a victim “to either the god or goddess” ...and this usage was established by a decree of the pontiffs, since it was uncertain what force, and which of the gods or goddesses, had caused the earthquake.

Source: *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Volume I. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

22. Marcus Valerius and the Solemnizing of a Treaty

The fetial priests, who solemnized treaties, followed prescribed formulaic rituals in the execution of their duties. In this excerpt from his writings, the Roman historian Livy (59 B.C.–A.D. 17) describes a seventh-century B.C. consummation of a treaty between the Romans and the nearby Albans, which was presided over by the fetial priests.

The fetial was Marcus Valerius. He appointed Spurius Fusius to be *pater patratus* [spokesman for the fetials], touching his head and hair with the sacred sprig. The *pater patratus* is appointed to pronounce the oath, that is, to solemnize the pact. And this he accomplishes with many words, expressed in a long metrical formula which it is not worthwhile to quote. The conditions then being recited, he cries: “Hear, Jupiter, hear *pater patratus* of the Alban people; hear ye, People of Alba. From these terms, as they have been publicly rehearsed from beginning to end, without fraud, from these tablets, or this wax, and as they have been this day clearly understood, the Roman People will not be the first to depart. If it shall first depart from them, by general consent, with malice aforethought, then on that day do thou, great Jupiter, so smite the Roman People as I shall here today smite this pig. And so much the harder smite them as your power and your strength are greater.” When Spurius had said these words, he struck the pig with a flint. In like manner, the Albans pronounced their own forms and their own oath, by the mouth of their own dictator and priests.

Source: *Livy*. Volume I. Translated by B. O. Foster. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1919.

23. Skepticism of Soothsayers

Although the Roman orator Cicero (106–43 B.C.) apparently had a healthy respect for the gods and for priests, he seemed a bit more skeptical about soothsayers, as reflected in the following dialogue from his treatise On Divination.

But indeed, that was quite a clever remark which Cato made many years ago: “I wonder,” said he, “that a soothsayer doesn’t laugh when he sees another soothsayer.” How many things predicted by them really come true? If any do come true, then what reason can be advanced why the agreement of the event with the prophecy was not due to chance? While Hannibal was in exile at the court of King Prusias, he advised the king to go to war, but the king replied, “I do not dare, because the entrails forbid it.” “And do you,” said Hannibal, “put more faith in pieces of ox meat than you do in a veteran commander?”

Again, when Julius Caesar himself was warned by a most eminent soothsayer not to cross over to Africa before the winter solstice, did he cross? If he had not done so, all the forces opposed to him would have joined together. Why need I give instances—and, in fact, I could give countless ones—where the prophecies of soothsayers either were without result or the issue was directly the reverse of the prophecy? How many times they were mistaken in the recent civil war! [49–45 B.C.] What oracular messages the soothsayers sent from Rome to our Pompeian party then in Greece! What assurances they gave to [the commander] Pompey! For he placed great reliance in divination by means of entrails and portents. I have no wish to call these instances to mind, and indeed it is unnecessary—especially to you, since you had personal knowledge of them. Still, you are aware that the result was nearly always contrary to the prophecy.

Source: *Cicero: De Senectute; De Amicitia; De Divinatione*. Translated by William Armistead Falconer. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1923.

24. Selecting Vestal Virgins

As described in this passage from the Attic Nights of Latin writer Aulus Gellius (A.D. c. 125–c. 180), the priestesses of the goddess Vesta, the Vestal Virgins, underwent a rigorous selection process (see also Documents 19 and 21).

Those who have written about taking a Vestal Virgin... have stated that it is unlawful for a girl to be chosen who is less than six, or more than ten, years old. She must also have both father and mother living. She must be free, too, from any impediment in her speech, must not have impaired hearing, or be marked by any other bodily defect. She must not herself have been freed from paternal control, nor her father before her, even if her father is still living and she is under the control of her grandfather. Neither one nor both of her parents may have been slaves or engaged in mean occupations. But they say that one whose sister has been chosen to that priesthood acquires exemption, as well as one whose father is a priest or an augur... The daughter of a man without residence in Italy must not be chosen, and that the daughter of one who has three children must be excused.

Now, as soon as the Vestal Virgin is chosen, escorted to the house of Vesta and delivered to the pontiffs, she immediately passes from the control of her father without the ceremony of emancipation or loss of civil rights, and acquires the right to make a will.

But as to the method and ritual for choosing a Vestal, there are, it is true, no ancient written records, except that the first to be appointed was chosen by [Rome's second king], Numa...

Now, many think that the term “taken” ought to be used only of a Vestal. But, as a matter of fact, the priests of Jupiter also, as well as the augurs, were said to be “taken”... The Vestal is called “Amata” when taken by the chief pontiff, because there is a tradition that the first one who was chosen bore that name.

Source: *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Volume I. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

Death and the Afterlife

Thoughts about death, and reactions to it, could vary from the pompous last will and testament of a rich man like *Trimalchio* (Document 38), to the simple but poignant sentiments carved on the tombstones of everyday people (Document 39). Not surprisingly, funeral rites and customs also varied from place to place. Kings and notable citizens often received lavish funerals (Documents 30, 34, and 37). Thirty days of mourning were decreed by the Israelites when Moses died (Document 25). In Egypt, ornate tombs were constructed for kings and pharaohs (Document 31). In Greece, some attempts were made to regulate wills and funerals through the use of legislation (Document 35).

Suicide is always a tragic way to bring an end to life, whether done privately (Document 28), or in the form of a mass suicide (Document 26). Imaginary travels through the afterlife were a staple of ancient literature (Documents 32 and 33).

An interesting story is told of the Greek actor Polus, whose acting skills were known far and wide. He was scheduled to act in a play in which he had to carry an urn containing the ashes of the deceased *Orestes*, and put on convincing expression of grief. It so happened that Polus's own son had recently died, so when it came time for him to act his part in the play, he substituted the urn containing the ashes of his son, "and filled the whole place, not with the appearance and imitation of sorrow, but with genuine grief and unfeigned lamentation" (Document 36).

ISRAEL

25. *The Death of Moses*

In this passage from his Jewish Antiquities, the first-century A.D. Jewish historian Josephus recounts the final days of Moses.

On advancing to the place where he was destined to disappear, they all followed him, bathed in tears. Thereupon Moses, by a signal of his hand, ordered those in the distance to remain still, while by word of mouth he exhorted those nearer to him not to make his passing a tearful one by following him. And they, deciding to honor his wishes in this matter, that is, to leave him to depart according to his own desire, held back, weeping with one another. Only the elders escorted him, with Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua the general. But when he arrived on the mountain called Abaris—a lofty eminence situated above Jericho and affording to those on its summit a wide view beneath of the best of the land of the Canaanites—he dismissed the elders. And as he was bidding farewell to Eleazar and Joshua and talking with them, a cloud suddenly descended upon him and he disappeared in a ravine...

He lived in all 120 years...having surpassed in understanding all people that ever lived and put to noblest use the results of his reflections. In speech and in addresses to a crowd, he found favor in every way, but chiefly through his thorough command of his emotions...As general he had few to equal him, and as prophet none, insomuch that in all his utterances, one seemed to hear the voice and word of God Himself. So the people mourned for him for 30 days, and never were Hebrews oppressed by grief so

profound as that which filled them then on the death of Moses. Nor was he missed only by those who had known him personally, but the readers of his laws have sadly felt his loss, deducing from these the superlative quality of his virtue.

Such, then, be our description of the end of Moses.

Source: *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities*. Volume IV. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1930.

26. A Rebellion's Tragic Conclusion

In the early A.D. 70s, a small band of Jewish rebels held out against the Roman army for several years in a mountain-top fortress called Masada. The contemporary Jewish historian Josephus, writing only a few years after the end of the Jewish rebellion against Rome, recounts the terrifying outcome of this action in the following passage from his Jewish War.

Masada stood on a high rock, which was surrounded by deep ravines. It could be reached by only two narrow and difficult paths... The fortress was well-stocked with provisions—enough grain, wine, oil, legumes, and dates to last for years—and enough arms for 10,000 men, along with unwrought iron, brass, and lead...

[The Roman commander Flavius Silva] brought up a battering ram, which hammered against the wall until it made a breach. But in the meantime, the *sicarii* ["dagger-men"] had erected another wall inside built of wood and earth which, being soft, cushioned the blows of the ram and even became firmer from the blows. Silva then ordered his soldiers to throw burning torches on it, and the wood soon caught fire. But before long, a north wind blew the flames in the faces of the Romans, and they were afraid that their siege engines would be burned. Yet suddenly the wind shifted and blew fiercely from the south, driving the flames against the wall and setting it ablaze from top to bottom. The Romans returned rejoicing to their camp, intending to attack the enemy on the following day. During the night, they kept a tighter watch, to prevent any of besieged to escape.

Eleazar [the Jewish leader], however, did not intend to flee, nor would he allow anyone else to do so. When he saw the wall in flames, he thought it would be nobler for all to die than fall into Roman hands, and so he assembled his bravest comrades. "Long ago, we decided to serve neither Roman nor anyone else except God," he said, "and now the time has come to verify that resolution by action. We, who were the first to revolt and are the last in arms against the Romans, must not disgrace ourselves by letting our wives die dishonored and our children enslaved. We still have the free choice of a noble death with those we hold dear. When they are gone, let us render a generous service to each other. But first we must destroy our property and the fortress by fire, sparing only our provisions, so that the Romans will know it was not hunger that subdued us, but that we preferred death to slavery."

Some of his hearers were eager to respond, but others could not bear the thought of putting their wives and children to death, and tears stole down their cheeks. Seeing them wavering, Eleazar addressed them again, asserting that "life, not death, is man's misfortune, for death liberates the soul from its imprisonment in a mortal body. Why,

then, should we fear death, we who welcome the calm of sleep?" Indian philosophers happily greeted the purifying flames, he added, and then told of the tortures they could expect from the Romans, who would also violate their wives. "Let us die as free men with our wives and children," he concluded, "and deny the Romans their joy of victory! Let us rather strike them with amazement at our brave death!"

While Eleazar was still speaking, he was cut short by his hearers, who were filled with zeal to comply. They rushed away like possessed men, and began the bloody work. While they embraced their wives and took their children in their arms, clinging in tears to their parting kisses, they killed them.

When all were put to death, they gathered together their effects and set fire to them. Then they chose by lot ten of their number to kill the rest. They lay down beside their dead wives and children and, flinging their arms around them, offered their throats to those who slaughtered them all. The ten then cast lots, and he on whom it fell killed the other nine. He then looked about to see that all were dead, set fire to the place, and finally drove his sword through his body, falling beside his family. Two women and five children, however, escaped by hiding in an underground aqueduct during the massacre. The victims numbered 960, and the tragedy occurred [on May 2, A.D. 73].

Early the next morning, the Romans advanced to the wall over gangways, expecting fierce resistance. But no enemy appeared, and an awful silence hung over the place. They finally shouted in their perplexity, to arouse anyone. Hearing the noise, the two women who had saved themselves came out of hiding and informed the Romans of what had happened, one of the two lucidly reporting Eleazar's speech. At first they could hardly believe the story until, putting out the flames, they cut their way into the place and there found the mass of bodies. Instead of rejoicing over their enemies, the Romans admired the nobility of their determination.

The general left a garrison at Masada and departed with his army for Caesarea. Not an enemy remained in the country, all of it now subdued by this protracted war.

Source: *Josephus: The Essential Writings. A Condensation of Jewish Antiquities and The Jewish War.* Translated and edited by Paul L. Maier. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1988.

CHINA

27. Heaven, According to Master Mo

The philosopher Mozi, or Master Mo (c. 470–c. 390 B.C.), provides in the following excerpt from his writings a description of Heaven.

Now what does Heaven desire, and what does it hate? Heaven desires rightness, and hates what is not right. Thus if I lead the people of the world to devote themselves to rightness, then I am doing what Heaven desires. If I do what Heaven desires, then Heaven will do what I desire. Now what do I desire, and what do I hate? I desire good fortune and prosperity, and I hate misfortune and calamity. If I do not do what Heaven desires and instead do what Heaven does not desire, then I will be leading the people of the world to devote themselves to what will bring misfortune and calamity.

How do I know that Heaven desires rightness and hates what is not right? In the world, where there is rightness, there is life; where there is no rightness, there is death. Where there is rightness, there is wealth; where there is no rightness, there is poverty. Where there is rightness, there is order; where there is no rightness, there is disorder. Now Heaven desires life and hates death, desires wealth and hates poverty, desires order and hates disorder. So I know that Heaven desires rightness and hates what is not right...

How do we know that Heaven loves the people of the world? Because it enlightens them universally. How do we know that it enlightens them universally? Because it possesses them universally. How do we know that it possesses them universally? Because it accepts sacrifices from them universally. Because within the four seas, among all the people who live on grain [i.e., the Chinese people], there are none who do not feed their sacrificial oxen and sheep, fatten their dogs and pigs, prepare clean offerings of millet and wine, and sacrifice to the Lord-on-High and the spirits. Since Heaven possesses all the cities and people, how could it fail to love them?

Moreover, I say that he who kills one innocent person will invariably suffer one misfortune. Who is it that kills the innocent person? It is man. And who is it that sends down the misfortune? It is Heaven. If Heaven did not love the people of the world, then why would it send down misfortune simply because one man kills another? Thus I know that Heaven loves the people of the world.

Source: From *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. Volume I. Second edition. Compiled by William Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom. Copyright © 1999 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

INDIA

28. A Monk Commits Suicide

Suicide by monks was generally frowned upon by the authors of Jain literature in ancient India, but exceptions occurred, as the following excerpt from the Acaranga Sutra suggests.

If a monk feels sick, and is unable duly to mortify the flesh, he should regularly diminish his food. Mindful of his body, immovable as a beam, the monk should strive to waste his body away. He should enter a village or town...and beg for straw. Then he should take it and go to an out-of-the-way place. He should carefully inspect and sweep the ground, so that there are no eggs, living beings, sprouts, dew, water, ants, mildew, drops of water, mud, or cobwebs left on it. Thereupon he carries out the final fast...Speaking the truth, the saint who has crossed the stream of transmigration, doing away with all hesitation, knowing all things but himself unknown, leaves his frail body. Overcoming manifold hardships and troubles, with trust in his religion, he performs this terrible penance. Thus in due time he puts an end to his existence. This is done by those who have no delusions. This is good; this is joyful and proper. This leads to salvation. This should be followed.

Source: From *Sources of Indian Tradition*. Volume I. Edited by William Theodore de Bary. Copyright © 1958 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

EGYPT

29. *Defending His Life*

In one of the most famous sections of the Egyptian Book of the Dead, the deceased defends his life in front of a tribunal of no fewer than 42 gods.

Hail to you, great god, Lord of the Two Truths! I have come before you, my lord, just so that you might bring me so that I might see your beauty. I know you and I know your name and the names of the 42 gods who are with you in this Hall of the Two Truths, who live on those who preserve evil, who swallow their blood on that day of the reckoning of characters in the presence of Wennefer [an epithet of the god Osiris]... Behold, I have come before you bringing to you Truth, having repelled for you falsehood.

I have not committed wrongdoing against anyone.
 I have not mistreated cattle.
 I have not done injustice in the place of Truth.
 I do not know that which should not be.
 I have not done evil.
 I have not daily made labors in excess of what should be done for me.
 My name has not reached the bark of the Governor [the god Re].
 I have not debased a god.
 I have not deprived an orphan.
 I have not done that which the gods abominate.
 I have not slandered a servant to his superior.
 I have not caused pain.
 I have not caused weeping.
 I have not killed.
 I have not commanded to kill.
 I have not made suffering for anyone.
 I have not diminished the offering loaves in the temples.
 I have not damaged the offering cakes of the gods.
 I have not stolen the cakes of the blessed dead.
 I have not copulated.
 I have not been lascivious.
 I have not added to nor have I subtracted from the offering measure...
 I have not encroached upon fields.
 I have not added to the weight of the balance.
 I have not tampered with the plummet of the scales.
 I have not taken milk from the mouths of children.
 I have not deprived the flocks of their pasturage.
 I have not snared birds of the branches of the gods.
 I have not trapped fish in their marshes.
 I have not diverted water in its season.
 I have not erected a dam against flowing water.
 I have not extinguished a fire at its critical moment.
 I have not neglected the days concerning their meat offerings.
 I have not driven away the cattle of a god's property.
 I have not stopped a god in his procession.
 I am pure, I am pure, I am pure, I am pure!

My purity is the purity of that great phoenix that is in Heracleopolis, because I am indeed that nose of the Lord of breath, who vivifies all the subjects on that day of filling the Eye of Horus in Heliopolis in the second month of winter, last day, in the presence of the Lord of this land. I am one who has seen the filling of the Eye of Horus in Heliopolis. Evil shall not happen against me in this land or in this Hall of the Two Truths because I know the names of the gods who are in it, the followers of the great god.

Source: *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*. Edited by William Kelly Simpson. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003. Copyright © 2003 by Yale University Press. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

30. A King Is Laid to Rest

Below are two excerpts from the writings of the first-century B.C. Greek historian Diodorus Siculus. The first gives an account of the mourning customs and funeral rites accorded a deceased Egyptian king, and the second provides an example of two kings who were not revered after their deaths.

The Egyptian ceremonies which followed upon the death of a king afforded no small proof of the good will of the people towards their rulers. The fact is that the honor which they paid was to one who was insensible of it, and this constituted an authentic testimony to its sincerity. For when any king died, all the inhabitants of Egypt united in mourning for him, tearing their clothing, closing the temples, stopping the sacrifices, and celebrating no festivals for 72 days, and plastering their heads with mud and wrapping strips of linen cloth below their breasts. Women as well as men went about in groups of two or three hundred, and twice each day, reciting the dirge in a rhythmic chant. They sang the praises of the deceased, recalling his virtues, nor would they eat the flesh of any living thing, or food prepared from wheat, and they abstained from wine and luxury of any sort. And no one would ever have seen fit to make use of baths or unguents or soft bedding; they would not even have dared to indulge in sexual pleasures, but every Egyptian grieved and mourned during those 72 days as if it were his own beloved child that had died.

But during this interval, they made splendid preparations for the burial, and on the last day, placing the coffin containing the body before the entrance to the tomb, they set up, as custom prescribed, a tribunal to sit in judgment upon the deeds done by the deceased during his life. And when permission had been given to anyone who so wished to lay a complaint against him, the priests praised all his noble deeds one after another, and the common people, who had gathered in myriads to the funeral, listening to them, shouted their approval if the king had led a worthy life, but if he had not, they raised a clamor of protest. And in fact many kings have been deprived of the public burial customarily accorded them because of the opposition of the people. The result was, consequently, that the successive kings practiced justice, not merely for the reasons just mentioned, but also because of their fear of the spite which would be shown their body after death, and of eternal harsh criticism...

The following selection gives an example of people's displeasure with two deceased kings:

Upon the death of this king [Chemmis], his brother Cephren succeeded to the throne, and ruled 56 years. But some say that it was not the brother of Chemmis, but his son, named Chabryes, who took the throne. All writers, however, agree that it was the next ruler who, emulating the example of his predecessor, built the second pyramid, which was the equal of the [first] in the skill displayed in its execution, but far behind it in size . . . And an inscription on the larger pyramid gives the sum of money expended on it . . . The smaller has no inscription, but has steps cut into one side. And although the two kings built the pyramids to serve as their tombs, neither of them was buried in them, for the people, because of the hardships which they had endured in the building of them and the many cruel and violent acts of these kings, were filled with anger against those who had caused their sufferings and openly threatened to tear their bodies apart and throw them out of the tombs. Consequently, each ruler, when dying, requested his kinsmen to bury his body secretly in an unmarked place.

Source: *Diodorus of Sicily*. Volume I. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1933.

31. *Building a Pyramid*

The fifth-century B.C. Greek historian Herodotus provides below an account of the construction of one of the famous Egyptian pyramids.

Up to the time of Rhampsinitus, Egypt was excellently governed and very prosperous. But his successor Cheops, to continue the account which the priests gave me, wrought the country into all sorts of misery. He closed all the temples, then, not content with excluding his subjects from the practice of their religion, compelled them without exception to labor as slaves for his own advantage. Some were forced to drag blocks of stone from the quarries in the Arabian hills to the Nile, where they were ferried across and taken over by others, who hauled them to the Libyan hills. The work went on in three-monthly shifts, a hundred thousand men in a shift. It took ten years of this oppressive slave labor to build the track along which the blocks were hauled—a work, in my opinion, of hardly less magnitude than the pyramid itself, for it is five furlongs in length, 60 feet wide, 48 feet high at its highest point, and constructed of polished stone blocks decorated with carvings of animals. To build it took, as I said, ten years—including the underground sepulchral chambers on the hill where the pyramids stand. A cut was made from the Nile, so that the water from it turned the site of these into an island.

To build the pyramid itself took 20 years. It is square at the base, its height, 800 feet, equal to the length of each side. It is of polished stone blocks beautifully fitted, none of the blocks being less than 30 feet long. The method employed was to build it in steps, or, as some call them, tiers or terraces. When the base was complete, the blocks for the first tier above it were lifted from ground level by contrivances made of short timbers. On this first tier there was another, which raised the blocks a stage higher, then yet another which raised them higher still. Each tier, or story, had its set of levers, or it may

be that they used the same one, which, being easy to carry, they shifted up from stage to stage as soon as its load was dropped into place. Both methods are mentioned, so I give them both here.

The finishing off of the pyramid was begun at the top and continued downwards, ending with the lowest parts nearest the ground. An inscription is cut upon it in Egyptian characters recording the amount spent on radishes, onions, and leeks for the laborers, and I remember distinctly that the interpreter who read me the inscription said the sum was 1,600 talents of silver. If this is true, how much must have been spent in addition on bread and clothing for the laborers during all those years the building was going on, not to mention the time it took (not a little, I should think) to quarry and haul the stone, and to construct the underground chamber?

Source: *Herodotus: The Histories*. Translated by Aubrey de Selincourt, with revisions by A. R. Burn. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

32. Setne's Travels Through the Afterlife

This excerpt from a first-century A.D. papyrus provides information on the Egyptian view of the afterlife as seen through the eyes of a recently deceased individual named Setne.

[They entered the fourth hall, and Setne saw] people who were [plaiting ropes, while donkeys were chewing them up]. There were others whose provisions of water and bread were hung above them, and while they scrambled to bring them down, other people were digging pits at their feet, to prevent them from getting at them.

They entered the fifth hall, and Setne saw the noble spirits standing in their ranks. But those who were accused of crimes were standing at the door pleading, and the pivot of the door of the fifth hall was fixed in the right eye of a man who was pleading and lamenting loudly.

... They entered the seventh hall, and Setne saw the mysterious form of Osiris, the great god, seated on his throne of fine gold... Anubis, the great god, was on his left, the great god Thoth was on his right, and the gods of the tribunal of the inhabitants of the netherworld stood on his left and right. The balance stood in the center before them, and they weighed the good deeds against the misdeeds, Thoth, the great god, writing, while Anubis gave the information to his colleague.

Source: Dunand, Françoise, and Christiane Zivie-Coche. *Gods and Men in Egypt: 3000 B.C.E. to 395 C.E.* Translated from the French by David Lorton. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004.

GREECE

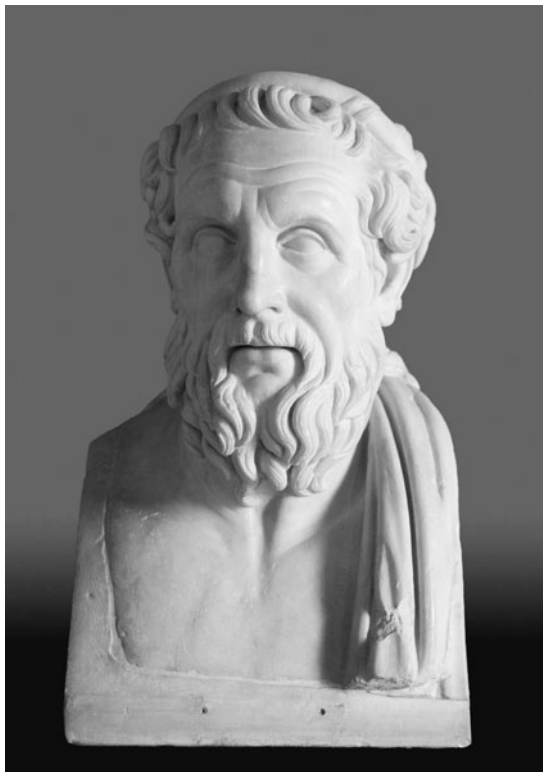
33. Odysseus's Travels Through the Afterlife

In Book XI of Homer's Odyssey, Odysseus makes a fearsome voyage to the Underworld, where he encounters the spirits of relatives and friends. The following is excerpted from the account of his meeting with his deceased mother.

...I answered her:

'Mother, I came here, driven to the land of death
in want of prophecy from Teirêsius' shade;
nor have I yet coasted Akhaia's hills
nor touched my own land, but have had hard roving
since first I joined Lord Agamémnon's host
by sea for Ilion, the wild horse country,
to fight the men of Troy.
But come now, tell me this, and tell me clearly,
what was the bane that pinned you down in Death?
some ravaging long illness, or mild arrows
a-flying down one day from Artemis?
Tell me of Father, tell me of the son
I left behind me; have they still my place,
my honors, or have other men assumed them?
do they not say that I shall come no more?
And tell me of my wife: how runs her thought,
still with her child, still keeping our domains,
or bride again to the best of the Akhaians?'
To this my noble mother quickly answered:
'Still with her child indeed she is, poor heart,
still in your palace hall. Forlorn her nights
And days go by, her life used up in weeping.
But no man takes your honored place. Telémakhos
has care of all your garden plots and fields,
and holds the public honor of a magistrate,
feasting and being feasted. But your father
is country bound and comes to town no more.
he owns no bedding, rugs, or fleecy mantles,
but lies down, winter nights, among the slaves,
rolled in old cloaks for cover, near the embers.
or when the heat comes at the end of summer,
the fallen leaves, all round his vineyard plot,
heaped into windrows, make his lowly bed.
He lies now even so, with aching heart,
and longs for your return, while age comes on him.
so I, too, pined away, so doom befell me,
not that the keen-eyed huntress with her shafts
had marked me down and shot to kill me; not
that illness overtook me—no true illness
wasting the body to undo the spirit;
only my loneliness for you, Odysseus,
for your kind heart and counsel, gentle Odysseus,
took my own life away.'

I bit my lip,
rising perplexed, with longing to embrace her,
and tried three times, putting my arms around her,
but she went sifting through my hands, impalpable
as shadows are, and wavering like a dream.
Now this embittered all the pain I bore,
and I cried in the darkness:



A Roman copy of an early third century B.C. Hellenistic portrait of Homer. Vanni/Art Resource, NY.

‘O my mother,
will you not stay, be still, here in my arms,
may we not, in this place of Death, as well,
hold one another, touch with love, and taste
salt tears relief, the twinge of welling tears?
Or is this all hallucination, sent
against me by the iron queen, Perséphonê,
to make me groan again?’

My noble mother
answered quickly:

‘O my child—alas,
most sorely tried of men—great Zeus’s daughter,
Perséphonê, knits no illusion for you.
all mortals meet this judgment when they die.
No flesh and bone are here, none bound by sinew,
since the bright-hearted pyre consumed them down—
the white bones long exanimate—to ash;
dreamlike the soul flies, insubstantial.
You must crave sunlight soon.

Note all things strange
seen here, to tell your lady in after days.’
So went our talk; then other shadows came...

Source: Excerpts from THE ODYSSEY by Homer, translated by Robert Fitzgerald.
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Benedict R. C. Fitzgerald, on behalf of the Fitzgerald children. Reprinted by
permission of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, LLC.

34. A Spartan King’s Obsequies

According to this passage from The Histories of the fifth-century B.C. historian Herodotus (see also Document 31, above), the death of a Spartan king was marked by elaborate ceremonies and rituals.

Special ceremonies are observed upon a king’s death. News of the death is carried by riders all over the country, and women go the rounds of the capital beating cauldrons. This is the signal for two people, one man and one woman, from every citizen’s household, to put on mourning—which they are compelled to do under penalty of a heavy fine. One custom is observed on the occasion of a king’s death, which is the same in Sparta as in Asia: this is, that when a death occurs, not only Spartans, but a certain number of the country people from all over Laconia [the district where Sparta was located] are forced to attend the funeral. A huge crowd assembles, consisting of many thousands of people—Spartan citizens, country people, and serfs—and men and women together strike their foreheads with every sign of grief, wailing as if they could never stop and continually declaring that the king who has just died was the best they ever had.

If a king is killed in war, they make a statue of him, and carry it to burial on a richly-draped bier. After a king's funeral, there are no public meetings or elections for ten days, all of which are spent in mourning. When a new king comes to the throne on the death of his predecessor, he follows a custom which applies in Persia on similar occasions: he remits, that is, all debts owed by Spartan citizens either to the king or to the treasury.

Source: *Herodotus: The Histories*. Translated by Aubrey de Selincourt, with revisions by A. R. Burn. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

35. Solon's Laws on Funerals and Wills

Several of the reforms of the great sixth-century B.C. Athenian lawgiver Solon pertained to funerals and wills, as related in the following excerpt from the writings of the Greek biographer and essayist Plutarch (A.D. c. 45–120).

Praise is given to that law of Solon [594 B.C.] which forbids speaking ill of the dead. For it is piety to regard the deceased as sacred, justice to spare the absent, and good policy to rob hatred of its perpetuity . . . He was highly esteemed also for his law concerning wills. Before his time, no will could be made, but the entire estate of the deceased must remain in his family. Whereas he, by permitting a man who had no children to give his property to whom he wished, ranked friendship above kinship, and favor above necessity, and made a man's possessions his own property. On the other hand, he did not permit all manner of gifts without restriction or restraint, but only those which were not made under the influence of sickness, or drugs, or imprisonment, or when a man was the victim of compulsion or yielded to the persuasions of his wife . . .

He forbade laceration of the flesh by mourners, and the use of set lamentations, and the bewailing of anyone at the funeral ceremonies of another. The sacrifice of an ox at the grave was not permitted, nor the burial with the dead of more than three changes of clothing, nor the visiting of other tombs than those of their own family, except at the time of internment.

Source: *Plutarch's Lives*. Volume I. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1914.

36. True Grief

In this passage from his Attic Nights (see also Documents 19, 21, and 24, above), Aulus Gellius (A.D. c. 125–c. 180) relates the story of the Greek actor Polus, and how he was able to demonstrate true grief on the stage.

There was in the land of Greece an actor of wide reputation who excelled all others in his clear delivery and graceful action. They say that his name was Polus, and he often acted the tragedies of famous poets with intelligence and dignity. This Polus lost by death a son whom he dearly loved. After he felt that he had indulged his grief sufficiently, he returned to the practice of his profession.



Josephus, an invaluable source of eyewitness testimony to the development of Western civilization as well as Christianity in the first century. © (2008) Jupiterimages Corporation.

At that time, he was to act in the *Electra* of Sophocles at Athens, and it was his part to carry an urn which was supposed to contain the ashes of Orestes. The plot of the play requires that Electra, who is represented as carrying her brother's remains, should lament and bewail the fate that she believed had overtaken him. Accordingly, Polus, clad in the mourning garb of Electra, took from the tomb the ashes and urn of his son, embraced them as if they were those of Orestes, and filled the whole place, not with the appearance and imitation of sorrow, but with genuine grief and unfeigned lamentation. Therefore, while it seemed that a play was being acted, it was in fact real grief that was enacted.

Source: *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Volume II. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

ROME

37. Funeral Rites for Notable Citizens

In the following selection, the second-century B.C. Greek historian Polybius describes the funeral rites accorded to notable individuals.

Whenever any illustrious man dies, he is carried at his funeral into the forum to the speaker's platform, sometimes conspicuous in an upright posture and more rarely reclined. Here with all the people standing around, an adult son, if he has one left who happens to be present, or if not, some other relative, mounts the platform and speaks about the virtues and successful achievements of the deceased. As a consequence the multitude and not only those who had a part in these achievements, but also those who had none, when the facts are recalled to their minds and brought before their eyes, are moved to such sympathy that the loss seems to be not confined to the mourners, but a public one affecting the whole people.

Next after the interment and the performance of the usual ceremonies, they place the image of the departed in the most conspicuous position in the house, enclosed in a wooden shrine. This image is a mask reproducing with remarkable accuracy both the features and the complexion of the deceased. On the occasion of public sacrifices, they display these images, and decorate them with much care, and when any distinguished member of the family dies, they take them to the funeral, putting them on men who seem to them to bear the closest resemblance to the original in stature and carriage. These representatives wear togas, with a purple border if the deceased was a consul or praetor, whole purple if he was a censor, and embroidered with gold if he had celebrated a [military] triumph or achieved anything similar. They all ride in chariots,

preceded by the . . . insignia by which the different magistrates are customarily accompanied according to the respective dignity of the offices of state held by each during his life. And when they arrive at the speaker's platform, they all seat themselves in a row on ivory chairs.

There could not easily be a more ennobling spectacle for a young man who aspires to fame and virtue. For who would not be inspired by the sight of the images of men renowned for their excellence, all together and as if alive and breathing? What spectacle could be more glorious than this?

Besides, he who makes the oration over the man about to be buried, when he has finished speaking of him, recounts the successes and exploits of the rest whose images are present, beginning from the most ancient. By this means, by this constant renewal of the good report of brave men, the celebrity of those who performed noble deeds is rendered immortal, while at the same time, the fame of those who did good service to their country becomes known to the people, and a heritage for future generations. But the most important result is that young men are thus inspired to endure every suffering for the public welfare, in the hope of winning the glory that comes to brave men. What I say is confirmed by the facts. Many Romans have voluntarily engaged in single combat in order to decide a battle, not a few have faced certain death, some in war to save the lives of the rest, and others in peace to save the republic. Some even when in office have put their own sons to death, contrary to every law or custom, setting a higher value on the interest of their country than on the ties of nature that bound them to their nearest and dearest.

Source: *Polybius: The Histories*. Volume III. Translated by W. R. Paton. London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1923.

38. *The Last Will and Testament of a Flamboyant Rich Man*

In this passage from Petronius's (A.D. c. 27–65) novel Satyricon, the buffoonish character Trimalchio throws a damper on the dinner party he is hosting when he announces to his guests, in great detail, the terms of his will.

"I plan to free all of them [his slaves] in my will. To Philargyrus here I leave a farm and his woman, Cario, inherits a block of flats and the tax on his freedom and his bed and bedding. To my dear Fortunata [his wife], I leave everything I have, and I commend her to the kindness of my friends. But I'm telling you the contents of my will so my whole household will love me as much when I'm still alive as after I'm dead."

Once the slaves heard this, of course, they burst out with cheers and effusive thanks. But Trimalchio suddenly began to take the whole farce quite seriously and ordered his will brought out and read aloud from beginning to end while the slaves sat there groaning and moaning. At the close of the reading, he turned to Habinnas. "Well, old friend, will you make my tomb exactly as I order it? First, of course, I want a statue of myself. But carve my dog at my feet, and give me garlands of flowers, jars of perfume, and every fight in [the gladiator] Petraites' career. Then, thanks to your

good offices, I'll live on long after I'm gone. In front, I want my tomb one hundred feet long, but two hundred feet deep. Around it, I want an orchard with every know variety of fruit tree. You'd better throw in a vineyard, too. For it's wrong, I think, that a man should concern himself with the house where he lives his life but give no thought to the home he'll have forever. But above all, I want you to carve this notice:

THIS MONUMENT DOES NOT PASS INTO THE POSSESSION OF MY HEIRS.

In any case, I'll see to it in my will that my grave is protected from damage after my death. I'll appoint one of my ex-slaves to act as custodian to chase off the people who might come and crap on my tomb. Also, I want you to carve me several ships with all sail crowded and a picture of myself sitting on the judge's bench in official dress with five gold rings on my fingers and handing out a sack of coins to the people. For it's a fact, and you're my witness, that I gave a free meal to the whole town and a cash handout to everyone. Also, make me a dining room, a frieze maybe, but however you like, and show the whole town celebrating at my expense. On my right, I want a statue of Fortunata with a dove in her hand. And oh yes, be sure to have her pet dog tied to her girdle. And don't forget my pet slave. Also, I'd like huge jars of wine, well stoppered so the wine won't splash out. Then sculpt me a broken vase with a little boy sobbing out his heart over it. And in the middle stick a sundial so that anyone who wants the time of day will have to read my name. And how will this do for the epitaph?

Here lies Gaius Pompeius Trimalchio
Maecenatianus
Voted in absentia an official of the
Imperial cult.
He could have been registered
In any category of the civil service at Rome
But chose otherwise.
Pious and courageous,
A loyal friend,
He died a millionaire,
Though he started life with nothing.
Let it be said to his eternal credit
That he never listened to philosophers.
Peace to him,
Farewell."

At the end, he burst into tears. Then Fortunata started wailing, Habinnas began to cry, and every slave in the room burst out sobbing as though Trimalchio were dying then and there. The whole room throbbed and pulsed to the sound of mourning. I was almost in tears myself, when Trimalchio suddenly cried, "We all have to die, so let's live while we're waiting! Come on, everybody, smile, be happy."

Source: From *THE SATYRICON* by Petronius, translated by William Arrowsmith, copyright © 1959, renewed © 1987 by William Arrowsmith. Used by permission of Dutton Signet, a division of Penguin Group (USA) Inc.

39. Two Epitaphs

Reproduced below are two Roman funerary inscriptions from the second century B.C.

Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Hispanus, son of Gnaeus, praetor, curule aedile, quaestor, tribune of soldiers (twice); member of the board of ten for judging lawsuits; member of the board of ten for making sacrifices.

By my good conduct I heaped virtues on the virtues of my clan. I raised a family and sought to equal the exploits of my father. I upheld the praise of my ancestors, so that they are glad I was created of their line. My honors have ennobled my stock.

Stranger, my message is short. Stand by and read it through. Here is the unlovely tomb of a lovely woman. Her parents called her Claudia by name. She loved her husband with all her heart. She bore two sons. Of these, she leaves one on earth. Under the earth she has placed the other. She was charming in conversation, yet gentle in bearing. She kept house, she made wool. That is my last word. Go your way.

Source: "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (Collection of Latin Inscriptions), Volume I." From *Roman Civilization Sourcebook II: The Empire*, by Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold. Copyright © 1955 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

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GLOSSARY OF INDIVIDUALS AND TERMS

See the Appendix for biographical information on the authors of documents included in this volume.

Achilles. Achilles was the greatest Greek warrior in the Trojan War, the slayer of the Trojan hero Hector and the sponsor of the Funeral Games for his best friend Patroclus.

Acropolis. Literally, the “highest [part of the] city,” the Acropolis was a high hill in Athens on which many noted buildings were constructed, including the Parthenon.

Actaeon. In Greek mythology, Actaeon was a hunter who was devoured by his own hunting dogs.

Agamemnon. Agamemnon was king of Mycenae and leader of the Greek forces during the Trojan War.

Agesilaus (444–360 B.C.). King of Sparta from about 401 B.C., Agesilaus II commanded armies against the Persians and, during the Corinthian War (395–387 B.C.), against an anti-Spartan coalition led by Thebes, the eventual success of which led to a gradual decline in Spartan power and influence during Agesilaus’s long reign. Somewhat lame since birth, Agesilaus was short and unimpressive in appearance, but a brave and successful leader of men in battle.

Alexandria. Founded in about 331 B.C., by Alexander the Great, for whom it was named, the Egyptian city of Alexandria was one of the most important cultural and educational centers of the ancient world, being the home of the Lighthouse of Alexandria, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, and of the great Library of Alexandria, the largest library of the ancient world. The city was the capital of Egypt until the Arab invasion of the seventh century A.D.

Anacharsis (fl. late sixth century B.C.). Part Scythian and part Greek, Anacharsis was an itinerant philosopher who traveled, in about 589 B.C., from his Scythian homeland on the north shores of the Black Sea to Athens, where he had a number of interesting debates with the Athenian lawgiver Solon about various Athenian laws and customs.

Appian Way (Via Appia). Begun in about 312 B.C. under the direction of the Roman official Appius Claudius Caecus, the Via Appia was the first and oldest paved Roman road; it was undertaken to improve the supply of Roman armies operating in southern Italy. By 264 B.C., the Via Appia extended southeast from Rome to the port of Brundisium on the southern tip of the Italian peninsula.

Appuleius Diocles. Appuleius Diocles was a second-century A.D. Roman charioteer who, during his unusually long career won thousands of races, becoming one of the most successful charioteers on record.

Archias (c. 120–61 B.C.). Archias was a well-known Greco-Syrian poet whose disputed claim to Roman citizenship was successfully defended in court in 62 B.C. by Cicero, who argued on Archias's behalf in the speech *Pro Archia*.

Aristides the Just (530–468 B.C.). One of 10 commanders under Miltiades of the Athenian force that defeated the Persians at Marathon in 490 B.C., Aristides was a prominent fifth-century B.C. Athenian politician and soldier. In 483 B.C., he was ostracized from Athens after some voters were apparently motivated to vote against him out of personal jealousy.

Assembly (Athens). The Assembly was the chief legislative body of the Athenian democracy.

Atticus (c. 110–32 B.C.). A first-century B.C. banker and friend of the Roman orator Cicero, Atticus was the recipient of many of Cicero's surviving letters.

Augustus (63 B.C.–A.D. 14). Augustus was the title granted by the Senate in 27 B.C. to Gaius Octavius, the legal and political heir of Julius Caesar. Augustus is generally regarded as the first emperor of Rome (r. 27 B.C.–A.D. 14) and bringer of the Pax Romana, a time of peace and prosperity after decades of civil war and disorder.

Brundisium. A city in southeastern Italy, Brundisium was the terminus of the Appian Way.

Bucephalus. Bucephalus, meaning “ox head,” was the name of Alexander the Great's large black warhorse and arguably the most famous horse in the ancient world. Ridden by Alexander in many battles, Bucephalus died in 326 B.C. after being wounded at the Battle of Hydaspes in modern-day Pakistan.

Calchas. Calchas was a soothsayer in Greek mythology; he appears in the *Illiad*, in which he warns that the captured Trojan girl Chryseis must be returned to her father to halt the plague sent among the Greeks by Apollo; his warning leads to the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon. He also appears in a play by the Athenian playwright Aeschylus, who has Calchas prophesy that Agamemnon must sacrifice his daughter to appease the goddess Artemis before the Greeks can successfully sail to Troy.

Caligula (A.D. 12–41). The third emperor of Rome, Caligula was popular with the people but is depicted in all sources of the period as an insane tyrant. After surviving various plots against him, he was assassinated by members of his Praetorian Guard.

Carthage. Carthage was a city-state in North Africa and a longstanding rival of the Romans for influence and territory in Sicily, Spain, and elsewhere in the western Mediterranean. In a series of three wars known as the First (264–241 B.C.), Second (218–201 B.C.), and Third (149–146 B.C.) Punic Wars, Rome defeated and eventually destroyed Carthage. During the long Second Punic War, the Carthaginian general Hannibal invaded Italy and defeated several Roman armies, but was never able to capture Rome itself.

Circus Maximus. The Circus Maximus was a huge chariot racetrack in Rome.

Cleisthenes. Cleisthenes was a sixth-century B.C. Athenian legislator who reformed the Athenian constitution in about 508 B.C.; his reforms and his policy of *isonomia* (“equal rights”) formed the basis of the Athenian democracy that developed in the following century.

Creon. In Greek mythology, Creon was a legendary king of the Greek city of Thebes.

Demosthenes (384–322 B.C.). Demosthenes was a prominent orator and statesman of fourth-century B.C. Athens, who sought to restore his city to greatness by speaking forcefully against the threat to Greek independence from Philip II of Macedon. After Philip’s death he played a leading part in the unsuccessful Athenian revolt against Philip’s son, Alexander the Great.

drachma. The drachma was a basic unit of exchange in ancient Greece; its value may have been equivalent to between \$50 and \$100 today.

Draco. Draco was a sixth century B.C. Athenian legislator whose laws specified capital punishment as the sentence for even minor violations. According to Plutarch, Athenians of the time said that Draco’s code was “written not in ink, but in blood.” It is from Draco that we derive the English word *Draconian* for laws that are especially harsh or severe.

Eleazar (d. A.D. 73). Eleazar was the leader of the Jewish rebels who held the mountain-top fortress of Masada against the Romans in the early A.D. 70s; rather than surrender to the Romans, Eleazar and his people committed mass suicide.

ephod. The ephod was an embroidered cloak worn by the Jewish high priest.

Epicurus (342–271 B.C.). Epicurus was a Greek philosopher and founder of the Epicurean school of philosophy; seeing the purpose of philosophy to be the living of a happy, tranquil life, Epicurus was called the “teacher of pleasure” by the first-century A.D. Roman philosopher Seneca.

Etruscan civilization. Comprising three confederations of city-states in the region north of Rome, the vibrant and mysterious Etruscan civilization likely dominated Rome until about 400 B.C., after which the Etruscans were gradually assimilated into the Roman Republic.

Eunus. Eunus was the charismatic leader of a Sicilian slave revolt against Rome in the second century B.C.

Hippodamus of Miletus. Hippodamus of Miletus was a fifth-century B.C. city planner, who devised regular, orderly plans for Greek colonies.

Isis. In Egyptian mythology, Isis was the mother goddess, the wife of Osiris and the mother of Horus. Worship of Isis eventually spread outside Egypt and the cult became especially popular during Roman times, with temples to Isis being built throughout Europe and the Middle East.

Jain literature. The term *Jain literature* refers to ancient Indian philosophical and religious texts, the earliest of which dates to perhaps the seventh century B.C., or earlier.

Lycurgus. Lycurgus was the semi-legendary lawgiver of seventh-century B.C. Sparta, who initiated the militaristic reformation of Spartan society.

Masada. A mountain-top fortress near the Dead Sea, Masada was occupied by Jewish rebels led by Eleazar from A.D. 70-73 immediately following the Roman suppression of the Jewish Revolt and the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem. The defenders of Masada committing mass suicide to avoid capture and enslavement by a besieging Roman army.

Milo of Croton. Milo of Croton was a sixth century B.C. wrestler and one of the most successful athletes in the history of the ancient Olympics.

Nero (A.D. 37–68). Nero was the fifth emperor of Rome, reigning from A.D. 54–68. Known to history as tyrannical and dissolute, Nero initiated the first state persecution of Christians, blaming them for the fire that devastated Rome in A.D. 64. Nero committed suicide in A.D. 68 after being overthrown by the Senate.

Numa. Numa was the legendary second king of Rome; he succeeded Romulus, the city's founder, and reigned from 715–673 B.C.

Odysseus. In Greek mythology Odysseus was king of Ithaca and a Greek survivor of the Trojan War; his post-war travels and adventures are chronicled in Homer's epic poem, *Odyssey*.

Olympia; Olympic Games. Olympia was located in the southwestern Peloponnesus; it was the site of the quadrennial Olympic Games and also the site of an important shrine to the god Zeus. Prestigious international athletic games were also held at Corinth, Delphi, and Nemea.

Orestes. In Greek mythology, Orestes was the son of Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, and husband of Clytemnestra; Orestes was killed in a chariot race.

Osiris. In Egyptian mythology, Osiris was the god of life, death, and fertility. Portrayed as the husband of Isis, whose devotion to her mate after his death resulted eventually in his resurrection as god of the underworld, he was one of the oldest Egyptian gods and was worshipped in Egypt until the coming of Christianity.

ostracism. Ostracism was a practice of fifth-century B.C. Athens whereby unpopular or pompous politicians could be evicted from the city for a period of 10 years through a vote of the citizens. The well-known politician Aristides the Just was ostracized in 483 B.C.

Palimbothra. According to the second-century A.D. Greek historian Arrian, Palimbothra was the greatest of the ancient Indian cities.

Parthenon. The Parthenon was a large, ornate temple built in honor of the goddess Athena on the Acropolis in Athens in the fifth century B.C. Part of the great building program initiated by Pericles, the Parthenon was constructed under the direction of the sculptor Pheidias.

Peloponnesus. The Peloponnesus is an ancient generic place-name for the large southern peninsula of mainland Greece.

Pentheus. In Greek mythology, Pentheus was a king of Thebes who was torn apart by his mother and aunts while they were in a frenzy induced by Dionysius, the Greek god of wine.

Pericles (c. 495–429 B.C.). Pericles was an Athenian statesman, orator, and politician, and the driving force behind the so-called Periclean Age, the golden age of art and literature in fifth-century B.C. Athens.

***periplous*.** Meaning literally “voyage-around,” *periplous* was a genre of travel writings and literature.

Ph(e)idias (c. 490–430 B.C.). Pheidias was a famed fifth-century B.C. Athenian sculptor/architect, who is best known for supervising the construction of the Parthenon and for sculpting the huge statue of Athena housed within it.

Piraeus. Piraeus was the port city of Athens; during the fifth century B.C., it was connected to Athens and protected by long walls, which were razed when Athens was defeated by Sparta at the end of the Peloponnesian War.

polis. The polis was a city-state and the basic unit of political and social organization in ancient Greece and elsewhere in the ancient world.

Pyrrhus (318–272 B.C.). Pyrrhus was a third-century B.C. Greek general, who lost so many soldiers in his victory over the Romans at the Battle of Pydna (275 B.C.) that he is said to have remarked afterwards: “If we are victorious in one more battle with the Romans, we will be utterly ruined.” From this battle comes the term *Pyrrhic victory*, which describes a triumph that has devastating costs for the victor.

Pythagoras (c. 580–c. 500 B.C.). Pythagoras was a sixth-century B.C. Greek philosopher who was renowned as a mathematician, mystic, and scientist. In modern mathematics, his name is recalled in the Pythagorean Theorem, which he is said to have discovered and proved; in ancient Greece he was the founder of a religious movement known as Pythagoreanism.

Romulus (r. 753–715 B.C.). Romulus was the legendary founder and first king of Rome, which, according to tradition, was established in the year 753 B.C.

Saturnalian Festival. Celebrated in December, the Saturnalia was one of the major Roman holidays; it commemorated the dedication of the temple of the god Saturn. In the fifth century A.D., the writer Macrobius wrote a work entitled *Saturnalia*, which gave an account of discussions held in the house of a prominent Roman during the week-long Saturnalia celebration. Some scholars believe that early Christians set Christmas,

the birthday of Christ, in December to take advantage of the pagan holiday period, but this theory is much disputed.

Shamash. Shamash was the Babylonian sun god.

smṛti. The *smṛti* are texts of sacred law from ancient India.

Socrates (469–399 B.C.). Socrates was an Athenian philosopher, who was forced to commit suicide in 399 B.C. after being convicted of corrupting the youth of the city. Among his students was the famous fourth-century B.C. philosopher Plato.

Solon (c. 640–c. 560 B.C.). Solon was an Athenian statesman and politician, who reformed the laws of Athens in 594 B.C.

Sparta. Located on the Peloponnesus, the large southern peninsula of mainland Greece, Sparta was one of the most powerful city-states in ancient Greece. Sparta fought and defeated Athens during the long Peloponnesian War of the late sixth century B.C., and for a time in the early fifth century exercised political and military dominance over the Greek city-states.

sutras. The sutras were ancient Indian maxims on proper ways to live.

Thales of Miletus (c. 624–c. 546 B.C.). Regarded by many as the first philosopher in the Greek tradition, Thales of Miletus was one of the Seven Sages of Ancient Greece, the title given by Greek tradition to seven famous wise men and lawgivers that included Solon of Athens.

Tiresias. In Greek mythology, Tiresias was a blind prophet of Thebes, who features prominently in many myths and plays.

Trajan (A.D. 53–117). The second of the so-called five good emperors of Rome, Trajan ruled from A.D. 98–117. It was to Trajan that the Roman official Pliny wrote concerning the best way to deal with the people known as Christians.

Trimalchio. Trimalchio is the buffoonish, nouveau-riche protagonist in the *Cena Trimalchionis* (*Trimalchio's Dinner Party*), the largest part of Petronius's fragmentary first-century A.D. Latin novel *Satyricon*.

Twelve Tables (c. 450 B.C.). The Twelve Tables constituted Rome's first written law code.

vizier. A vizier was a government official in ancient Egypt, who sometimes functioned as an advisor to the pharaoh.

Xanthippe. Xanthippe was the wife of the fifth-century B.C. Athenian philosopher Socrates.

Xerxes (r. 485–465 B.C.). Xerxes I, known as Xerxes the Great, was the Persian king who unsuccessfully attempted to conquer Greece in 480 B.C. His forces were defeated in that year at the naval battle at Salamis and in 479 B.C. at the land battle of Plataea.

Zeus. Known to the Romans as Jupiter, Zeus was king of the gods in Greek mythology.

APPENDIX: BIOGRAPHIES OF DOCUMENT AUTHORS

Listed are the ancient authors cited in the document introductions, with brief biographical information provided for each.

Aelian (c. A.D. 170–235; full Roman name: Claudius Aelianus) Aelian wrote several books, including one on the deeds of famous historical characters and one on the natural world entitled *On the Characteristics of Animals*.

Aelius Aristides (A.D. c. 117–189) Aelius Aristides was a traveling philosopher who wrote speeches and laudatory essays on the places that he visited during his travels, including Rome, Athens, and Smyrna.

Aeschylus (525–456 B.C.) One of the greatest of the Greek tragedians, Aeschylus authored around 90 plays, of which seven have survived, including his only extant trilogy (*Oresteia*), and his only surviving historical play (*Persians*). He supposedly died one day while he was out walking bare-headed on the seashore. An eagle, flying far above, mistook his bald head for solid rock, and dropped a tortoise on him, hoping to shatter the tortoise's shell, but instead killing the famous playwright.

Apicius (fl. first century A.D.; full Roman name: Marcus Gavius Apicius) Apicius was a gourmand who wrote extensively on food, cooking, and recipes. His works were collected together under the title *De Re Coquinaria* (*On Cooking*), a sort of Roman cookbook.

Apuleius (fl. second century A.D.; full Roman name: Lucius Apuleius) Apuleius authored a book entitled *Metamorphoses*, a novel about the transformation of the protagonist—Apuleius—into a donkey, his adventures as a quadruped, and then his transformation once more into human form.

Aristophanes (445–380 B.C.) Aristophanes was an Athenian comic playwright whose brilliantly satirical and witty plays skewered government, public policy decisions, the court system, educational philosophies, contemporary literature, and virtually any and every other topic of public interest. Eleven of his plays are extant. One of his best-known plays, *Clouds*, ridiculed the philosopher Socrates, while three others—*Acharnians*, *Knights*, and *Lysistrata*—criticized the Peloponnesian War.

Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) One of the foremost thinkers and philosophers in the history of the Western world, the Greek philosopher Aristotle's literary output was vast and comprehensive, covering natural history, rhetoric, politics, government, economics, education, sociology, literature, logic, and ethics.

Arrian (fl. second century A.D.; full Roman name: Flavius Arrianus) Arrian was a Romanized Greek who wrote a variety of books on diverse topics, such as hunting, stoic philosophy, India, and the expeditions of Alexander the Great.

Athenaeus (fl. A.D. c. 190–200) Athenaeus's only surviving work is entitled *Deipnosophistae*, or *The Learned Banquet*, a compendium of information that might be discussed at dinner by sophisticated and knowledgeable diners. All 15 books of the work are in the form of conversations among dinner guests.

Aulus Gellius (A.D. c. 125–c.180) Aulus Gellius assembled a collection of short essays on every imaginable topic into a work called *Attic Nights*. He used that title, as he himself says, because he “began to amuse [him]self by assembling these notes [which he jotted down in random order, on anything that seemed interesting to him in his readings or in his daily life] during the long winter nights which [he] spent on a country place in the land of Attica.”

Cato the Elder (234–149 B.C.; full Roman name: Marcus Porcius Cato) Called the “Elder” to distinguish him from his great-grandson of the same name, Cato was one of the most noteworthy statesmen and politicians of the ancient Roman world. An austere defender and proponent of traditional Roman values, he held most of the important elective offices of the Roman government. Of his published work, the only one that remains today is his treatise on agriculture, *De Agri Cultura*.

Celsus (fl. first century A.D.; full Roman name: Aulus Cornelius Celsus) Celsus authored an encyclopedic work covering agriculture, medicine, military affairs, oratory, and philosophy, but only the portion on medicine, *De Medicina*, survives. The treatise was so highly regarded that it earned its author laudatory epithets such as the “Roman Hippocrates” and the “Cicero of Physicians.”

Cicero (106–43 B.C.; full Roman name: Marcus Tullius Cicero) Cicero is generally regarded as the most gifted orator in Roman history, as well as the finest prose author. His pre-eminence as a lawyer is unquestioned. He held many political offices during his lifetime, and he was involved in a number of highly publicized disputes and controversies with rival politicians. The transcripts of many of his court cases and speeches are still extant, as well as hundreds of his letters, and numerous philosophical essays.

Demetrius (dates uncertain) Demetrius is the name ascribed to a treatise entitled *On Style*, about the proper writing of prose. However, the date of this work, and its true authorship, are both problematical.

Diodorus (fl. first century B.C.; interchangeably surnamed Siculus, or the Sicilian) Diodorus, a Greek historian born in Sicily, wrote a comprehensive history of the ancient world in 40 books. Fifteen survive to the present day. It took him about 30 years to complete this mammoth task.

Euripides (480–406 B.C.) Euripides was one of the most accomplished Greek tragedians of the fifth century B.C. He wrote about 90 plays of which 18 survive. Euripides's best-known works include *Alcestis*, *Medea*, *Electra*, and *The Bacchae*. He is also the author of *Cyclops*, one of the few complete satyr plays—an ancient Greek form of tragicomedy similar to modern burlesque—still in existence.

Frontinus (A.D. c. 35–104; full Roman name: Sextus Julius Frontinus) Frontinus was an engineer and civil servant who wrote technical manuals on military strategies, and on the Roman aqueduct system. Although usually a very fact- and detail-oriented writer, he allowed himself an outburst of admiration in the following description of aqueducts: “With such an array of indispensable structures carrying so many waters, compare, if you will, the idle pyramids, or the useless though famous, works of the Greeks!”

Herodotus (490–425 B.C.) Sometimes called “The Father of History,” the Greek historian Herodotus compiled a lengthy and entertaining account of the geography, ethnology, customs, religion, legends, and history of practically the entire Mediterranean world. His description of Persian messengers—“Nothing stays these couriers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds; neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor dark of night”—has become famous as the motto of the United States Postal Service.

Hesiod (fl. eighth century B.C.) Hesiod grew up on a farm in rural Greece. When his father died, he and his brother, Perses, inherited the farm. The lazy Perses soon fell into poverty, but Hesiod, a hard-working farmer, thrived, and wrote an epic poem on agriculture, *Works and Days*. *Theogony*, another epic poem, about the origins of the gods, is also attributed to Hesiod.

Hippocrates (460–377 B.C.) Antiquity's most famous physician, Hippocrates, a Greek, was the author of perhaps 60 medical treatises, although some scholars cast doubt on the proposition that Hippocrates wrote all of them, or even any of them. Some of the major topics in what might be termed the *Hippocratic corpus* include epidemics, nutrition, prognosis, fractures and dislocations, epilepsy, and the effects on health of air, wind, and water.

Homer (possibly eighth or ninth century B.C.) Homer, Western literature's first epic poet, and one of its best, wrote two classic poems about the Trojan War and its aftermath, *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The first details the final months of the Trojan War, while the second focuses on the efforts of one of the Greek leaders, Odysseus, to return home after the war and reclaim his rightful place as king of Ithaca.

Horace (65–8 B.C.; full Roman name: Quintus Horatius Flaccus) Generally regarded as one of ancient Rome's most skilled poets, Horace is best known for his *Odes*, *Epistles*, *Epodes*, and *Satires*. He is the originator of the well-known phrase *carpe diem*, meaning “seize the day.”

Isocrates (436–338 B.C.) Twenty-one speeches and nine letters survive from the writings of Isocrates, one of the finest oratorical stylists of his day. He lived to be almost 100 years of age, and he remained intellectually active well into his 90s.

Josephus (A.D. c. 37–c. 100; full Roman name: Titus Flavius Josephus). Born of an aristocratic Jewish family, Josephus eventually settled in Rome, where he was granted

Roman citizenship. He is best known for two historical works: *The Jewish War* and *Jewish Antiquities*. He wrote the former “to refute those who in their writings were doing outrage to the truth [about the war between the Jews and the Romans]”. He wrote *Jewish Antiquities* “in the belief that the whole Greek-speaking world [would] find it worthy of attention; for it will embrace our entire ancient history and political constitution.”

Juvenal (A.D. c. 60–c. 130; full Roman name: Decimus Junius Juvenalis) Juvenal’s 16 *Satires* contain often harsh and bitter denouncements of Roman life and society. His attitude toward the city and its people is probably best summarized by his statement that deteriorating conditions in Rome made it difficult *not* to write satire: *Difficile est non scribere saturam*; “it is difficult not to write satire.”

Laozi (possibly flourished in either the sixth or fourth century B.C.) Laozi is a legendary, and possibly apocryphal, figure in the history of Chinese literature. He was a Taoist philosopher and possibly a forerunner of Confucius.

Livy (59 B.C.–A.D. 17; full Roman name: Titus Livius) Livy spent most of his adult life researching and writing his massive history of Rome, *Ab Urbe Condita* (*From the Founding of the City*). As the title suggests, the work covers Roman history from its earliest beginnings up to Livy’s own time. He provides an excellent rationale for the study of history: “What chiefly makes the study of history wholesome and profitable is this: you see the lessons of every kind of human experience set forth as if on a conspicuous monument; from these, you can choose for yourself and for your country what to imitate, and what to avoid.”

Lucian (A.D. c. 120–c. 200) Lucian was a prolific Greek satirist and essayist, whose favorite topics for satirical ridicule included philosophy, oratory, and religious customs and beliefs.

Macrobius (fl. fifth century A.D.; full Roman name: Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius) Macrobius’s most famous work is *Saturnalia*, a series of dinner conversations about varied topics that take place during one of the most popular Roman festivals, the Saturnalia, which occurred in December. There are twelve participants in these conversations.

Oppian (fl. third century A.D.) Oppian wrote two books in Greek, one on fishing, *Halieutica*, and one on hunting, *Cynegetica*, although some historians suggest that the latter was written by a different author. Both books detail the kinds of fish and game that could be caught and hunted, and the various methods that could be employed to do so.

Ovid (43 B.C.–A.D. 17; full Roman name: Publius Ovidius Naso) Ovid, a noted Roman poet, is most famous for his *Metamorphoses*, adaptations of Greek myths that all involve some sort of change or transformation, hence the title of the work. Ovid also authored several other collections of poetry, including some racy love poems that may have been at least partially to blame for his permanent banishment from Rome in 8 A.D.

Pausanias (fl. second century A.D.) Pausanias traveled widely throughout the Greek world, and wrote a book based on those travels and the places he visited. Topics included geography, history, mythology, and monuments. Of particular interest are his descriptions of Olympia and Olympic athletes.

Petronius (A.D. c. 27–65; full Roman name: Gaius Petronius Arbiter) Petronius’s most famous work is *Satyricon*, a novel about the misadventures of two vagabonds, Encolpius and Ascyltus. Their travels bring them to the mansion of the super-wealthy, and equally pompous, Trimalchio, where they enjoy the exquisite cuisine and other delights of a rich man’s dinner party. Petronius was forced to commit suicide after running afoul of the emperor Nero.

Plato (428–347 B.C.) As a young man, Plato met the famous Athenian philosopher Socrates, and soon became a devoted follower. Socrates appears in many of Plato’s dialogues and other writings, and it is through these writings that Socrates’s thought and teachings have been preserved. Plato was a prolific writer, and unique among ancient authors in that all of his works appear to have survived.

Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79; full Roman name: Gaius Plinius Secundus) He is called the “Elder” to distinguish him from his nephew, Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus, Pliny the Younger (see below). Pliny the Elder was a soldier and lawyer as a young man, but he is best known for his monumental encyclopedic work *Natural History*, a massive compilation of facts and information on every imaginable topic pertaining to the work’s title. In his preface, he notes that he gleaned information from the works of 473 different authors, and that his book contains some 20,000 facts. He was killed during the eruption of Mount Vesuvius that destroyed Pompeii.

Pliny the Younger (A.D. 62–114; full Roman name: Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus) As a teenager, Pliny the Younger witnessed the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in which his uncle, Pliny the Elder, was one of the casualties (see above). He went on to enjoy a successful career in law and government. His numerous surviving letters provide a glimpse into the lifestyle of an upper-class Roman gentleman of the first and second centuries A.D.

Plutarch (A.D. c. 45–c. 120) Plutarch was born in the little town of Chaeronea, not far from Athens. He was a well-read, intelligent man, whose most famous works are probably his 50 biographies of famous Greeks and Romans. He also wrote essays on many diverse topics, collectively entitled *Moralia*, or *Moral Essays*. A recent article in *Smithsonian* (July, 2004) rightly stated that “Plutarch’s voice is decent, tolerant, knowing—the voice of a grown-up.”

Polybius (c. 205–123 B.C.) Polybius, a Greek historian, lived in Rome for a number of years as a hostage, the result of a war against Greece successfully carried out by the Romans. While in Rome, Polybius became a keen observer and student of Roman life and history, and eventually authored a definitive history of Rome, including a well-known laudatory defense of the Roman constitution.

Ptah-hotep (sometimes spelled Ptahhotep; fl. twenty-fourth century B.C.) Ptah-hotep was an Egyptian vizier and politician to whom is generally attributed a collection of proverbs entitled *The Maxims of Ptah-hotep*; these maxims are words of advice from a father to a son.

Quintilian (A.D. c. 35–c. 100; full Roman name: Marcus Fabius Quintilianus) Quintilian was an educator, orator, and lawyer, and the first Roman to found a public school

and receive a stipend for his teaching. His treatise on education and oratory, *Institutio Oratoria*, includes information on such topics as educational principles, teaching methods, presenting a case in court, proofs and kinds of evidence, style and word usage, and intellectual and personal qualities necessary for an orator.

Seneca (4 B.C.–A.D. 65; full Roman name: Lucius Annaeus Seneca) Seneca was a Roman philosopher, playwright, and politician, and the author of numerous philosophical essays and letters. He also served for a number of years as a counselor and advisor to the emperor Nero. In A.D. 65, he was implicated in a plot to assassinate Nero and forced to commit suicide.

Sophocles (c. 496–406 B.C.) Sophocles was one of the leading fifth-century Athenian tragic playwrights. Seven of his approximately 120 plays are extant, including perhaps the most famous and finest ancient Greek play, *Oedipus the King*.

Strabo (c. 64 B.C.–A.D. 21) The widely traveled Greek geographer and historian Strabo authored a book in which he provided detailed descriptions of the topography, demographics, and history of most of the regions of the Mediterranean world, as well as India.

Suetonius (A.D. c. 70–c. 140; full Roman name: Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus) Suetonius wrote biographies of the first 12 Roman emperors, as well as biographies of noted poets, grammarians, and orators.

Sunzi (c. 544–c. 496 B.C.) Sunzi was a Chinese general and military strategist, whose book, *The Art of War*, has been widely read and studied, and is generally regarded as a classic of Chinese literature.

Tacitus (A.D. c. 55–c. 117; full Roman name: Cornelius Tacitus) Although best known as a historian, Tacitus also wrote a book on oratory, a biography of his father-in-law Agricola, and a book-length description of Germany and the German people. Tacitus's two historical works, *Annals* and *Histories*, span the years A.D. 14–70.

Tertullian (A.D. c. 160–c. 225; full Roman name: Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus) The early Christian author Tertullian was born in Africa and wrote a number of books about various aspects of the Christian religion; over 30 of these works are extant.

Theophrastus (c. 370–287 B.C.) The most noted work of the Greek writer Theophrastus is his collection of 30 short essays entitled *Characters*, in which he delineates various human flaws, such as flattery, gossiping, stinginess, tactlessness, snobbery, and covetousness. He also authored a book on plants.

Thucydides (c. 460–c. 400 B.C.) One of the most skilled and famous historians of antiquity, Thucydides wrote a monumental book on the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.), the tragic conflict between Athens and Sparta. Thucydides was a general in the Athenian army in the war's early stages; later, he served as a sort of embedded war correspondent, observing battles and battle sites, interviewing witnesses, and checking and re-checking his notes and information as carefully as possible, so that his book would be a model of accuracy and exactitude.

Varro (116–27 B.C.; full Roman name: Marcus Terentius Varro) Varro was a Roman philosopher and politician, who later devoted his life to literature, first by organizing in Rome a library of Greek and Roman works, and then by creating his own written works. He is thought to have authored over 70 books, but only two survive: *De Lingua Latina*, a book on the Latin language, and *Res Rusticae*, a treatise on farming.

Virgil (70–19 B.C.; full Roman name: Publius Vergilius Maro) Virgil (sometimes spelled Vergil) was ancient Rome's premier epic poet, the author of *Aeneid*, which is the story of the founding of the Roman race by the book's central character, Aeneas.

Vitruvius (fl. first century B.C.; full Roman name: Vitruvius Pollio) The Roman architect Vitruvius wrote the only manual on architecture surviving from the ancient world. In it, he covers such topics as construction materials and methods, city planning, temples, public buildings, private homes, house decoration, aqueduct and pipe construction, and acoustics.

Xenophon (c. 430–c. 354 B.C.) Xenophon was a Greek historian whose best known work is probably *Anabasis*, an account of the military activities and adventures of Cyrus the Younger and the Ten Thousand, a mercenary army of Greeks. He wrote several other books, including a treatise on hunting, *Cynegeticus*, and a narrative about household management, *Oeconomicus*.

Yan Zhitui (A.D. 531–590) Yan was a Chinese writer, calligrapher, lexicographer, and politician. His most noted literary work was his *Yanshi Jiaxun*, a compendium of precepts and advice to his sons on how to succeed in life.

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Lawrence Morris, General Editor

Volume 1: *The Ancient World*
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Volume 2: *The Middle Ages and Renaissance*
Lawrence Morris

Volume 3: *The Modern World*
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THE MIDDLE AGES AND
RENAISSANCE

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For those who lived before

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SET INTRODUCTION

What time we leave work; the food we eat for dinner; how we spend our free time—these small, almost mundane details can shape our lives as powerfully as who is the president or what battles are being fought in a far-distant country. In fact, we often judge major events—wars, legislation, trade deals—by how those events affect our everyday lives. If trade negotiations mean that we can purchase more goods for less money, we may very well support the negotiations: we will be able to eat out more, see more movies, buy more books. If the negotiations mean that we lose our jobs—resulting in skipped meals, bankruptcy, and ulcers caused by stress—we are likely to be much more critical. How an event impacts our daily life frequently determines how we view that event. Daily life, in other words, is very important and always has been.

The study of daily life therefore enables us to examine the cultural norms, concerns, and priorities of societies across time. We learn the vital importance of maritime trade for the citizens of medieval Barcelona, for example, when we examine the detailed law codes by which they carefully regulated the rights and responsibilities of ships' captains and merchants. We understand more deeply the pervasive role of religious ritual in medieval Japan when we read about the exorcisms practiced to combat ailments that we would now consider physical, not spiritual. When we learn about the day-to-day politics of the ancient Roman Republic, we appreciate how radically different life was under the Roman Empire. When we read a letter home from a U.S. soldier fighting in Vietnam, we feel more intimately the pain of separation. By studying daily life, we get a firmer understanding of what it was like to live in a certain era and a certain place. Learning that Constantine I was emperor of Rome in A.D. 313 gives us important information, but learning about the foods prepared by a Roman peasant or how a Roman merchant traveled about on business gives us a better idea of what it was really like to live in Italy during the same time period.

Primary sources, moreover, offer a uniquely valuable way of learning about the past. Primary sources, of course, are documents or artifacts produced by the people under investigation. These sources enable us to listen directly to the voices of the past. A primary source enables us to view the past from the inside, from the point of view of a person alive at the time. Our tour guide to the culture of ancient Egypt is an ancient Egyptian. Primary sources are the ultimate historical authority—there can be no greater

expert on ancient Rome than an ancient Roman or on medieval France than a medieval Frenchman or woman or on twentieth-century Africa than a modern African.

Daily Life through World History in Primary Documents, therefore, offers the reader a feast of knowledge. Packed within the covers of this important three-volume set are over 500 documents, each of which offers readers the opportunity to listen to a voice from the past (and sometimes the present) explaining that person's own culture and time. The volumes are organized chronologically as follows:

- Volume 1: *The Ancient World* contains documents from various ancient cultures, including those of Sumeria, Egypt, Israel, China, India, Greece, and Rome, with its primary focus being upon the daily life of Greece and Rome up to roughly the sack of Rome in the fifth century A.D.
- Volume 2: *The Middle Ages and Renaissance* contains documents from various European (e.g., Anglo-Saxon England, Renaissance Italy), Asian (e.g., Tang China, medieval Japan, Mogul India), Middle Eastern (e.g., medieval Persia, early Islamic Arabia), and Latin American (e.g., Aztec Mexico, Inca Peru, Mayan Central America) cultures spanning the period from the fifth to the seventeenth centuries.
- Volume 3: *The Modern World*, covering the birth of modern democracy in the eighteenth century up through the present day, contains documents from various world cultures, including Turkey, West Africa, India, the United States, and Russia.

At the edges of these basic divides, there is some overlap between volumes, demonstrating how each era carries on from the preceding one.

Within each volume, the myriad aspects of daily life are grouped under seven overarching categories: Domestic Life, Economic Life; Intellectual Life, Material Life, Political Life, Recreational Life, and Religious Life. These categories, which were also employed by the award-winning *Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life*, allow for quick reference between all three volumes. Browsing Religious Life in all three volumes, for example, will offer a scintillating introduction to and overview of the major spiritual traditions across time. Under these shared categories, each volume then further subgroups the texts in the way most useful for the time period under discussion. Common subcategories include Women, Marriage, Children, Literature, Transportation, Medicine, Housing, Clothing, Law, Reform, Sports, and Rituals. Under Economic Life in Volume 2, for example, the subcategories employed highlight the important roles played by urban and rural populations, as well as the well-established practice of slavery and the increasingly important role of international trade and commerce.

The scope of *Daily Life through World History in Primary Documents* is truly global. Within these pages, we see documents from countries with such diverse histories and cultures as Japan, Italy, India, West Africa, Persia, the United States, and Central America. Browsing almost any of the subcategories will offer the reader fascinating voices from non-Western cultures. Each section, however, also includes a solid central focus on the major cultures that have shaped the Western world, including Europe and the Americas. None of these cultures exists in a vacuum, however, nor are they entirely dissimilar. Western and non-Western cultures contextualize each other and comment on the common concerns of human beings around the world. Brief analytical essays at

the start of each subcategory outline the documents that follow and draw out important themes that weave throughout the documents, charting a cultural conversation that crosses time and place.

To benefit the most from the primary sources, each individual document also is preceded by an analytical introduction that explains and highlights the main features of that particular document. An author of a primary document, just like authors today, may have a bias, a limited perspective, or missing information that results in a slightly inaccurate portrayal of life in a given culture. The non-specialist reader, moreover, may not be familiar with the items and ideas discussed in a document written a thousand years ago, or in a completely different more contemporary culture. The concise analytical introductions preceding each document mitigate these difficulties by providing an expert evaluation and contextualization of the following document. The combination of primary sources and modern historical analyses of those sources offers the reader a balanced perspective and a solid grounding in the modern study of daily life.

Part I in each volume offers a detailed historical overview of the period covered. Each volume also contains a chronology of important world events for the period covered, an appendix of brief biographies of document authors or creators, a glossary defining and describing unfamiliar names and terms encountered in the section and document introductions, and a bibliography of sources used. Glossary terms in the text appear in italics. Many documents are also illustrated, and information can be further accessed through a detailed subject index for the set.

These volumes will be used in many different ways by many different readers, including high school students, college and university undergrads, and interested general readers. Some readers will delve into one volume and browse extensively, gaining an overview of how generations in one era lived their lives. Other readers may be more interested in exploring how one realm of life—political life—for example, has changed from ancient Rome through the present day; those readers will devour the appropriate categories and subcategories from each of the three volumes. Other readers will use the sources to research and support their own written analyses, for assigned essays or for their own independent research. However the reader uses these volumes, I am confident that he or she will enjoy the experience. We have collected an amazing array of intriguing sources that cannot help but capture the interest and the imagination. Enjoy!

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SET ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have made working on *Daily Life through World History in Primary Documents* rewarding. First of all, the volume editors David Matz, David Borgmeyer, and Rebecca Ayako Bennette, have created interesting and illuminating conversations between the plethora of texts included in their volumes—daily life comes alive in their pages. Dr. William McCarthy also helped to get the project rolling in its early stages. All the editors at Greenwood, and most especially Mariah Gumpert and John Wagner, have supported and encouraged us from day one. I thank Joyce Salisbury in particular for first awakening my interest in the study of daily life. Agus, ar ndóigh, gabhaim buíochas ar leith le mo bhean chéile, Amy, agus le mo chlann, a bhí foighneach agus tuisceanach nuair a bhuailinn an doras amach go dtí an oifig arís eile i ndiaidh an dinéir chun beagáinín tuilleadh a scríobh. Tá cuid díobh féin istigh san obair seo; go gcúití Dia leo é.

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CHRONOLOGY

CHRONOLOGY OF SELECTED EVENTS: THE MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE

A.D. 410	Rome sacked by Visigoths
527	Justinian becomes Byzantine emperor
c. 550	End of the Gupta Dynasty of northern India
610	Muhammad has visions of the angel Gabriel, leading to the founding of Islam
618	Kao-tsu begins the Tang dynasty in China
622	The Hijrah: Muhammad flees from Mecca to Medina
632	Death of Muhammad
656	Uthman assassinated, provoking feuding between Shi'a and Sunni Muslims
661	Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan establishes the Muslim Umayyad Caliphate
732	Battle of Tours: Frankish forces under Charles Martel repulse a Muslim invasion of France
750	Abu al-Abbas as-Saffah overthrows the Umayyad Caliphate and creates the Abbasid Caliphate
762	Founding of Baghdad as capital of Abbasid Caliphate
781	Alcuin appointed head of Palace School at Aachen
793	Sack of Lindisfarne: first major Viking raid
800	Charlemagne crowned Emperor of the Romans
836	Abbasid capital moved from Baghdad to Samarra
843	Treaty of Verdun divides Charlemagne's kingdom among his grandsons
846	Po Chu-i (aka Bai Juyi), an influential Chinese poet, dies
863	Cyril and Methodius begin to convert the Slavic peoples to Christianity
c. 878	Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum recognizes Viking control of northern England
c. 900	Classical Maya civilization begins to disintegrate
907	Tang dynasty breaks up into independent kingdoms
909	Al-Mahdi announces the Fatimid Caliphate in northern Africa

Chronology

- 960 Sung dynasty founded by Chao K'uang-yin
- 1016 King Cnut converts to Christianity, encouraging the further spread of Christianity throughout Scandinavia
- 1054 The Bishop of Rome and the Patriarch of Constantinople excommunicate each other, splitting Christendom into a western Catholic Church and an eastern Orthodox Church
- 1055 Seljuqs take control of the Abbasid Caliphate
- 1066 Battle of Hastings: William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, conquers England
- 1076 Kumbi, the capital of Wagadu (Ghana), sacked by Arab forces
- 1081 Alexius I Comnenus, a famous Byzantine Emperor, ascends to the throne
- 1095 Council of Clermont: Urban II proclaims the First Crusade
- 1099 Jerusalem falls to crusader forces
- 1187 Jerusalem falls to Muslim forces under Saladin
- 1200 Death of Chu Hsi (Zhu Xi), influential scholar of Confucianism
- 1204 Constantinople, capital of the Byzantine Empire, sacked by western crusaders
- 1215 Magna Carta: King John of England is forced to limit royal authority
- 1227 Genghis Khan dies, having created the Mongol Empire
- 1240 King Sundiata absorbs the Ghana empire into his Mande empire
- 1250 Mamluks (slave armies) seize control of Egypt and Syria
- 1258 Fall of Baghdad: Abbasid Caliphate falls to Mongol armies
- 1271 Marco Polo departs for Asia
- 1279 Mongol conquest of China, beginning Yuan dynasty
- 1281 Osman I begins to build the Ottoman Empire; it will last to 1924
- 1291 Fall of Acre: Mamluks conquer last remaining crusader outpost in the Middle East
- 1294 Kublai Khan dies, having ruled over the Mongol Empire at its greatest extent
- 1304 Birth of Petrarch, major Renaissance thinker
- 1325 Tenochtitlan (future Aztec capital) is founded
- 1337 Invasion of Flanders: Start of Hundred Years' War between England and France
- 1347 Black Death: Bubonic plague spreads through Europe, killing roughly one-third of the population
- 1368 Ming dynasty in China founded by rebels led by Zhu Yuanzhang
- 1374 Petrarch, a leading Renaissance intellectual, dies
- 1417 The Council of Constance ends the papal schism, and the pope returns to Rome from Avignon, France
- 1431 Joan of Arc, a French military leader, is executed by the English
- 1435 *Della pittura* by Leon Battista Alberti lays down the foundations of linear perspective in painting
- 1453 French forces capture Aquitaine, ending the Hundred Years' War with England; Byzantium (Constantinople) falls to Ottoman forces under Mehmed II
- 1468 Sonni Ali, king of Songhai, captures Timbuktu for his rising empire

- 1471 Topa Inca becomes king and captures much of Chile, Bolivia, and Argentina
- 1480 Spanish Inquisition is established
- 1485 Battle of Bosworth Field: Henry Tudor defeats and kills Richard III, founding the Tudor dynasty in England
- 1492 Christopher Columbus departs for Asia, finding the Americas by mistake; Isabella and Ferdinand of Spain capture the Muslim Kingdom of Granada
- 1502 Isma'il I creates the Safavid Dynasty in Iran
- 1509 Henry VIII ascends to the English throne
- 1513 Michelangelo finishes painting the Sistine Chapel in Rome
- 1517 Martin Luther promulgates the *Ninety-Five Theses*, which bring him to the forefront of the Protestant Reformation
- 1519 Hernán Cortés arrives in Mexico
- 1520 Suleyman I “The Magnificent” succeeds to the Sultanate of the Ottoman Empire
- 1521 Fall of Tenochtitlan: Aztec empire falls to Spanish and Native American forces led by Hernán Cortés
- 1526 Babur founds the Mughal dynasty in northern India
- 1531 The Virgin of Guadalupe appears to Juan Diego, a Mexican Indian
- 1533 Cuzco, capital of the Inca empire, falls to Spanish forces under Francisco Pizarro
- 1534 Henry VIII’s Act of Supremacy declares the king, not the pope, to be the head of the Church in England
- 1536 John Calvin publishes *Institutes of Christian Religion*, a systematic guide to his influential Protestant beliefs
- 1545 The Council of Trent begins the Catholic Counter-Reformation
- 1549 Forced labor of Native Americans banned by the Spanish Crown
- 1570 Pope Pius V excommunicates Elizabeth I
- 1571 Battle of Lepanto: European allies defeat Ottoman fleet and halt Turkish expansionism; Portugal establishes a colony in Angola, Africa; Tupac Amaru, last independent Inca king, is executed in Cuzco
- 1582 Pope Gregory XIII introduces the modern calendar, which is quickly adopted by most of Catholic Europe
- 1588 Spanish Armada: England defeats Spanish invasion
- 1601 French establish trading post at Tadoussac, North America
- 1603 Death of Queen Elizabeth I of England
- 1607 English establish a colony in Jamestown, Virginia
- 1620 Pilgrims establish colony at Plymouth, Massachusetts
- 1644 Northern Manchus overthrow the Han-controlled Ming dynasty
- 1649 English parliamentary forces, having killed King Charles I, establish the Commonwealth
- 1660 Charles II restored to the English throne
- 1697 Martin de Ursua conquers Tayasal, the last independent Maya state

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Part I

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

There can be no doubt that the Middle Ages and *Renaissance* witnessed some of the most dramatic changes in the history of *homo sapiens*. This majestic sweep of time, stretching from the fifth century to the seventeenth (though starting and end points are always somewhat arbitrary) witnessed the birth of Islam, the spread of Christianity around the globe, great Chinese imperial dynasties, the discovery of new continents (the Americas from the European perspective, and the rest of the world from the Native American perspective), and numerous cultural flourishings and declines. At the start of the period, Europe, most especially northern Europe, was an economic and largely cultural backwater, whereas the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia maintained great cities and prized learning. By the end of the era, Europe had begun a vast colonial expansion that would result in the English, Spanish, and other European empires of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Early Middle Ages (410–1066)

By the time Alaric's Visigothic army stormed Rome in A.D. 410, the Roman empire had been waning for some time. The real center of imperial power had already switched to Byzantium, modern-day Istanbul in Turkey, yet the invasion of these Germanic invaders drove home the point that Imperial Rome, built on the foundations of the Roman Republic, was very much a thing of the past. The Roman Empire would live on without Rome; the *Byzantine Empire* survived into the fifteenth century—Byzantium fell at last only in 1453 to Muslim armies. The Western empire, even after Germanic overlords crowned themselves emperor and attempted to maintain the trappings of imperial rule and order, was a shadow of its former self.

Rome's empire was not the only one to dissolve in the early Middle Ages; so too did the Gupta empire of northern India perish (in the mid-sixth century). Other empires, however, arose. In Europe, the Carolingian dynasty, the most famous monarch of which is *Charlemagne*, "Charles the Great," produced the first large-scale cultural rebirth in northern Europe. After leading the Frankish kingdom in northern France for several years, Charlemagne advanced his kingdom and his power such that he was declared emperor by Pope Leo III in A.D. 800. In addition to enhancing his own power, Charlemagne took an active interest in advancing education. His Palace School at Aachen, run by the famous

Anglo-Saxon scholar Alcuin from 782 onward, became a major center for literary, scientific, and theological studies and one of the most important centers of learning throughout Christian Europe. Charlemagne's united kingdom survived his own death but was broken up among heirs upon the death of Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious, in A.D. 840.

Charlemagne's kingdom, counted from his imperial crowning to the division of the realm, lasted only 40 years. Contemporary empires in sub-Saharan Africa and China lasted much longer. An empire in western Africa called Wagadu, or the Ghana empire, flourished from at least the 800s, when Arabic accounts mention the empire, up to 1076, when expansionary and missionary Arabs sacked the capital city of Kumbi, though the Ghana empire continued in less vigorous form for two more centuries until succumbing to the Mande leader Sundiata in 1240. Wagadu owed its prosperity to the prime rule of real estate: location, location, location. Straddling the land between the gold mines of southern Africa and the gold customers of northern Africa, Wagadu fostered international trade up and down the western African continent, while also levying a tax on the goods traded. Wagadu's rise to power thus resulted from the shrewd economic exploitation of the empire's lucky location.

In China, the *Tang dynasty* (618–907) produced some of the most important poets and painters of premodern China. Po Chu-i (772–846), perhaps China's greatest poet, lived during this time. The Tang dynasty, founded by Kao-Tsu, built on the cultural reforms of the preceding Sui dynasty. Examinations, for example, were established to ensure that those most deserving of high appointment received the post, rather than those most in favor with the emperor. Of course, favoritism at court did not cease altogether, but the rigor of examination, combined with land redistribution and a commitment to small government, helped the Tang dynasty to thrive in its early years and strengthened it sufficiently to survive the intrigues of characters such as Wu-hou, a powerful queen who established her court in the western provinces and essentially ruled during the illness of her husband Kao-Tsung (649–683). Political stability encouraged economic progress, and the Tang dynasty became a major destination for Persian and later Muslim traders. These merchants introduced non-Chinese customs, and the Tang dynasty embraced them heartily, integrating them into their own traditional culture. In the realm of music, for example, the main genres were court music, common music, and foreign music. By A.D. 907, however, the dynasty had descended into a congregation of squabbling minor kingdoms.

The Americas also witnessed the growth of large, economically complex empires. By A.D. 250, the Maya, who had been living in Central America since at least 1500 B.C., had developed an urban civilization with monumental architecture, including royal palaces, pyramid temples, and ball courts. At its height, Mayan civilization comprised over 40 major cities, with a combined population in the neighborhood of two million. In the tenth century, however, the society broke up quickly, perhaps because of internecine warfare. Major cities were abandoned, though certain Yucatán cities, such as Mayapan, remained inhabited into the 1400s. By the time of the Spanish conquistadors' arrival, however, even these cities had been largely abandoned. Rather than an urbane civilization, the Spanish found a rural, agricultural people living near ruins, such as the large "pyramids" in Palenque and elsewhere, indicative of a far-different past. Although the Spanish eventually seized control of this whole region, the Mayan language continues to be widely spoken throughout the area.

The empires mentioned here developed from political and economic strength. One empire of the period—the Abbasid Caliphate—developed primarily in response to a religious movement that swept the Middle East. During the month of *Ramadan* in the year 610, *Muhammad* (A.D. 570–632) had a vision in which the angel Gabriel came to him and revealed the beginning of the *Koran*. This vision set Muhammad on a long career of missionary zeal. By the time of his death in A.D. 632, Muhammad had witnessed the conversion of almost the entire Arabian Peninsula from paganism, Christianity, or Judaism to Islam, the religion of which Muhammad was the chief prophet. This conversion had resulted from a combination of religious persuasion, political intrigue, and military success. Muhammad's success in welding together a united Arabian kingdom of new monotheists was inherited by his near relations and close associates, resulting in, respectively, the Umayyad (661–750) and Abbasid (750–1258) dynasties, which witnessed a united, although regional, Muslim empire stretching from Persia in the east along northern Africa to Spain in the west.

Another major world religion, although born several centuries before this time period, achieved prominence during the early Middle Ages. Ever since the Edict of Milan in A.D. 313, Christianity had been legal in the Roman Empire, and the new religion grew even more rapidly once believers faced no legal obstacles. By the early fifth century, Christianity had largely displaced the other religions in southern and central Europe and in northern Africa. By 1100, almost all of northern and Eastern Europe had entered “Christendom”; Christianity had become the dominant religion from Iceland in the far northwest, on the edge of the world known to the Europeans, to Constantinople (modern-day Istanbul) in the east.

Christianity, moreover, was not “just” a religion; instead, the organized Church provided a center of intellectual and cultural vigor. Throughout the early Middle Ages, monastic schools offered the main system of formal education. As a result, almost all educated individuals in Europe were involved directly with the Church. Influential intellectuals such as Gregory the Great (c. 540–604), Bede (c. 672–735), and Alcuin (c. 732–804) all saw their primary vocation to be religious; they all were priests and monks.

In addition to promoting education and religion, however, the Church also gathered an increasing amount of political and economic power. Rulers and aristocrats frequently gave significant donations of land and money to monasteries as a form of charity; over time, church institutions became major landowners with significant agricultural incomes. Although individual monks were pledged to personal poverty—they owned no personal possessions—the institutions to which they belonged were frequently very wealthy. This wealth sometimes made Church establishments a target. The Vikings, for example, frequently looted churches in England, Ireland, and France from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. With gold chalices and other precious items, the churches made soft targets for these organized attackers.

The Later Middle Ages (c. 1066–1492)

The year A.D. 1066 by no means marks a major break with the early Middle Ages, but the year usefully marks a major change for the English-speaking world. In 1066 *William the Conqueror*, duke of Normandy, seized the English crown for himself and

Historical Overview

imported a French-speaking aristocracy. As a result, the English language retained its Germanic substrate but adopted a plethora of French words to the extent that a modern English speaker can often more easily learn French than the historically more closely related language of German.

Politically, however, A.D. 1066 marks the continued development of regional powers that already had formed in the early Middle Ages. Islam and Islamic empires continued to spread throughout middle Africa and into southern Asia, for example, and China remained a major political and economic force.

The Mongol peoples, moreover, perfected the art of empire building during this time period. Genghis Khan (1162–1227) forged the loose confederation of Mongol peoples resident in and around modern-day Mongolia into an effective fighting force of horse archers that made rapid military conquests that were solidified with the administrative help of the conquered peoples themselves. When Khan died, the Mongol Empire stretched from modern-day Russia to the China Sea and from Siberia down to central China. Under Genghis Khan's grandson Kublai (1215–1294), the empire expanded even further, bringing all of China under its aegis and forming the largest geographic empire that has ever existed in human history. Only in the fourteenth century did the empire begin to disintegrate in the face of local and nativist opposition. The Chinese empire fell in 1367 to the rebelling native Ming population, and Russian forces defeated the “Golden Horde,” as the western Mongol forces were known, in 1380. The Mongol forces gradually retired back to the traditional homeland of Mongolia.

The Americas also saw the rise of a powerful new empire: the Aztecs. The Aztecs moved into central Mexico after the fall of the Toltec kingdom in the early fourteenth century. The Aztecs, also known as the Mexica, settled on the islands in Lake Texcoco and developed an innovative and robust agricultural economy that relied on the rich, fertile mud that lined the bottom of Lake Texcoco. The lush, apparently floating gardens of the Mexica startled the first Europeans to witness their beauty and productivity. Under the fifteenth-century ruler Itz'cōatl, the Aztecs began to expand their territorial control through alliance-making and military conquest. By the end of the century, the Aztecs held sway over almost 80,000 square miles, and their capital city of Tenochtitlan had perhaps 140,000 inhabitants. The strong-handed ruling tactics of the Mexica, however, backfired when a new power entered Central American politics: the Spanish. Hernán Cortés capitalized on Native American resentment of the Mexica and successfully built allied relationships that empowered the Spaniards' eventual capture of Tenochtitlan in 1521, a year after the famous Aztec leader *Moctezuma*, often called Montezuma, had died in Spanish custody.

As the end of the Aztec empire suggests, the European civilizations themselves would eventually expand into global empires. During the later Middle Ages, Europe's soon-to-come global dominance could not have been realistically predicted, but starting in the eleventh century, European societies launched serious collaborative efforts to expand their areas of political control. In 1095, Pope Urban II urged an audience at the Council of Clermont to give up internecine warfare in Europe and to focus instead on militarily retaking the Holy Lands of Palestine. Ever since Muhammad's early military and conversion campaigns, Christianity had been under threat throughout the Middle East and North Africa. By the eighth century, Muslim forces had succeeded even in

wresting Spain from the political control of Christians; the Crusades, in a sense, were the beginning of a large delayed military counterattack against the frequently hostile empires that surrounded European Christendom.

The First Crusade, launched by Urban II, was wildly successful in obtaining its objective; Jerusalem fell to the crusaders on July 15, 1099. Early expansion created a series of Crusader mini-kingdoms along the Palestinian coast and into Syria, despite frequent squabbles among the European rulers. Military setbacks, however, resulted in the loss of much of the northern territory in 1144 and then in the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin's forces in 1187. By 1189, Crusader-held territory was essentially limited to the cities of Antioch and Tripoli. Successive Crusader campaigns recaptured Jerusalem for brief periods (1229–1239 and 1240–1244), before Muslim factions succeeded in maintaining control over the city until 1917, when British troops forced the withdrawal of the Ottomans.

The success of Muslim forces against the west European crusaders paralleled their long-term success against the military forces of eastern Europe. The Byzantine Empire, which was the surviving remnant of the Roman Empire, had bordered Muslim-held lands along its southern and eastern borders ever since Muhammad's initial successes. Throughout the later Middle Ages, the empire increasingly crumbled under the pressure of the Christian kingdoms of western Europe and the Muslim kingdoms to the east and south. In A.D. 1025, the Byzantine Empire stretched from southern Italy, across all of modern-day Serbia, Croatia, and Greece, to the far-eastern sections of modern-day Turkey. By 1265, because of the aggression of western Crusaders and hostile Muslims, the Byzantine Empire had shrunk to include only western Turkey and the central Balkan peninsula. By 1355, the empire had lost Turkey east of the isthmus of Constantinople. Finally, on May 29, 1453, the Ottoman Turks under Mehmed II breached the walls of Byzantium, defeated the remaining Byzantine forces and their Venetian and Genoese allies, and subsumed this last major surviving piece of the ancient Roman Empire into the Ottoman Empire. The Byzantine emperor Constantine was last seen fighting desperately on foot at one of the city's gates. Isolated pockets of resistance, such as Trebizond, were crushed by 1461. The Roman Empire was no more.

The political tensions of this time period frequently mirrored religious differences. The Crusades, for example, clearly targeted the lands held by non-Christians, whereas the expansion of the predominantly Muslim Ottoman Empire precipitated the political collapse of Orthodox Christianity outside of Russia. These wars between members of different religions, however, do not indicate that religious differences were the major instigators of war throughout this time period. Western Europe, for example, engaged in frequent internecine squabbles in which Christian kingdoms battled other Christian kingdoms. To give but one example, France and England fought the intermittent Hundred Years' War (1337–1453) despite professing identical religious beliefs. Similarly, feuding between Shi'a Muslims and Sunni Muslims commenced shortly after the assassination of the leader Uthman in 656, possibly by the followers of Ali, the cousin of Muhammad himself. These essentially political divides gradually became reinforced by religious divides. As this last episode suggests, religious differences frequently came to mirror political differences.

Several new religious traditions did develop during this time period, at least in part as a result of political events. Christianity, for example, split into two main forms: western

Christianity, centered on the Bishop of Rome as the leader of the global Christian church, and eastern Christianity, centered on the patriarch of Byzantium. These two branches of organized Christianity had become increasingly less interconnected because of political and linguistic differences. The Byzantine Church was centered in the surviving part of the ancient Roman Empire, whereas the western Church viewed Rome as the spiritual center but held sway throughout the multiple kingdoms of western Europe. The Byzantine church, moreover, used Greek in its liturgy and scholarship, and the Roman church used Latin. These political and linguistic differences encouraged separate developments in these two realms of Christianity, and significant theological and practical differences eventually developed. In particular, the west's inclusion of the *filioque* clause in the creed (which asserted that the Holy Spirit proceeded from God the Father and—the change—God the Son) and the growing western consensus that the clergy should be celibate and not marry alienated the sympathies of the Greek-speaking church, to the point that mutual excommunications were issued by the Bishop of Rome and the Byzantine patriarch in 1054. Throughout the later Middle Ages then, Christianity lived with deep schism.

Religious pressures likewise affected Asian and American religious traditions. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, China's small but prosperous Sung Dynasty produced intellectuals such as Chou Tun-I (1017–1073) and Chu Hsi (1130–1200). Chu Hsi's restructuring and edition of Confucian writings into the Four Books created a system for Confucian study that has dominated Chinese, Japanese, and Korean *Confucianism* ever since. From the fourteenth century onward, the Four Books became the basis of the state examinations that determined careers in the civil service. As a result, the leaders of the Chinese state were, at least theoretically, masters of Confucian philosophy. Chu Hsi encouraged his disciples to explore the nature of the universe with both a sense of reverence and persistent investigation. His pedagogy encouraged not just reading and contemplation but also calligraphy and physical exercise, producing well-rounded individuals.

In Mesoamerica, the spread of Aztec religion corresponded with the military spread of the Aztec kingdom itself. In fact, the pictographic depiction of an enemy city's defeat was a pictogram picturing the burning of that city's temple. Religion and politics were inextricably interwoven. Nonetheless, Aztec religion appears to have been similar to the religions of the Aztecs' neighbors. The Mexica had a specialized priestly class who oversaw the public worship of the many Aztec gods. The priestly vocation was prestigious, though difficult; priests were celibate and made frequent offerings of their own blood. Priests performed these blood offerings by drawing string through lacerations in their tongues and earlobes. The priests would also occasionally sacrifice captured prisoners of war to ensure the continued survival and benevolence of Xipe Totec, the god of fertility.

Although the later Middle Ages, like most eras, witnessed frequent conflict and war, humankind benefited from an increasing codependence and specialization in production. International trade became a major means of creating wealth and increasing productivity. The wars and empire building of this period ironically increased global cooperation. Muslim merchants, following missionaries, created trade routes that stretched from the western Mediterranean into far-east Asia. The Mongol empire created a political unit that stretched from Russia through China and similarly fostered a pan-Eurasian economy. The Crusades, moreover, brought European aristocrats and commoners in direct

contact with many of these rich trade routes and arguably increased European interest in luxury goods such as spices and silks. The Aztec empire, moreover, created a vast, prosperous economy, rich in skilled tradesmen and other professionals, that covered much of Mesoamerica. In all of these situations, military expansion efforts, even when they failed as in the case of the Crusades, frequently resulted in long-term economic benefits.

The Renaissance and Early Modern Eras (1492–1660)

The trade routes that developed in the later Middle Ages ultimately spurred the final era of globalization. Columbus set off in 1492 to discover a more direct route to the trade centers of India and Asia, thereby also cutting out the Arab middlemen. By sailing due west across the Atlantic, he hoped to circumnavigate the globe and demonstrate that India could be reached by sailing directly west. What Columbus did not know, however, was that the Americas were in the way. On October 12, 1492, Columbus touched down in the Caribbean. On October 28, he landed in Cuba and became convinced that he had actually landed in Japan. Lack of a translator prevented Columbus from realizing his mistake, but by 1498 it had become clear that the lands at which Columbus had arrived were in fact a previously unknown region of the world and that Asia lay still further to the west. Columbus never did, of course, discover a route to Asia, but his famous voyages launched a wave of colonization, expansion, and profiteering by European powers in the so-called New World.

The wealth of natural resources commandeered by the European powers, especially Spain, Portugal, England, and France, strengthened the European economy and promised fresh starts for those discontented with life at home in Europe, though this European intervention proved disastrous for the native Americans. A deadly combination of military attack, political oppression, and disease unconsciously (and sometimes consciously) imported from Europe resulted in a decline of perhaps 80 percent in the Native American population within a short period of time. By the year 1600, all the major Native American empires in Meso- and South America had been conquered by Spanish conquistador forces. Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital, fell to Hernán Cortés in 1521, and Cuzco, the center of the Inca Empire in the Andes Mountains of South America, fell to the Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro in 1533. Scattered Amerindian tribes survived independently for longer, especially in North America because of the less aggressive policies of the French explorers who held much of the North American continent. U.S. expansionism, however, had destroyed most Native Americans' traditional lifestyles and appropriated their land by 1900.

Africa also possessed vast resources that would gradually attract European investors. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, native peoples controlled most of the trade. In North Africa, Muslim Arabs and Berbers who were linked into the vast network of Muslim states controlled the political and economic spheres. Further south, black African nations controlled the trade. The Songhai Empire, for example, controlled the trade along the Niger River and attempted to balance the varying lifestyles of its Muslim urbanites, influenced by the prevailing religion among the wealthy classes throughout north and increasingly central Africa and the polytheistic pastoralists in the countryside.

Sonni Ali, who took power around 1464, led the Songhai kingdom to political unity and dominance within the local region, recapturing Timbuktu (the second largest area in the Songhai region) from the Tuareg. Muhammad I Askia, who ruled 1493–1528, consolidated Sonni Ali's gains. Frequent dynastic squabbles and internal tensions weakened the state, however, and invading Moroccans, equipped with the latest military technology, including firearms, ended Songhai independence in 1591. Guerilla activity in rural Songhai ultimately failed to disrupt the Moroccan grip on the area.

Northern Africa and the coastal Middle East, however, were dominated by the Ottoman Empire. Osman I (1258–1324), the founder of the Ottoman Empire, carved out of the declining Byzantine Empire a small kingdom for himself. His successors expanded their territory, despite setbacks, until, by 1550 during the golden reign of Suleyman I, the Ottomans controlled the Mediterranean sea coasts from modern-day Serbia around the eastern Mediterranean and west to Algiers in Africa. Internal and external pressures led to continued territorial loss from the late seventeenth century onward, until the defeat and dissolution of the remaining empire during World War I.

The Muslim world also saw other, smaller empires during this time period. The Safavid Dynasty controlled modern-day Iran and parts of Iraq from 1502 to 1736 and notably employed an Englishman, Sir Robert Sherley, to modernize the army in 1599, with consequent success in skirmishes against the Ottoman Turks to the west. Further east, in northern India, the *Mughal Dynasty* ruled from its foundation by Babur in 1526, achieving particular strength under Akbar (r. 1566–1605). Poor government and oppression of the large Hindu population undermined Mughal authority and the kingdom during the late seventeenth century. In 1748 the Hindu Maratha caste, comprising strong farmers and soldiers, succeeded in securing most of northern India.

In far-east Asia, the Ming Dynasty of China dominated the early modern era. The Ming Dynasty emerged in the early fourteenth century when the majority Han ethnic group revolted against the Mongol rulers in far-east Asia during a period of severe economic distress. Zhu Yuanzhang joined the rebels and eventually became the main leader. In 1368 the rebels under Zhu Yuanzhang controlled most of modern China, and Zhu Yuanzhang declared himself emperor, thereby starting the Ming Dynasty. Zhu Yuanzhang adopted the name Hongwu as his imperial name. Although Hongwu ruled autocratically and forcefully, he nevertheless succeeded in repairing the agricultural underpinnings of the Chinese economy.

By the early fifteenth century, the Ming Dynasty seemed poised to extend its kingdom overseas. Starting in the year 1405, the naval commander Zheng He completed a series of sea expeditions to the Middle East and the east coast of Africa, bringing back not only trade goods but also emissaries from the countries that he visited. Zheng He and the Ming Dynasty, however, never used these exploratory trips as a means of establishing trading posts or even colonies in the rich lands of the Middle East or in eastern Africa. Instead, the Ming Dynasty concentrated on expanding the territory around central China itself. The Ming Dynasty reached from Mongolia and Turkistan to Korea, Vietnam, and Myanmar, and Chinese merchants traded heavily throughout Southeast Asia and set up communities of expatriates. By the seventeenth century, China and Spain carried on a brisk trade, facilitated by the Spanish base in the Philippines. A gradual weakening of the imperial government, however, enabled the northern Manchus to overthrow the

Hans in 1644. The majority Han population, however, would look back to the Ming Dynasty as a rallying idea against Manchu rule. The Ming Dynasty, despite its autocratic and frequently despotic tendencies, became viewed as a golden era of self-rule.

During the same period that the nations of the world were weaving themselves more tightly into a global economy and—increasingly—a global society, European domestic society also underwent major cultural restructuring. The Renaissance, beginning in the fourteenth century but with roots going far deeper, and the Reformation, beginning in the fifteenth century (but once again with more ancient roots), dramatically changed the religious, intellectual, and political landscape. The Renaissance, which means literally “rebirth,” self-consciously attempted to resurrect the glories of ancient Rome and Greece. Authors such as Petrarch (1304–1374) modeled their Latin prose on the works of Cicero, Virgil, and other authors from the first century B.C. In choosing these authors as their paragons, Renaissance authors intentionally slighted the Latin prose of the Middle Ages. Although the intention was to return Latin to the grammatical integrity of a perceived golden age, in reality, choosing a form of the Latin language that no one spoke and that could be acquired only through very diligent study resulted ultimately in a decline of the day-to-day use of the Latin language. Latin had retained pride of place throughout Europe in almost all major spheres of influence (including government, religion, education, and literature) during the Middle Ages. But this everyday Latin had grown very distant from the Latin spoken by Cicero and resembled closely the vernacular Romance languages of the continent. By enforcing an archaic Latin, the Renaissance thinkers unwittingly dealt a deathblow to the language. Increasingly, the vernacular languages (i.e., the languages spoken by the common people) replaced Latin as a form of communication, until, by the late seventeenth century, Latin was used, for the most part, only in the Catholic Church and in intergovernmental correspondence; in sum, Latin still served as a *lingua franca* between learned individuals of different nations, but the vernacular languages had replaced Latin in almost every other situation. This shifting linguistic situation produced some of the most enduring works of literary art, including Shakespeare’s plays and Dante’s poetic treatment of heaven, hell, and purgatory.

Even though the Renaissance viewed itself as a rebirth, many of its ideas were brand new. In the arts, for example, the Renaissance witnessed the birth of accurate visual perspective. The Italian master Giotto (died 1337) conducted early experiments in perspective, and Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1466) laid out the mathematical foundations of the vanishing point, and other fifteenth-century painters, such as Masaccio and the Dutchman Jan van Eyck, perfected the technique.

Religion changed even more radically during the Renaissance. These religious changes, moreover, reflected deeper cultural shifts. The invention of the printing press in the early fifteenth century, for example, dramatically reduced the cost of books. Previously, scribes needed to laboriously copy out a book by hand; with the printing press, and the growing use of paper instead of velum and other animal skins, thousands of books could be produced during the time that only one book could be copied out by hand. This technological revolution increased supply and decreased the price of books. As a result, the middle class, and even to some degree the lower classes, had ready access to written information. Literacy rates increased steadily, and with literacy came increased education and self-confidence.

A steady belief in the ability of the individual to understand complex texts appears in the philosophies of the major Protestant reformers. The followers of both Martin Luther (1483–1546) and John Calvin (1509–1564), for example, believed that individual believers had the ability to interpret the Bible accurately and correctly. As a result, the Church hierarchy and its head, the pope, did not have the authority to enforce a particular theological interpretation. Instead, the individual Christian had a direct and personal connection with God; a priest was not strictly necessary to bring the believers to God. This interpretation of Christianity, which had deep roots within the mainstream Catholic Church also, became divisive as groups of Christians actively withdrew themselves from communion with their neighbors or with neighboring countries. The religious unity of western Europe, which had produced tremendous accomplishments in education, literature, and military power, dissolved as different regions sided either with reformers or with bishops in union with the pope.

Although the Reformation was, in a sense, a war of ideas, religious questions were often settled by political expediency. *Henry VIII* of England (r. 1509–1547) offers an excellent example. When Henry could not persuade the pope to grant Henry an annulment from his wife, Catherine of Aragon, who had not produced a male heir, Henry declared in 1534 that the king, not the pope, was the head of the Church in England. In this Act of Supremacy, Henry did not set forth a radically different theology. In fact, Henry's orthodoxy had been rewarded by Pope Leo X several years earlier, in 1521, as a reward for Henry's published tome that defended the validity of the seven sacraments against Lutheran theologians. Henry's Act of Supremacy, then, did not seek to establish a new theology, merely a new head of the Church. With the separation from the Catholic Church, however, the new Anglican Church quickly fell under the influence of Reformist theologians. The desire for control over both church and state similarly induced many German princes to separate their national churches from the Church of Rome. By the seventeenth century, England, Scandinavia, and most of northern Germany had separated from communion with the Church of Rome.

The crisis in religion, precipitated by politics to some degree, soon came to destabilize the politicians themselves. The theory of equality—that all human beings possess essentially the same abilities and rights—challenged not just religious hierarchies but also political aristocracies. Monarchy was built on the fundamental assumption that some people—royalty—were more fit to rule than others. The word *aristocracy* means, in fact, “rule by the best”; during the Middle Ages, the “best” became largely synonymous with the noble families. The rethinking of social relationships during the Reformation, however, encouraged the fundamental belief that hierarchies, be they secular or religious, had no special authority or right to rule. The English Civil War (1642–1651) shows the logical continuation of these intellectual ideas. In this war, parliamentary forces, supported by radical Protestants, defeated the king and his forces, who were Catholic sympathizers. After they had captured and beheaded the king, *Charles I*, in 1649, Parliament established a Commonwealth, the first large-scale democracy in Europe since the time of ancient Greece. This democracy did not resemble modern democracy—the poor and women were not allowed to vote, for example—but the Commonwealth represented a dramatic break with the past. The coinage drove home the difference: gone was the king's head, gone was the Latin. In their place stood the shield of England, an

abstract symbol clearly representing everyone, and English words that everyone could understand.

The Commonwealth did not last long. The leader of the parliamentary forces, Oliver Cromwell, eventually assumed both the powers and the trappings of kingship, though he eschewed the title and the crown itself. In 1660, less than two years after Cromwell's death in 1658, *Charles II*, the son of the decapitated Charles I, was invited to return to England as king. Britain's experiment with social equality had failed, in no small part because of the corruption and power-grabbing of politicians. The seeds of democracy, however, would take more lasting root in the American and French revolutions during the eighteenth century. These new political undertakings started a genuinely new era in the history of the West, and, ultimately, in the history of the world.

Part II

DOMESTIC LIFE

Domestic life describes the activities, roles, and rhythms that adorn family life. Women and children, both of whom were frequently expected to remain out of the public spotlight during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, have a special connection with domestic life. Throughout much of the past, the home was considered to be the proper place for women and children. These general tendencies, however, were not rules, and we would go far wrong to say that women were excluded from powerful roles. After all, Queen Elizabeth I of England (r. 1558–1603) was perhaps the most powerful monarch in European history. The section on Women's Roles seeks to paint a nuanced picture of the complex roles that women played in the past.

Children, as the following section demonstrates, had similarly complex and conflicting roles. They were supposed to be subservient to their parents and show it in such ritual behavior as standing up and uncovering their heads when their parents entered the room. But children entered the workforce much earlier as well. While children from wealthy families might have many years of education, most children started to work full time as soon as they were able. The luckiest of these children would learn a trade through a formal apprenticeship, though the documents show that many children were desperately homesick. The touching way in which parents frequently talk about their children shows that the parents also missed their children.

The phrase “life cycles” refers to the ritual events that mark important life stages, such as baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Cultures across the world mark such stages, and there appears to be a common human desire to come together, celebrate, and mark important changes in the life of an individual. These ceremonies can also become controversial. Several of the documents in the Life Cycles section describe attempts to restrain lavish celebrations or to deny the celebrations of certain minority groups, such as Quakers. In these situations, life cycles and domestic life clearly played a role in public life.

Life Cycles

Regardless of race or nationality, all human beings go through significant, universal life changes. At the very least, all human beings are born, and all human beings die. Many humans, however, will also take important steps such as marrying. Many of these

key stages in life are celebrated through rituals that mark out and sanctify the person making an important transition. Although the particulars of each culture are different, the wide spread of ceremonial life transitions serves to unite cultures around the world.

Baptism (or similar birth rituals) and marriage are excellent examples of ceremonies found in the vast majority of human cultures. The detailed description of European wedding customs provided by Louis de Gaya below (Document 5) demonstrates that all the cultures are alike in celebrating the union of husband and wife, even if most of the interest in de Gaya's account comes from the vivid differences in the ceremonies that celebrate that union. Although German brides carry an onion to cry more effusively, and Polish brides circle a fire three times in a ritual that may predate the arrival of Christianity, both brides nevertheless are specifically and ritually demarcating the transition from being a single woman to being a married woman and—frequently—a mother. The heavy and detailed symbolism investing such rituals is explored in Document 1, regarding the meaning of ritual baptism.

The ritual transitions of the life cycle frequently also became occasions for conspicuous consumption. Perhaps this evolution developed out of the simple fact that a large audience was frequently present to witness an individual's celebration of a life stage. The individual took the opportunity to make a good impression. The seventeenth-century proscription against lavish weddings (Document 3) suggests that such spectacular consumption could even be viewed as harmful to society. A particularly interesting display of wealth surrounds burial, considering that the individual being buried does not get to enjoy the display, even if the deceased provided an elaborate funereal monument, as in the case of Achabar-Sha, described by Thomas Roe (Document 6). Instead, such death monuments seem to benefit the living. Certainly, the Muslims visiting the shrines of the saints receive inspiration and encouragement, but the saints themselves have long since entered paradise according to Muslim tradition.

Certain life stages, then as now, were distinctly unglamorous. Old age in the Middle Ages and the *Renaissance* could be just as troubling as it is today. The gifted Chinese poet Po Chu-i records a quiet life of contentment in the autobiographical poems dealing with his old age (Document 2). They feature a definite sense of peace, but at the same time, the excitement of life has departed. Similarly, although weddings were normally an occasion for ostentatious parties, religious minorities such as the *Quakers* held small weddings, in part because of government and societal opposition (Document 4). While the Scots were celebrating marriage so lavishly that the London government sought to curtail the festivities, the Quaker weddings were not even considered to be valid weddings. Life cycles and their celebrations do unite people and cultures because of their universal practice; perhaps the differences, however, are just as important.

1. *The Meaning of Ritual Baptism*

Baptisms, or similar infant rituals, welcome young Christians into the world. Baptism, a term that derives from a Greek word meaning “to dip” or “to bathe,” involves sprinkling or briefly submersing a new Christian in water. In the traditional Christianity of the Middle

Ages and Europe, baptism generally took place soon after an infant's birth. Baptism conferred church membership and, according to Christian theology, a unity with Christ and his salvation. As a result, if an infant died, he or she would nevertheless enjoy the rewards of heaven by merit of the baptism. Unbaptized children, however, would go to limbo, a place of perfect peace and comfort but devoid of the divine rewards of heaven.

The anonymous author of the sixteenth-century document reproduced here is careful to clarify the symbolism of the baptismal ritual. For example, the author suggests that salt, which is given to the baptized, symbolizes wisdom, and the flame of the candle symbolizes the extinguishing of sin. The author also carefully points out that baptism is only the start of a long journey. The baptized individual must be careful to avoid sins throughout his or her life.

Although the Catholic Church and more conservative churches baptized children, some radical Protestant churches believed that only adults should receive baptism because children were not yet able to make an informed choice on their own behalf. These Protestant congregations nevertheless believed that children should lead Christian lives, even if they were not yet fully professed members of the church.

Only a few words from this document will cause great difficulty to the modern reader: orisons are prayers, gossips are godparents, and Pater Noster, Ave, and Credo are particular prayers.

When a christian man's child is born into this world, it is brought to church and three witnesses cometh with him, that is, Godfather and Godmother and when they be agreed what name shall be to the child, then the priest maketh a sign of the cross in the forehead of the child and sayeth thus: "A token of the holy cross of our Lord Jesu Christ I set in thy forehead and so at the breast in like manner." And then the priest sayeth many orisons over the child commanding the devil to knowledge his sentence and give worship to the living God and true and to Jesu Christ and to the Holy Ghost and depart from this servant of God, and then he putteth salt into the mouth of the child and sayeth thus: "Salt of wisdom, the God be mercifull to thee into everlasting life, Amen." By this salt of wisdom understand God's word, which should be lerned in the mouth of the child when it beginneth to speak as the Apostle sayeth, "Be our word savored with salt evermore in grace." Then the priest wetteth his thomb in spotil and toucheth the child's ear and sayeth, "Be thou opened." That is, understand in all thy five wits, to hear and to seak the word of God with love and dread and holy devotion. For the Judgment of God shall touch in which we should yield account of every idle word. Also the priest toucheth the nostrils of the child for it should smell the odour of wetness of heavenly things, more than every earthly thing. Soon after this the priest biddeth all the people that there be to say a Pater Noster and an Ave and a Credo, beseeeking God that the child may rightfully take his Christendom, and well keep it to the ending of his life. And then the priest taketh the child by the right hand and calleth his name and sayeth, "Come thou into the temple of God that thou may have everlasting life and live into world of worlds, Amen." Then the child is brought to the font and the priest calleth it by name and sayeth *Abranuncio Satane et omnibus operibus eius et omnibus pompis eius*, that is, "I forsake Satan, that is the devil, and all his works and all his pomps or prides." And the gossips sayeth, *Abranuncio*, that is "I forsake." Therefore where he is not a false christian man that keepeth not the covenant of these words but afterward wrappeth him in the fiend's pride in heart and in clothing and in wicked working; for if this covenant should be truly kept, all the tokens of pride in man must be

done away, saying each token of pride is a pomp of the fiend. After sayeth the priest to the child, "Believest thou in God the Father, Almighty Maker of heaven and earth." The child is dumb and may not speak but and it were of age and might speak, it should answer for itself therefore the gossips, answering, *Credo*, that is, "I believe." After asketh the priest, "And believest thou in Jesu Christ, His only son, our lord, born and suffered," and they say, "I believe." The third time asketh the priest, "And believest thou in the Holy Ghost, in holy church, faith in communion of saints, forgiveness of sins, the rising of flesh, and after the ever-lasting life." And they say, "I believe." Then sayeth the priest *Quid petis*, "What askest thou." They say "Baptism." "Would thou be baptized?" sayeth the priest, and they say *Volo*, "I will." Then the priest taketh the child and sayeth, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Amen." And so he plungeth it in the water and commandeth the gossips to lay hand on the child's head, for they been witnesses of his Baptism, and receive the charge to teach it and the truth of his believe that is the commandments and the dooms of God, and to flee the poms and prides of the fiend, for the common people and all men should know and keep the commandments of God, and priests his holy counsels, and Lords his just dooms, and if they do not this, they be wrongfully called Christian men. And thus blind priests bear false witnesses of young children christened, that afterward serve the devil whom they forsook saying, *Abranuncio*. After these things the priest anointeth the child with oil and lapped in his chrism and taketh it a candel burning in his hand, and sayeth, *Accipe lampadem ardentem irriprensibilem; custodi baptismum tuum; serva mandata ut convenit Dominus ad nuptias possis occurrere ei una cum sanctis in aula celestis ut habeas vitam eternam et vivas in secula seculorum, Amen*. That is to say, "Have thou a burning lamp unreprouable; keep thou thy baptism and keep thou the commandments that when the Lord cometh to the weddings, thou mayest be against him as one with the saints in the heavenly hall, that thou have ever lasting life and live into the world of worlds, Amen."

But all christian folk should busily learn to know the greatness of charge which they receive in their baptism. For with four things we be charged in our baptism, although blind priests know it not, when they give to us four Elements in tokening of them. That is salt, and water, and oil, and fire. The first charge is that we take salt of wisdom of God's word and rule our life thereafter and salt our souls that they stink not in sin. For and this heavenly salt fail from men, they should be cast out as Christ teacheth in the gospel. The second charge is, that our ears be opened ever more ready to hear Christs gospel and understand it. For Christ sayeth, "He that hath ears of hearing, Let him hear, and he that readeth, let him understand." The third charge is this, that we keep our Baptism that is the covenant of our baptism, and true belief in the Father and the Son, and the Holy Ghost as the priest apposeth us when we say *Credo*. The fourth charge is this, that we keep the commandments of God, as the priest commandeth us at the font, putting a candle burning in our hand, for as a candle burning is wasted by fire, so sins in our soul should be wasted and destroyed with keeping of the commandments of God, having devout love to him and to our even Christian. And this is the second baptism, that saint John teacheth when he sayeth, "I baptize in water, but another shall come after me stronger than I and he shall baptize you in the Holy Ghost and fire." And without this second baptism may no man be saved, as Christ said to Nichodemus, "Truly, I say to thee, but a man be born again of water and of the Holy ghost, he may

not enter into the kingdom of God.” Also, Paul teacheth that the first baptism in water only, maketh us not safe, but the asking of a good conscience in God and faith not feigned, the belief that worketh by charity. For Christ sayeth, “He that believeth in me, floods of quick water should flow from his womb,” that is the Holy Ghost that Christ calleth the comforter, which floweth ever into the hearts of meek men that make them ready to die; for that man that shall dwell before the blessed face of God in heaven, shall receive the earnest of the Holy Ghost in earth. And this is the second baptism that fleshly priests and swinish people knoweth not, for their hearts be stopped with fleshly lust, that the floods of the Holy ghost may not enter into them, and therefore priests be in peril that teach not the second Baptism. For it sufficeth not to salvation of man to wash his body in water of Baptism and suffer his soul to stink in sin through breaking of the commandments of God. For thus priests read in the holy Psalm, *Increpasti superbos maledicti qui declinant a mandatis tuis*, that is to say, “Thou blamest the proud, they be accursed that bow away from thine behests.” And thus God shall blame proud priests for they pursue poor men for the learning of the commandments the which they charge them to keep in the hour of their baptism, and all that bear the name of christian men should cry against this error. For what error is more vile in the sight of God than to bind men to a law and afterward pursue them for the same law, and thus for dread of evil priests, men dare not keep Christ’s behests and the ghostly birth of our mother holy church is despised of proud men that know not the bond of their baptism. Amen.

Source: *A Declaracion of the Seremonies Anexid to the Sacrament of Baptyme: What They Sygnyffie and How We Owght to Understande Them*. N.p., 1537, pp. 1–11.

2. Old and Middle Age in Tang China

Po Chu-i (772–846) rose to prominence as a poet during the Chinese Tang dynasty. His descriptive powers and gentle but serious tone make his poems memorable. In the two following poems, he discusses both the changes that come throughout life and his comfortable, though limited, life in advanced old age. According Po Chu-i, the years between 50 and 60 years old are the best. Before this time, the physical passions—the Five Lusts, as Po Chu-i terms them—distract people from the deeper and more important aspects of love. After this time period, disease and weakness prevent people from pursuing their chosen activities.

The second poem, Po Chu-i’s last, records his lifestyle in the last days of his life. The poet receives diligent care from servants and grandchildren, and the needs of daily life are placed in his convenient reach. Nevertheless, the poet associates the activities of life as “trifling affairs” and soon goes to sleep basking in the southern sun. The symbolic connection between sleep and death permeates the poem—Po Chu-i is ready to die.

On Being Sixty

Between thirty and forty, one is distracted by the Five Lusts;
Between seventy and eighty, one is a prey to a hundred diseases.
But from fifty to sixty one is free from all ills;

Calm and still—the heart enjoys rest.
 I have put behind me Love and Greed; I have done with Profit
 and Fame;
 I am still short of illness and decay and far from decrepit age.
 Strength of limb I still possess to seek the rivers and hills;
 Still my heart has spirit enough to listen to flutes and
 strings.
 At leisure I open new wine and taste several cups;
 Drunken I recall old poems and sing a whole volume.
 Meng-te has asked for a poem and herewith I exhort him
 Not to complain of three-score, “the time of obedient ears.”

Last Poem

They have put my bed beside the unpainted screen;
 They have shifted my stove in front of the blue curtain.
 I listen to my grandchildren, reading me a book;
 I watch the servants, heating up my soup.
 With rapid pencil I answer the poems of friends;
 I feel in my pockets and pull out medicine-money.
 When this superintendence of trifling affairs is done,
 I lie back on my pillows and sleep with my face to the
 South.

Source: *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*. Translated by Arthur Waley. London: Constable, 1918, pp. 161, 168.



Pottery attendant with three color glaze, Tang dynasty, early eighth century A.D., from tomb at Chungpu near Xian, Shaanxi province, China, 29.7cm. The Art Archive/Genius of China Exhibition.

3. Lavish Weddings Prohibited in England

Baptisms, weddings, and burials were not simply religious and family events—frequently they were also lavish parties. The festivities surrounding these events became so lavish that King James II of England (r. 1685–1688) thought it necessary to issue a proclamation implementing legislation—enacted under Charles II—to restrain the festivities. James’s royal proclamation is reproduced here. Although the proclamation puts forth only vague justifications for the imposed restrictions, the restrictions themselves were severe. At weddings, for example, each side was able to bring only four friends, plus their servants, in addition to their family members and teachers. Moreover, they were permitted to change their clothes only twice during the festivities (changing clothes frequently was a way of showing off wealth). Violating these provisions resulted in a fine of 25 percent of the year’s personal income—a very substantial sum, although maximums did limit the potential damage done depending on social class.

Indeed, the importance of social class appears clearly in this document. Not only did different social classes suffer different penalties, but they also enjoyed different privileges. The funerals of noblemen were allowed 100 noble guests (servants are not counted), barons were permitted 60 noble guests, and landed gentry 30, whereas lowly Citizens of the Burgh were permitted only 12 noble mourners at their funerals.

A PROCLAMATION AGAINST PENNY-WEDDINGS

James, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, To Macers of Our Privy Council, or Messengers at Arms, Our Sheriffs in that part, conjunctly and severally, specially constitute, of Our dearest Royal Brother of ever glorious Memory, Entitled, *Act Restraining the exorbitant Expence of Marriages*, etc. upon the considerations therein-mentioned, the keeping of Penny-Weddings is Prohibited and Discharged, under and with the Certifications and Qualifications thereby expressly provided. And whereas, notwithstanding of the said Act and Prohibition, divers persons, Vintners and others, have, and still continue to contravene so necessary and useful a Law, to the great contempt of Our Authority, expense, and abuse of Our Leidges, contrary to the design and intent thereof. Therefore, We with Advice of Our Privy Council, Do hereby Ordain the said Act of Parliament to be put in full and vigorous execution against the Contraveners, conform to the tenor thereof in all points. And to the end that all persons may be of new printed, and subjoined hereto, and published in manner underwritten. And therefore, Our Will is, and We Charge you strictly, and Command that incontinent these Our Letter seen, we pass to the Mercat-cross of *Edinburgh*, and all the other Mercat-Crosses of the Head-Burghs of the Shires of this Kingdom, and there in Our Royal Name and Authority, by open Proclamation make publication of Our Pleasure in the Premises, and also read the foresaid Act of Parliament hereunto subjoined, that none may pretend Ignorance, under the Pains and Certifications therein-mentioned.

Given under our Signet at Edinburgh, the sixth day of December, One thousand six hundred eighty seven. And of our Reign the third year. God save the King. Per actum Dominorum Secreti Concilii. Will. Paterson.

FOLLOWS THE TENOR OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED ACT OF PARLIAMENT

Act Restraining the exorbitant expence of Marriages, Baptisms, and Burials. September 13, 1681.

Our Sovereign Lord, Considering the great hurt and prejudice, arising to this Kingdom, by the superfluous expence bestowed at Marriages, Baptisms, and Burials. For repressing of which abuse in time coming, His Majesty, with Advice and Consent of His Estates of Parliament, Does Statute and Ordain, That Marriages, Baptisms, and Burials, shall be solemnized, and gone about, in sober, and decent manner. And that at Marriages, besides the married persons, their Parents, Children, Brothers, and Sisters, and the Family wherein they live, There shall not be present at any Contract of Marriage, or in-fare, or meet upon occasion thereof, above four Friends on either side, with their ordinary domestic Servants, and that neither Bride-groom, nor Bride, nor their Parents, or Relations, Tutors, or Curators for them, and to their use, shall make above two changes of Raiment at that time, or upon that occasion. Certifying such persons as shall contravene, if they be Landed persons, They shall be liable in the fourth part of their yearly valued Rent, and those who are not Landed Persons, in the fourth part of their Moveables, Burgesses according to their Condition and Means, not exceeding five hundred Merks Scots, and mean Craftsmen and

Servants, not exceeding one hundred Merks: And if there shall be any greater number of persons that aforesaid, in any House, or Inn, within Burgh, or Suburbs thereof, or within two Miles of the same, where Penny-Weddings are made, that the Master of the House shall be Fined in the Sum of five hundred Merks Scots. And it is statute and Ordained, That at Baptisms, upon that occasion, besides the Parents, Children, Brothers, and Sisters, and those of the Family, there shall not be present above four Witnesses. And Further, His Majesty, with Consent foresaid, Statutes and Ordains, That there shall not be invited to Burials, any greater number of persons than those following, *viz.* To the Burial of Noblemen, and Bishops, and their Wives, not above one hundred Noblemen and Gentlemen: To the Burial of a Baron of Quality, not above Sixty, and other Landed Gentlemen, not above Thirty. And that the Mourners at the Burials of Noblemen, and Bishops, and their Ladies, do not exceed Thirty, and at the Burials of Privy Counsellors, Lords of Session, Barons, Provosts of Burghs, and their Wives, the number of Mourners do not exceed Twenty four, And at the Burials of all other Landed Gentlemen, and Citizens within Burgh, they do not exceed the number of Twelve. And Prohibits, and Discharges the using, or carrying of any Pencils, Banners, and other Honours, at Burials, except only the eight Branches to be upon the Pale, or upon the Coffin, where there is no Pale, under the foresaids penalties respective, in case they contravene. And it is Statute and Ordained, That there be no Mourning Cloaks used at Burials, nor at any other time, under the pain of One Hundred pounds Scots.

Source: James II. *A Proclamation against Penny-Weddings*. Edinburgh: Andrew Anderson, 1687.

4. Quaker Marriages

Originating in seventeenth-century England, the Quakers, like other minority religious groups in Europe, frequently suffered official and unofficial persecution. In the document reproduced here, the Quakers object to the English government's refusal to recognize Quaker marriages as valid—the only licit marriages at the time were those performed within the official Church of England. By offering an example of a marriage certificate to Parliament, the Quakers hoped to prove to the politicians that their marriages also deserved to be recognized as valid by the government.

The marriage certificate clearly meets the major criteria of marriage as understood at that time: the contract is between the man and the woman; neither the man nor the woman is currently married; the proposed marriage has been announced several weeks ahead of time (called reading the banns) so that anyone might protest; the marriage itself is performed publicly, in front of witnesses; and the man and the woman exchange Christian vows and set their hands ceremonially together. Thus, throughout the document, the Quakers call attention to how similar Quaker marriage is to Anglican (Church of England) marriage. Despite such petitions, the Quakers continued to face official and unofficial obstacles to the practice of their faith, and large numbers therefore immigrated to Penn's Woods, modern-day Pennsylvania, in America, where freedom of religion was a central principle.



A Quaker Meeting. Unlike most other Christian denominations prior to the twentieth century, any lay person, including women, were allowed to speak during Quaker services. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

A COPY OF A MARRIAGE-CERTIFICATE OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS: IMPORTING THE METHOD USED AMONG THEM

Humbly presented to the Members of Parliament, to manifest the said Peoples' Christian Care, and Righteous Proceedings, not admitting Clandestine or Unwarrantable Marriages amongst them. And therefore they Humbly Request that their Marriages may not be rendered Clandestine or Illegal, nor they or their children exposed to Suffering on that Account.

A.B. Glass-Grinder in Southwark, Son of C.D. of Gilford in Surrey Scrivener deceased, and E.F. of Little Britain, Daughter of G.H. in the Minorities Shoemaker deceased: Having declared their Intentions of taking each other in Marriage before several public Meetings of the People of God called Quakers in London, according to the good Order used amongst them: whose Proceeding therein, after a deliberate consideration thereof, were approved by the said Meetings, they appearing clear of all others, and having Consent of parties and Relations concerned. Now these are to Certifie all whom it may concern, that for the full accomplishing of their said Intentions, this 17th day of September in the Year, according to the English Account, One thousand Six Hundred and Eighty Five, They the said A.B. and E.F. appeared in a public Assembly of the aforesaid People, and others, met together for that end and purpose in their public Meeting-place at the Bull and Mouth London, and (according to the Example of the Holy Men of God recorded in the Scriptures of Truth) in a solemn manner, he the said A.B. taking the

said E.F. by the Hand, did openly declare as followeth: *Friends, in the fear of the Lord, and in the presence of you his People, I take this my Friend E.F. to be my Wife, promising by the assistance of God, to be to her a faithful and loving Husband, till it please the Lord to separate us by death, [or to the same effect.]*

And then and there in the said Assembly, the said E.F. did in like manner declare as followeth: *Friends, in the fear of the Lord, and in the presence of you his Peole, I take this my Friend A.B. to be my Husband, promising to be to him a faithful, obedient and loving Wife, till death separate us, [or to the same effect.]*

And the said A.B. and E.F. as a further Confirmation thereof, did then and there to these Presents set their Hands; And we whose Names are hereunto subscribed, being present, amongst others, at the solemnizing of their said Marriage and Subscription, in manner aforesaid, as Witnesses thereunto, have also to these Presents subscribed our Names, the Day and Year above-written.

[A list of 37 witnesses follows.]

Source: *A Copy of a Marriage-Certificate of the People Called Quakers*. N.p., 1687.

5. Traditional European Marriage Customs

The colorful account provided in the following document demonstrates the late-medieval and Renaissance interest in ethnography—the study of different cultures. Within the extract, Louis de Gaya surveys the marriage customs of a large number of different European countries. He begins by outlining the marital customs established by the Catholic Church (called frequently the “Romish” Church in the extract) but then proceeds to survey how cultures further removed from Rome tend to have more unusual ceremonies.

According to the author, the Sicilians, for example, tended to consummate their marriages (i.e., have sexual relations) immediately after their engagement, even if they did not plan on marrying for several more years. Germany, meanwhile, had several customs not seen elsewhere: brides carried an onion during the ceremony so that they would be sure to cry (thereby “proving” their virginity), and the bridegroom gave his wife a gift of expensive jewels after they had spent the night together (the custom was called Morgengal).

The Polish, however, are credited with the most unusual customs, which the author believes descend from pagan times. The bride, for example, walked around a fire three times, kicked with her right foot each door in the house before the ceremony, and had her mouth anointed with honey. Once the couple was married, the woman was thrown in bed with the man, and the attendants brought the couple ram’s stones (i.e., ram’s testicles) to eat to promote the couple’s fertility.

These accounts of foreign weddings likely fascinated seventeenth-century Englishmen, at whom the book was aimed, as much as they fascinate modern audiences.

Polygamy, or the use of many Women together, is very usual amongst the Infidels, but it is generally forbidden amongst Christians, who are forbidden, upon pain of death, marrying more than one Woman together; and further she must be married in the Church before the Parson of the Parish. All other Marriages contracted otherwise

are declared void and clandestine, the Children born in such are reputed Bastards, and consequently incapable of Succession, and of challenging their Parents' inheritance.

The Ceremonies of Marriages amongst Roman Catholics are prescribed by the Councils. The Council of Trent, for to prevent all abuses in Marriages, declareth and pronounceth all Marriages invalid and void, which have not been celebrated before the Parson of the Parish of the one or the other contracting parties. Wherefore according to the decrees of the Romish Church, as soon as the contracting Parties are agreed, the Parsons of their respective Parishes are bound to proclaim three Banns on three Sundays, or three Holy days consecutively, to the end that if any of the Parishoners know any lawful cause why they may not be joined together, they may reveal it to the Parson of the parish. And in case no body can allege any lawful impediment, then both the parties are conducted by their parents into the Parochial Church of the Woman, where they are betrothed by the Parson of the said parish, who examines them whether they be well contented to be betrothed one to the other, and whether they be not already engaged by promise of Marriage to any other person or persons. This is the Ceremonie, which is called Espousals or betrothing, and is nothing properly but a Nuptial preparation or an engagement, to a future marriage, of which engagement neither of the contracted parties can be released but by the Court of the ordinary, which condemneth him or her that violateth promise, to all damages and expenses whatever, together with a Fine.

There be some Bishoprics where they use to betroth people as soon as they are agreed together, and before the publication of the banns.

The day of marriage being prefixed, the betrothed parties, after they have been at the auricular Confession of their sins, go to receive the Communion the day before their marriage. The next day they are conducted by their friends to Church, where the parson of the parish, having asked them their names and surnames, asks them, one after another, whether they are content to take one another; He asketh them besides if they be not already engaged by any solemn vow, or any promise of Marriage; and whether they will engage to love and keep fidelity one to another. When to all these questions they answer affirmatively, he then blesses a ring, and thirteen pieces of money, which he gives to the Bridegroom.

The Bridegroom sets the Ring upon the fourth finger of the Bride's Right Hand, in saying to her, with the Parson, *with this Ring I thee wed*; then giving her some pieces of money, he goes on saying, *and with this money I thee endow*. The Bride answereth with a compliment set down in the Romish Ceremonial. Then presently the Parson takes the right hands of them both, saying: "Et ego conjungo vos in Nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti." He sprinkleth them, and all the Assembly, with Holy Water.

After the Nuptial Blessing, both the new married Folks are bound to hear Mass with a lighted Taper in their hands, with which they go to kiss the Offertory, and to present the Parson with Bread and Wine.

Then, if the new married Folks were never married before, two of their nearest Relations hold a Sheet over their heads, whilst the Priest readeth some prayers over them.

The Mass being ended, the Parson presenteth the Church Register to the new married couple and to their Relations, to the end that they may sign and seal the Act of Marriage; after that then every one goes away, in the same order as they came.

On that Evening before the new married folks betake themselves to their bed, the Parson, or some other Priest deputed by him, cometh to bless the Nuptial Bed, wherein the Marriage ought to be consumated.

In the most part of *Italy*, they do not use to betroth people in the Church; but the contract of Marriage is made in the presence of the Parson, then the Proclamation of the Banns followeth, they proceed to the Solemnization of the Marriage, which is celebrated wither at Noon, with all Pomp imaginable, or else before the Sun-rising without any noise at all, the Woman being conducted to Church by her Father if living, and if he be dead, by the nearest of her Relations.

At *Venice* when any Gentleman is to marry, as soon as the contract is made, all other Gentlemen resort to the house of the future Bride, whom they call *Novizza*; the Bridegroom also, with his nearest Relations comes thither: He stands at the entry of the House, receiving, with all demonstration of Honour, all his Guests, giving them his right hand as a mark of his entire Affection; The Bride doth do the like to the Women. After the Celebration of Marriage, the Bride enters into a splendid Barge finely decked, her Hair hanging about her shoulders, being set in the most eminent place, that is called, in their Language, *Andar in Trasto*. This they do to the end that every body may take notice that she is a new married Bride, and the Wife of such a Gentleman. But nowadays they have left off something of the ancient Custome, for the *Novizza's* appear in their Barges many days, with their Hair plaited very high, much like *English Women's* high Towers.

The *Sicilians* did formerly betroth the Man and the Woman at home, and very often were not married till the Hour of Death, or at the extremity of the one, or of the other Parties: But this was forbidden by the order of the Council of *Trent*. The espoused woman did also use to ride through the City with a great Company and Pomp, on horseback; But that is now quite left off, since the Invention of Coaches. But notwithstanding the Prohibition of the foresaid Council even to this day, as soon as the Articles of the Contract are signed, the man enjoys his Spouse with all liberty, and reaps the sweet Fruits of Marriage many years sometimes before the celebration of it.

At the Weddings of their Country people, there is very much dancing, and there is always a great number of Guests, as well of the Relations and others, who bring Presents, after that the Bridegroom hath regaled them three times. Their Feasts usually consist of Meats baked in the Oven, and of Kettles full of Rice boiled in Milk. . . .

Formerly the *Germans* never married Women of any other Nation, but their own; that they might avoid all confusion in their Blood. And they never bestowed their Daughters in Marriage too Young; Bachelors also did not go awooing but very late; So that by that means, the Children which did proceed from two Persons of mature Age, of full Proportion, and of Vigorous strength, were also tall, strong, and vigorous. They, even to this day, will never marry their Sons but to their Maids, which are of a strong constitution of body, tall, and most likely to bear strong and lusty Children. Their Nuptial Ceremonies are in much the same as of the other People in *Europe*; they differ only in this, that the Bride-Maids wear every one a Crown of Gold, or of Flowers, at the Weddings of their fellow Maids, which is not lawful for others to do. All the Guests present the Bride with Jewels or Pieces of Gold and Silver, which they cast into a Basin, which is placed before the Bride, as she sitteth at table in the middle of Women of her

near Relations, and they accompany their Presents with civil Acclamations, and good wishes, of Prosperity and Happiness, to the new married Couple.

There are amongst them some free Weddings, in which Men of Honour defray all the charges; and there be some also, in which every one pays his Scot. Their Feasts last at least three days, during which the new married Folks are accompanied with a great number of People, insomuch that a common Handicrafts-man will have oftentimes above sixty Persons at his Wedding: For the more People they have about them, the more are they regarded and esteemed.

As for the Gentlemen and Persons of considerable note, they present their new married Wives with a Chain of Gold, or some Precious Jewel, on the next day morning, after the consummation of Marriage, and this Present they call, in their Language, *Morgengal*, that is to say, the Gift of the morning, because they bestow it upon the Bride, as soon as they are up, as it were to make her some recompence for her Maiden-head, which they have taken away.

If any Maid amongst them hath been so liquorish, as to have tasted of the Horse-Radish before the time; if she, by good fortune, doth not go away with the bag, but is so happy as to marry him, that hath already plaid upon her Fiddle, then the said couple will go to Church very early in the morning, without any Instruments of Music; and, in some places, but especially in Country-Towns, all the Neighbours, crowned with Garlands made of straw, accompany them to Church.

In many places they compel the Daughters at the Marriages to renounce, and disclaim, all their Rights, as well as Paternal as Maternal, and this they do, in casting some straw into their Fathers Houses. Moreover if the Bride doth not shed some Tears, when she goes before the Priest to be joined in marriage, then her Virginity becomes very much suspected, and for that purpose many of them Brides carry Onions, wrapt up in their Handkerchiefs, that they may force some tears out of their Eyes. . . .

In *Poland*, but chiefly in the Country, Of *Prussia* and *Lithuania*, Maids seldom marry under four and twenty Years of Age; and not so neither till they have first wrought, with their own hands, as much stuff, as is sufficient to cloth every one, who must accompany their Bridegroom to Church. Amongst them when any Father seeks a Wife for his Son, he neither regards her Beauty nor Wealth, but only her good Morality, ripeness of Age, and strong constitution of Body. The Women are never married till two of their future Bridegrooms near Relations have had a deep finger in their Pies, and then they use to crave their Father's good consent; those People do still retain many Dregs of the old Superstition of the Heathens: For when the Solemnity of Matrimony is celebrated, the Bride is led three times about a Fire, then they make her sit down, they wash her feet, and with that same water they besprinkle the Nuptial Bed, and all the Utensils of the House. This done, they anoint her Mouth with Honey, they bind her Eyes with a Veil: Then she is conducted towards all the Doors of the House, which she must kick with her right Foot; they afterwards strew every Door with Wheat, Rye, Oats, Barley, Beans and Poppy, declaring that her Bridegroom shall ever enjoy a great abundance of all those good things, if she devoutly retain her Religion, and if she be carefull and industrious in ordering her Family. The evening being come when she must bed with her Bridegroom, they use to cut her hair, then the married Woman takes a Posie, which they fasten on her Head: after that they put on her Head a white Hood, which new married Women wear until they have brought

forth a Son, for until that time, they are reputed Maids. The Bride is at last conducted into her Bed-Chamber, whereafter they have shewed and beaten her, they at length cast her into the Bed, into her Bridegroom's arms. And then instead of Sweet Meats or Sack Possets, they bring them a dish of Rams or of Bears stones to eat; For they think that after they have eaten of that meat, they become very prolific and fruitful, and for this reason they never use to kill any gelded creature for their use at their Nuptial Feasts.

Source: Louis de Gaya. *Matrimonial Customs, or, The Various Ceremonies and Divers Ways of Celebrating Weddings Practiced amongst All the Nations in the Whole World Done Out of French*. London: A.S., 1687, pp. 14–28.

6. Muslim Burial

In the following extract, the well-traveled seventeenth-century English ambassador Thomas Roe recounts the Muslim burial customs that he witnessed in his travels in the Middle East and India. Roe clearly recognized the connection between Islam and Judeo-Christianity, given that he repeatedly notes that certain Muslim customs, such as washing the body before burial, burying the dead outside of the city or town limits, and greatly mourning the deceased, parallel customs mentioned in the Bible or practiced by modern-day Jews. Other customs, such as visiting the graves of the saints, clearly parallel Catholic customs, although Roe merely implies this parallel and does not state it directly.

According to Roe, this great reverence for the dead inspired the most impressive architecture in the Muslim world. Beautiful monuments, complete with rich fabrics and ornate gardens, commemorated the Muslim saints and rulers. The richest monument, indeed, commemorated the Mogul Achabar-sha. This monument was constructed so cleverly that it looked like a pyramid made of unbroken marble.

Although Thomas Roe did not share the Islamic faith, he clearly had respect for many aspects of Muslim life. Note that what Roe calls “Misquits” and “Ramjan” are in modern English “mosques” and “Ramadan.”

SECTION XVIII. Of their Burials, of the mourning for their Dead, and of their stately Sepulchres and Monuments.

For the Mahometans, it is their manner to wash the Bodies of their Dead before they interr them. An ancient custom as it should seem among the Jews; for it is said of Dorcas, that after she was dead, they washed her Body, as a preparative to her Burial. They lay up none of the Bodies of their Dead in their Misquits, or Churches, (as before) but in some open place in a Grave, which they dig very deep and wide, a Jewish custom, likewise to carry the Bodies of their Dead to bury them out of their Cities and Towns.

Their mourning over their Dead is most immoderate: for, besides that day of general lamentation at the end of their Ramjan, or Lent, (before-mentioned) they howl and cry many whole days for their friends departed, immediately after they have left the world; and after that time is passed over many foolish women, so long as they survive, very often in the year, observe set days to renew their mourning for their deceased friends; and as a people without hope, bedew the graves of their husbands, as of other near relations, with abundance of (seemingly) affectionate tears; as if they were like those

mourning women mentioned in Jer. 9.17 who seemed to have tears at command; and therefore were hired to mourn and weep in their solemn lamentations.

And when they thus lament over their dead, they will often put this question to their deaf and dead Carcasses, "Why they would die?" They having such loving wives, such loving friends, and many other comforts: as if it had been in their power to have rescued themselves from that most impartial wounding hand of death. Which carriage of theirs deserves nothing but censure and pity; though, if it be not theatrical, we may much wonder at it, and say of it, as it was said of the mourning in the floor of Atad, Gen. 50.11, That it is a grievous mourning; or, as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon, Zech. 12.11, if we take those lamentations only in a literal sense.

But now further concerning their places of Burial, many Mahometans of the greatest quality in their life-time provide fair Sepulchers for themselves and nearest friends, compassing with a firm wall a good circuit of ground near some Tank, (before spoken of) about which they delight to bury their dead; or else they close in a place for this use, near springs of water, that may make pleasant fountains, near which they erect little Mosquits, or Churches, and near them Tombs built round, or four-square, or in six, or eight squares, with round Vaults, or Canopies of stone over-head, all which are excellently well wrought, and erected upon Pillars, or else made close to be entered by doors every way, under which the bodies of their dead lye interred. The rest of that ground thus circled in, they plant with Fruit-trees; and further set therein all their choicest flowers, as if they would make Elysian fields (such as the Poets dreamed of) wherein their souls might take repose.

There are many goodly Monuments which are richly adorned, built (as before was observed) to the memory of such as they have esteemed Paeres, or Saints (of whom they have a large Calendar) in which are Lamps continually burning; attended by votaries, unto whom they allow Pensions for the maintaining of those lights, and many (transported there with wild devotion) daily resort to those Monuments, there to contemplate the happiness those Paeres (as they imagine) now enjoy. And certainly of all the places that Empire affords, there are none that minister more delight, than some of their Burying places do; neither do they bestow so much cost, nor shew so much skill in Architecture in any other Structures as in these.

Now amongst many very fair Piles there dedicated to the remembrance of their dead, the most famous one is at Secandra, a Village three miles from Agra; it was begun by Achabar-sha the late Mogols Father, who there lies buried; and finished by his Son, who since was laid up beside him. The materials of that most stately Sepulchre are Marble of divers colours, the stones so closely cemented together, that it appears to be but one continued stone, built high like a Pyramid with many curiosities about it, and a fair Mosquit by it; the Garden wherein it stands very large planted (as before) and compassed about with a wall of Marble: this most sumptuous Pile of all the Structures that vast Monarchy affords, is most admired by strangers. Tom Coryat had a most exact view thereof, and so have many other English-men had, all which have spoken very great things of it.

Source: Roe, Thomas. *A Voyage to East India*. In Pietro della Valle, *The Travels of Sig. Pietro della Valle, a Noble Roman, into East-India and Arabia Deserta in Which, the Several Countries, Together with the Customs, Manners, Traffique, and Rites Both Religious and Civil, of Those Oriental Princes and Nations, Are Faithfully Described*. London: J. Macock, 1665, pp. 431–33.

Women's Roles

Women make up over 50 percent of the population, yet in many societies they are often not seen in the public eye. Throughout history, in both the West and the East, women have tended to be associated with the home rather than with the world of politics and business. Indeed, when going out in public, women were frequently expected to act in a restrained and conservative manner, as Document 12 indicates. These general patterns, however, do not mean that all opportunities were denied to women in the Middle Ages and *Renaissance*—such a conclusion would be absurd during a period that witnessed the reign of Queen *Elizabeth I* of England (1558–1603), one of the most powerful monarchs ever. Even less privileged women could engage with the world of literature and philosophy, as did Margaret Cavendish (Document 9). Gaelic legend, moreover, preserved stories of warrior women whose prowess and courage in the field matched, or surpassed, their male counterparts (Document 7). Document 8, however, describes the insecure position of women in China in the sixth century.

Despite such examples of prominent women, and despite some authors who considered the possibility that women were superior to men (Document 13), most male thinkers viewed women as inferior to men, although the women nevertheless retained significant rights. The *Koran* (Document 10), for example, although it stated that men were superior, nevertheless guaranteed that women could own property in their own right and that they were able to inherit money. *Anglo-Saxon* women, meanwhile, had different rights depending on their social class (Document 11); in some ways, lower-class women had more rights but less legal protection.

7. Scottish Warrior Women

In the following sixteenth-century account of ancient Scotland, the author seeks to portray a society of rugged, straightforward individuals. Although ruthless and uncivilized, they are honest and courageous. This picture of early medieval Scotland is mostly imaginative and untrue. Nonetheless, Celtic women did occasionally assume the role of warrior—for example, Queen Boudicca, in what would become southern England, led a revolt against the Romans that resulted in her death in A.D. 60. Medieval Irish legend also preserves the names and exploits of several warrior women said to have lived around A.D. 1: Queen Medb of Connaught and the warlords Aoife and Scáthach in Scotland. These images of warrior women probably reflect a strain of Celtic paganism in which a goddess controlled sovereignty and political power. These legends most likely lie behind the following description of women marching off to war with their husbands.

In these days also the women of our country were of no less courage than the men, for all stout maidens and wives (if they were not with child) marched as well in the field as did the men, and so soon as the army did set forward, they slew the first living creature that they found, in whose blood they not only bathed their swords, but also

tasted thereof with their mouths, with no less religion and assurance conceived, than if they had already been sure of some notable and fortunate victory. When they saw their own blood run from them in the fight, they waxed never a whit astonished with the matter, but rather doubling their courages, with more eagerness they assailed their enemies. This also is to be noted of them, that they never sought any victory by treason, falsehood, or sleight, as thinking it a great reproach to win the field any otherwise than by meer manhood, prowess, and plain dealing.

When they went forth unto the wars, each one went with the king at his own cost (except the hired soldier) which custom is yet in use. If any were troubled with the falling evil, or leprosy, or falling frantic, or otherwise was out of his wits, they were diligently sought out, and lest those diseases should pass further by infectious generation unto their issue and posterity, they gelded the men. But the women were secluded to some odd place far off from the company of men, where if she afterward happened to be gotten with child, both she and the infant were run through with the lance. Gluttons and raveners, drunkards, and egregious devourers of victuals were punished also by death, first being permitted to devour so much as they listed, and then drowned in one fresh river or other.

Source: Boetius, Hector. *The Description of Scotland*. In *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, trans. Raphael Holinshed. Vol. 5. London: Johnson, 1808 (originally published 1580), pp. 22–26.

8. Rejected Wife in China

The following poem by Yuan-ti (508–554) expresses emotions of loss and sorrow that feel as real today as they did in the sixth century. The poem, moreover, demonstrates the insecure position of women in many societies, including China. The woman in the poem enters her home only to discover that she has been replaced by a new wife—she has been kicked out of her home in one instant, regardless of her own feelings.

The compassion seen in this poem is surprising, given the hard-nosed background of the author. Yuan-ti had climbed his way to the imperial throne through violent bloodshed. It is said that when eventually forced to abdicate, he heaped together and burned 200,000 books and pictures, proclaiming that the culture of the Liang dynasty would die with him. Such egomania contrasts strikingly with his careful handling of personal emotion in this poem.

Entering the hall, she meets the new wife:
Leaving the gate, she runs into her former husband.
Words stick: she does not manage to say anything:
She presses her hands together and hesitates.
Agitates moon-like fan—sheds pearl-like tears—
Realizes she loves him just as much as ever:
That her present pain will never come to an end.

Source: *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*. Translated by Arthur Waley. London: Constable, 1918, pp. 15, 90.

9. The Personality of Margaret Cavendish

An English aristocrat, Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (1623–1673), was one of the renowned women of her generation. She was a prolific writer and a serious thinker about the world and human nature. The royalist background of her family, the Lucases, and her marriage to a royalist cavalier meant that she spent much of her adult life in exile, while parliamentary forces controlled England after the execution of King Charles I in 1649. Her determination to express herself enabled her to produce 22 books, despite frequent criticism. Her science fiction novel The Blazing World is still widely read today.

In the following autobiographical extract, Margaret Cavendish attempts to describe her personality. Throughout the description, she reveals a woman full of self-confidence, yet restrained and affectionate. Thus, for example, she creates her own fashions, refusing to follow others' tastes and hating for others to follow her. At the same time, she rejoices in the success of others and avoids all envy. She also explicitly defends many of her characteristics, arguing, for example, that self-love is permissible because loving human beings in general is clearly correct. Margaret Cavendish brought a challenging breath of fresh air into an English literary scene that was largely dominated by males.

I think it fit I should speak something of my humour, particularly practice and disposition; as for my humour, I was from my childhood given to contemplation, being more taken or delighted with thoughts than in conversation with a society, insomuch as I would walk two or three hours, and never rest, in a musing, considering, contemplating manner, reasoning with myself of every thing my senses did present; but when I was in the company of my natural friends, I was very attentive of what they said or did; but for strangers I regarded not much what they said, but many times I did observe their actions, whereupon my reason as judge, and my thoughts as accusers, or excusers, or approvers and commenders, did plead, or appeal to accuse, or complain thereto; also I never took delight in closets, or cabinets of toys, but in the variety of fine clothes, and such toys as only were to adorn my person: likewise I had a natural stupidity towards the learning of any other language than my native tongue, for I could sooner and with more facility understand the sense than remember the words, and for want of such memory makes me so unlearned in foreign languages as I am: as for my practice, I was never very active, by reason I was given so much to contemplation; besides my brothers and sisters were for the most part serious, and staid in their actions, not given to sport nor play, nor dance about, whose company I keeping, made me so too: but I observed, that although their actions were staid, yet they would be very merry amongst themselves, delighting in each others' company: also they would in their discourse express the general actions of the world, judging, condemning, approving, commending, as they thought good, and with those that were innocently harmless, they would make themselves merry therewith; as for my study of books it was little, yet I chose rather to read, than to employ my time in any other work, or practice, and when I read what I understood not, I would ask my brother, the Lord Lucas, he being learned, the sense or meaning thereof; but my serious study could not be much, by reason I took great delight in attiring, fine dressing, and fashions, especially such fashions as I did invent myself, not taking that pleasure in such fashions as was invented by others: also I did dislike any should follow my fashions,



Margaret Cavendish (1623?–1673), by Peter Ludwig van Schuppen, pub. 1668 (after Abraham van Diepenbeck, c.1655–58). Cavendish's confident and flamboyant pose in this portrait suits her controversial writings. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

for I always took delight in a singularity, even in accoutrements of habits; but whatsoever I was addicted to, either in fashion of clothes, contemplation of thoughts, actions of life, they were lawful, honest, honourable, and modest, of which I can avouch to the world with a great confidence, because it is a pure truth.

As for my disposition, it is more inclining to be melancholy than merry, but not crabbed or peevishly melancholy, but soft, melting, solitary, and contemplating melancholy; and I am apt to weep rather than laugh, not that I do often either of them; also I am tender-natured, for it troubles my conscience to kill a fly, and the groans of a dying beast strike my soul: also where I place a particular affection, I love extraordinarily and constantly, yet not fondly, but soberly and observingly; not to hang about them as a trouble, but to wait upon them as a servant; but this affection will take no root, but where I think or find merit, and have leave both from Divine and Moral Laws; yet I find this passion so troublesome, as it is the only torment of my life, for fear any evil misfortune, or accident, or sickness, or death, should come unto them, insomuch as I am never freely at rest. Likewise I am grateful, for I never received a curtesy but I am impatient, and troubled until I can return it; also I am chaste, both by nature and education, insomuch as I do abhor an unchaste thought: likewise I am seldom angry, as my servants may witness for me, for I rather chose to suffer some inconveniences than disturb my thoughts, which makes me wink many times at their faults; but when I am angry, I am very angry, but yet it is soon over, and I am easily pacified, if it be not such an injury as may create a hate; neither am I apt to be exceptious or jealous; but if I have the least symptom of this passion, I declare it to those it concerns, for I never let it lie smothering in my breast to breed

a malignant disease in the mind, which might break out into extravagant passions, or railing speeches, or indiscreet actions; but I examine moderately, reason soberly, and plead gently in my own behalf, through a desire to keep those affections I had, or at least thought to have; and truly I am so vain, as to be self-conceited, or so naturally partial, to think my friends have as much reason to love me as another, since none can love more sincerely than I, and it were an injustice to prefer a fainter affection, or to esteem the body more than the mind; likewise I am neither spiteful, envious, nor malicious; I repine not at the gifts that Nature, or Fortune bestows upon others, yet I am a great emulator; for though I wish none worse than they are, yet it is lawful for me to wish myself the best, and to do my honest endeavour thereunto; for I think it no crime to wish myself the exactest of Nature's works, my thread of life the longest, my chain of destiny the strongest, my mind the peaceablest, my life the pleasantest, my death the easiest, and the greatest Saint in heaven; also to do my endeavour, so far as honour and honesty doth allow of, to be the highest on Fortune's wheel, and to hold the wheel from turning, if I can, and if it be commendable to wish another's good, it were a sin not to wish my own; for as envy is a vice, so emulation is a virtue; but emulation is in the way of ambition, or indeed it is a noble ambition; but I fear my ambition inclines to vain-glory, for I am very ambitious; yet 'tis neither for beauty, wit, titles, wealth, or power,

but as they are steps to raise me to Fancy's Tower, which is to live by remembrance in after-ages: likewise I am, that the vulgar calls, proud, nor of a self-conceit, or to slight or condemn any, but scorning to do a base or mean act, and disdainig rude or unworthy persons; insomuch, that I should find any that were rude, or too bold, I should be apt to be so passionate, as to affront them, if I can, unless discretion should get betwixt my passion and their boldness, which sometimes perchance it might, if discretion should crowd hard for place; for though I am naturally bashful, yet in such a cause my spirits would be all on fire; otherwise I am so well bred, as to be civil to all persons, of all degrees or qualities: likewise I am so proud, or rather just to my lord, as to abate nothing of quality of his wife, for if honour be the mark of merit, and his master's royal favour, who will favour none but those that have merit to deserve, it were a baseness for me to neglect the ceremony thereof: also in some cases I am naturally a coward, and in other cases very valiant; so for example, if any of my nearest friends were in danger, I should never consider my life in striving to help them, though I were sure to do them no good, and would willingly, nay cheerfully, resign my life for their sakes: likewise I should not spare my life, if honour bids me die; but in a danger where my friends, or my honour is not concerned or engaged, but only my life to be unprofitably lost, I am the veriest coward in nature, as upon the sea, or any dangerous places or of thieves, or fire, or the like; nay the shooting of a gun, although but a pop-gun, will make me start, and stop my hearing, much less have I courage to discharge one; or if a sword should be held against me, although but in jest, I am afraid: also I am not covetous, so I am not prodigal, but of the two I am inclining to be prodigal, yet I cannot say to a vain prodigality, because I imagine it is to a profitable end; for perceiving the world is given, or apt to honour the outside more than the inside, worshipping show more than substance; and I am so vain, if it be a vanity, as to endeavour to be worshiped, rather than not to be regarded; yet I shall never be so prodigal as to impoverish my friends, or go beyond the limits or facility of our estate, and though I desire to appear to the best advantage, whilst I live in the view of the public worlds, yet I could most willingly exclude myself, so as never to see the face of any creature, but my lord, as long as I live, enclosing myself like an anchoret, wearing a frize gown, tied with a cord about my waste: but I hope my readers will not think me vain for writing my life, since there have been many that have done the like, as Caesar, Ovid, and many more, both men and women; and I know no reason I may not do it as well as they.

Source: Cavendish, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle. *A True Relation of the Birth, Breeding, and Life of Margaret Cavendish Duchess of Newcastle*. Edited by Sir Egerton Brydges. Kent: Johnson and Warwick, 1814, pp. 29–35.

10. Muslim Women

According to the Western stereotype, Muslim women are oppressed. Images of fully veiled, entirely indistinct women frequently occupy our television screens. Although the Koran does explicitly state that men are superior to women, the rights of women are afforded some specific protection in the Koran, as the following extract demonstrates. In fact, Muslim women

enjoyed certain privileges unheard of in most of Europe in the seventh century, most especially the right to inherit property. This right to inheritance demonstrates that women could, at least in theory, become significantly wealthy and therefore command the economic, political, and social power that comes with wealth. Although a man was entitled to inherit twice as much as a woman, females in most European countries of the time were much more thoroughly under the guidance and control of their families. The social position of Muslim women was further advanced by the Koran's commands to respect women, especially one's own mother.

Although the Koran thus respects women, it nonetheless reinforces the notions of gender inequality. This inequality carries over even into punishments. In the following extract, for example, the Koran commands that a prostitute be punished by being walled in without food until she dies of starvation. A man, however, if he repents, escapes punishment. As is to be expected, female slaves had the least rights of all. Thus, although the Koran forbade men to take married women, it explicitly excepted slaves from this protection—a Muslim man was allowed to force a female slave, even if she was already married to someone else. Muslim women lived under a double standard, but they also enjoyed theoretical rights and privileges that were unusual for the time.

SURA IV—WOMEN

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

O men! fear your Lord, who hath created you of one man, and of him created his wife, and from these twain hath spread abroad so many men and women. And fear ye God, in whose name ye ask mutual favours—and reverence the wombs that bare you. Verily is God watching you!

And give to the orphans their property, and substitute not worthless things of your own for their valuable ones, and enjoy not their property in addition to your own; verily this is a great crime.

And if ye are apprehensive that ye shall not deal fairly with orphans, then, of other women who seem good in your eyes, marry but two, or three, or four; and if ye still fear that ye shall not act equitably, then one only; or the slaves whom ye have acquired: this will make justice on your part easier. And give women their dowry as a free gift; but if of their own free will they kindly give up aught thereof to you, then enjoy it as convenient, and profitable:

And entrust not to the incapable the substance which God hath placed with you as a means of support; but maintain them therewith, and clothe them, and speak to them with kindly speech.

And make trial of orphans until they reach the age of marriage; and if ye perceive in them a sound judgment, then hand over their substance to them; but consume ye it not profusely and hastily only because they have attained their majority. And let the rich guardian not even touch it; and let him who is poor then use it for his support with discretion.

And when ye make over their substance to them, then take witnesses in their presence: God also taketh a sufficient account.

Men ought to have a part of what their parents and kindred leave, and women a part of what their parents and kindred leave: whether it be little or much, let them have a stated portion:

And when they who are of kin are present at the division, and the orphans and the poor, bestow somewhat upon them therefrom; and speak to them with kindly speech:

And let those be afraid to wrong orphans, who, should they leave behind them weakly offspring, would be solicitous on their account. Let them then fear God, and let them propose what is convenient.

Verily they who swallow the substance of the orphan wrongfully, swallow down only fire into their bellies, and shall burn at the flame!

With regard to your children God commandeth you to give the male the portion of two females; and if they be females more than two, then they shall have two-thirds of that which their father hath left: but if she be an only daughter she shall have the half; and the father and mother of the deceased shall each of them have a sixth part of what he hath left, if he have a child; but if he have no child and his parents be his heirs, then his mother shall have the third: and if he have brethren, his mother shall have the sixth, after paying the bequests he shall have bequeathed, and his debts. As to your fathers, or your children, ye know not which of them is the most advantageous to you. This is the ordinance of God. Verily, God is Knowing, Wise!

Half of what your wives leave shall be yours, if they have no issue; but if they have issue, then a fourth of what they leave shall be yours, after paying the bequests they shall bequeath, and debts.

And your wives shall have a fourth part of what ye leave, if ye have no issue; but if ye have issue, then they shall have an eighth part of what ye leave, after paying the bequests ye shall bequeath and debts.

If a man or a woman make a distant relation their heir, and he or she have a brother or a sister, each of these two shall have a sixth; but if there are more than this, then shall they be sharers in a third, after payment of the bequests he shall have bequeathed, and debts, without loss to any one. This is the ordinance of God, and God is Knowing, Gracious!

These are the precepts of God; and whoso obeyeth God and his Prophet, him shall God bring into gardens beneath whose shades the rivers flow, therein to abide for ever: and this, the great blessedness!

And whoso shall rebel against God and his Apostle, and transgress his ordinances, him shall God cause to enter unto Hell-fire, to abide therein for ever; and this, a shameful torment!

If any of your women be guilty of whoredom, then bring four witnesses against them from among yourselves; and if they bear witness to the fact, shut them up within their houses till death release them, or God make some way for them.

And if two men among you commit the crime, then punish them both; but if they repent and amend, then let them be: Verily God is He who relenteth, Merciful!

Only is there relenting on the part of God to those, who have done evil ignorantly, and then turn speedily unto Him. These! God will turn unto them: and God is Knowing, Wise!

But no relenting shall there be on God's part towards those who do evil, until, when death is close to one of them, he sayeth, "Now verily am I turned to God;" nor to those who die unbelievers. These! We have made ready for them a grievous torment!

O believers! it is not allowed you to be heirs of your wives against their will; nor to hinder them from marrying in order to take from them part of the dowry you had given them, unless they have been guilty of undoubted lewdness; but deal kindly with them: for if ye are estranged from them, haply ye are estranged from that in which God hath placed abundant good.

And if ye be desirous to exchange one wife for another, and have given one of them a talent, make no deduction from it. Would ye take it by slandering her, and with manifest wrong?

How, moreover, could ye take it, when one of you hath gone in unto the other, and they have received from you a strict bond of union?

And marry not women whom your fathers have married: for this is a shame and harmful, and an evil way: though what is past may be allowed.

Forbidden to you are your mothers, and your daughters, and your sisters, and your aunts, both on the father and mother's sides, and your nieces on the brother and sister's side, and your foster-mothers, and your foster-sisters, and the mothers of your wives, and your step-daughters who are your wards, born of your wives to whom ye have gone in: (but if ye have not gone unto them, it shall be no sin in you to marry them); and the wives of your sons who proceed out of your loins; and ye may not have two sisters; except where it is already done. Verily, God is Indulgent, Merciful!

Forbidden to you also are married women, except those who are in your hands as slaves: This is the law of God for you. And he hath allowed you, beside this, to seek out wives by means of your wealth, with modest conduct, and without fornication. And give those with whom ye have cohabited their dowry. This is the law. But it shall be no crime in you to make agreements over and above the law. Verily, God is Knowing, Wise!

And whoever of you is not rich enough to marry free and believing women, then let him marry such of your believing maidens as have fallen into your hands as slaves; God well knoweth your faith. Ye are sprung the one from the other. Marry them then, with the leave of their masters, and give them a fair dower: but let them be chaste and free from fornication, and not entertainers of lovers.

If after marriage they commit adultery then inflict upon them half the penalty enacted for free married women. This law is for him among you who is afraid of doing wrong: but if ye abstain, it will be better for you. And God is Lenient, Merciful.

God desireth to make this known to you, and to guide you into the ways of those who have been before you, and He turneth to you with relenting. And God is Knowing, Wise!

And God desireth thus to turn Himself unto you: but they who follow their own lusts, desire that with great swerving should ye swerve from the right way! God desireth to make your burden light to you: for man hath been created weak.

O believers! devour not each other's substance in mutual frivolities; unless there be a trafficking among you by your own consent: and commit not suicide: Of a truth God is merciful to you—

And whoever shall do this maliciously and wrongfully,

We will in the end burn him at hell-fire; for this is easy with God.

If ye avoid the great sins which ye are forbidden, We will blot out your faults and cause you to enter Paradise with honourable entry.

And covet not the gifts by which God hath raised some of you above others. The men shall have a portion according to their deserts, and the women a portion according to their deserts. Of God, therefore, ask his gifts. Verily, God hath knowledge of all things.

To every one have We appointed kindred, as heirs of what parents and relatives, and those with whom ye have joined right hands in contract, leave. Give, therefore to each their portion. Verily, God witnesseth all things.

Men are superior to women on account of the qualities with which God hath gifted the one above the other, and on account of the outlay they make from their substance for them. Virtuous women are obedient, careful during the husband's absence, because God hath of them been careful. But chide those for whose refractoriness ye have cause to fear; remove them into sleeping-chambers apart, and scourge them: but if they are obedient to you, then seek no occasion against them: verily, God is High, Great!

And if ye fear a breach between man and wife, then send a judge chosen from his family and a judge chosen from her family; if they are desirous of agreement, God will effect a reconciliation between them; verily, God is knowing, apprised of all!

And Worship God, and join not aught with Him in worship. Be good to parents, and to kindred, and to orphans, and to the poor, and to a neighbour, a kinsman or near neighbour, and to a familiar friend and to the wayfarer, and to the slaves whom your right hands hold: verily, God loveth not the proud, the vain boaster,

Who are niggardly themselves, and bid others be niggards, and hide away what God of his bounty hath given them. We have made ready a shameful chastisement for the unbelievers.

Source: *El-Koran, or, The Koran*. 2nd ed. Translated by J. M. Rodwell. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1876, pp. 451–57 (verses 1–41).

11. Anglo-Saxon Women

In contrast to the Koranic guidelines given in Document 10 (see Koran in the glossary), early Anglo-Saxon law codes focused relatively little on the rights and privileges of women. In the Laws of Alfred (c. A.D. 890), codified under King Alfred the Great, women are viewed as acted upon, rather than as agents in their own rights. Moreover, the series of laws presented in the following extract stress the importance of female chastity in Anglo-Saxon culture. According to the laws, sleeping with a woman who is not your wife was a serious crime, and the perpetrator was fined a substantial sum. In most cases, however, the fine was paid to a man rather than to the woman herself. Thus, if a villain carried a nun off from a nunnery, he paid compensation to the bishop and to the lord of the church, but not to the woman herself. In fact, the kidnapped nun specifically did not receive any of the villain's assets, even if she bore his child. Similarly, the husband received the money if his wife was seduced.

Paradoxically, commoner women, as opposed to aristocratic women, had somewhat more rights under this system. Thus, a man who sexually harassed a commoner woman

paid the woman herself at least 5 shillings in penalty. The women thus received the money themselves, whereas for wealthier women, the money from the penalty was generally paid to a male. Nevertheless, the fine for abusing wealthier women was much higher, so they were more safely protected by the legal system regardless of whether or not they were entitled to monetary compensation.

8. If anyone takes a nun from a nunnery without the permission of the king or bishop, he shall pay 120 shillings, half to the king, and half to the bishop and the lord of the church, under whose charge the nun is.
 - i. If she lives longer than he who abducted her, she shall inherit nothing of his property.
 - ii. If she bears a child, it shall inherit no more of the property than its mother.
 - iii. If her child is slain, the share of the wergeld due to the mother's kindred shall be paid to the king, but the father's kindred shall be paid the share due to them.
9. If anyone slays a woman with child, while the child is in her womb, he shall pay the full wergeld for the woman, and half the wergeld for the child, [which shall be] in accordance with the wergeld of the father's kindred.
 - i. Until the value amounts to 30 shillings, the fine shall be 60 shillings in every case, when the [said] value amounts to this sum, the fine shall be 120 shillings.
 - ii. Formerly the fines to be paid by those who stole gold and horses and bees, and many other fines, were greater than the rest. Now all fines, with the exception of that for stealing men, are alike—120 shillings.
10. If anyone lies with the wife of a man whose wergeld is 1200 shillings, he shall pay 120 shillings compensation to the husband; to a husband whose wergeld is 600 shillings, he shall pay 100 shillings compensation; to a commoner he shall pay 40 shillings compensation [for a similar offence].
11. If anyone seizes by the breast a young woman belonging to the commons, he shall pay her 5 shillings compensation.
 - i. If he throws her down but does not lie with her, he shall pay 10 shillings compensation.
 - ii. If he lies with her, he shall pay 60 shillings compensation.
 - iii. If another man has previously lain with her, then the compensation shall be half this amount.
 - iv. If she is accused of having previously lain with a man, she shall clear herself by an oath of 60 hides, or lose half the compensation due to her.
 - v. If this outrage is done to a woman of higher birth, the compensation to be paid shall increase according to the wergeld.
18. If anyone lustfully seizes a nun, either by her clothes or by her breast, without her permission, he shall pay as compensation twice the sum we have fixed in the case of a woman belonging to the laity.
 - i. If a young woman who is betrothed commits fornication, she shall pay compensation to the amount of 60 shillings to the surety of the marriage, if she

is a commoner. This sum shall be paid in livestock, cattle being the property tendered, and no slave shall be given in such a payment.

ii. If her wergeld is 600 shillings, she shall pay 100 shillings to the surety [of the marriage].

iii. If her wergeld is 1200 shillings, she shall pay 120 shillings to the surety [of the marriage].

25. If anyone rapes the slave of a commoner, he shall pay 5 shillings to the commoner, and a fine of 60 shillings.

i. If a slave rapes a slave, castration shall be required as compensation.

Source: Attenborough, F. L., ed. and trans. *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922, pp. 69–75. With slight modifications.

12. Proper Behavior in Company

The emphasis on female chastity seen in the Anglo-Saxon laws carried on throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, as seen in the following extract from Richard Brathwaite's The English Gentlewoman (1631). Brathwaite, however, was concerned not only with sexual mores but with a woman's whole behavior.

Central to Brathwaite's idea of female nobility is a desire for company—women by all means should be out in public and should spend time with their friends. However, what they should do in public is severely curtailed; as he states in an aphorism that has since been transferred to children, women “should be seen, and not heard.” A proper woman, in Brathwaite's opinion, should wear her veil constantly in public, should not speak frequently or lightly, and definitely should not exchange any trinkets as signs of affection or love with a man. This restricted code of behavior, however, is correlated with higher status throughout Brathwaite's rhetoric. “Modesty and mildness,” for example, are associated with a noblewoman, whereas “simpering-made faces” are indicative of a “Chambermaid.” Likewise, suppressing amorous desire will result in making the women “Empresses of that which hath sometimes tyrannized over Emperors.” Ultimately, proper behavior is a guarantor of status, wealth, and power. A woman's path to power thus paradoxically requires her careful restraint in public. Brathwaite clearly thought that women desired status and power because he uses these as his motivating forces, instead of religion or abstract morality. Goodness is not its own reward; it brings with it social class and high rank.

We are now to descend to the next branch, which shall show how a *Gentlewoman* of rank and quality (for to such only is my discourse directed) is to *behave herself in Company*.

Society is the solace of the living, for to live without it, were a kind of dying. Companions and friendly Associates are the *Thieves* of time. No hour can be so tedious, which two loving Consorts cannot pass over with delight, and spend without distaste. Be the night never so dark, the place never so mean, the cheerful beams of conceiving consorts will enlighten the one, and their affections mutually planted, enliven the other. What

a Desert then were the world without friends? And how poseless those friends without conceiving minds? And how weak those minds, unless united in equal bonds? So then, love is the Cement of our life: life a load without love. Now, *Gentlewomen*, you are to put on your veils, and go into *Company*. Which (I am persuaded) you cannot enter without a maiden-blush, a modest tincture. Herein you are to be most cautious, seeing no place can be more mortally dangerous. Beware therefore with whom you consort, as you tender your repute: for report will brute what you are, by the *Company* which you bear. *Augustus* being at a combat, discerned the inclinations of his two daughters, *Iulia* and *Livia*, by the *Company* which frequented them; for grave Senators talked with *Livia*, but riotous persons with *Iulia*. Would you preserve those precious odors of your good names? Consort with such whose names were never branded, converse with such, whose tongues for immodesty were never taxed. As by good words evil manners are corrected, so by evil words are good ones corrupted. Make no reside there, where the least occasion of lightness is ministered; avert your Ear when you hear it, but your heart especially, lest you harbour it. To enter into much discourse or familiarity with strangers, argues lightness or indiscretion: what is spoken of Maids, may be properly applied by an useful consequence to all women: *They should be seen, and not heard*. A Traveler sets himself best out by discourse, whereas their best setting out is silence. You shall have many trifling questions asked, as much to purpose as if they said nothing, but a frivolous question deserves to be resolved by silence. For your *Carriage*, it should neither be too precise, nor too loose. These simpering-made faces partake more of *Chambermaid* than *Gentlewoman*. Modesty and mildness hold sweetest correspondence. You may possibly be wooed to interchange favours: Rings or Ribbons are but trifles; yet trust me, they are no trifles that are aimed at in those exchanges. Let nothing pass from you, that may any way impeach you, or give others advantage over you. Your innocent credulity (I am resolved) is as free from conceit of ill, as theirs, perhaps, from intendment of good: but these intercourses of Courtesies are not to be admitted, lest by this familiarity, an Entry to affection be opened, which before was closed. It is dangerous to enter parley with a beleaguering enemy: it implies want or weakness in the besieged. Chastity is an *enclosed Garden*, it should not be so much as assaulted, lest the report of her spotless beauty become soiled. Such Forts hold out best, which hold themselves least secure, when they are securest. *Nasica*, when the *Roman Commonwealth* was supposed to be in most secure estate, because freed of their enemies, and strongly fenced by their friends, affirmed that though the *Achaians* and *Carthaginians* were both brought under the yoke of bondage, yet they were most in danger, because none were left, whom they might either fear for danger, or who should keep them in awe.

How subject poor *Women* be to lapses, and recidivations, being left their own Guardians, daily experience can sufficiently discover. Of which number, those always proved weakest, who were confidentest of their own strength. Presumption is a daring sin, and ever brings out some untimely birth, which viper-like deprives her unhappy parent of life. I have known diverse so resolute in their undertakings, so presuming of their womanish strength, so constantly devoted to a single life, as in public consorts they held it their choicest merriment to give love the affront, to discourse of affection with an imperious contempt, gear their amorous suitors out of Countenance, and make a very *Whirligig* of love. But mark the conclusion of these insulting spirits: they sport so long

with love, till they fall to love in earnest. A moment makes them of Sovereigns' Captives, by slaving them to that deservedly, which at first they entertained so disdainfully. The way then to prevent this malady, is to wean you from consorting with folly. What an excellent impregnable fortress were *Woman*, did not her *Windows* betray her to her enemy? But principally, when she leaves her Chamber to walk on the public Theatre; when she throws off her veil, and gives attention to a merry tale; when she consorts with youthful blood, and either enters parley, or admits of an interview with love. It is most true what the sententious moral sometimes observed: We may be in *security*, so long as we are sequestered from *society*. Then, and never till then, begins the *infection* to be dispersed, when the sound and sick begin to be promiscuously mixed. Tempt not Chastity; hazard not your Christian liberty. You shall encounter with many forward youths, who will most punctually tender their uselesse service to your shadows at the very first sight: do not admit them, lest you prostitute your selves to their prostrate service. *Apelles* found fault with *Protogenes*, in that he could not hold his hands from his Table. Whereas our *Damsels* may more justly find fault with their youthful *Amorists*, for that they cannot hold their hands from under the Table. It is impossible to come off fair with these light-fingered fools. Your only way is to rampire your chaste intentions with Divine and Moral instructions, to stop the source, divert the occasion, subject *affection* to *reason*; so may you become Emperesses of that which hath sometimes tyrannized over Emperors: By this means shall every place where you *publicly* resort, minister to you some object of inward comfort: By this means shall *Company* furnish you with precepts of chastity, enable you in the serious practice of piety, and sweetly conduct you to the port of glory.

Source: Brathwaite, Richard. *The English Gentlewoman, Drawn Out to the Full Body: Expressing What Habilliments Doe Best Attire Her, What Ornaments Doe Best Adorne Her, What Complements Doe Best Accomplish Her*. London: B. Alsop and T. Fawcet, 1631, pp. 40–44.

13. A Man and a Woman Argue over Gender Superiority

Although women generally had fewer social and political roles available to them throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, their superiority to men was sometimes debated. Christine de Pisan (1364–c. 1430), for example, defended women by pointing out the many capable women in history and legend and how those women were often betrayed by men. The following fifteenth-century debate follows a similar line of argument. A man and woman debate whether men or women are best. The woman puts forth positive examples, most especially Mary the mother of Christ, whereas the man advances examples of evil-doing women, such as Eve. Interestingly, the man does not adduce positive male examples, so perhaps the woman wins the contest?

The author himself, Guillaume Alexis, left the winner of the debate unclear—when he approaches the debating couple, they flee. The reader, as a result, must draw his or her own conclusion. Regardless of these theoretical debates, exceptional women did often control not only their own destinies but also entire countries. The most striking example, of course, is Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) of England, who remains one of Britain's most powerful monarchs of all time.

As after ye shall hear, a strife began
which long did endure, with great argument
betwixt the woman and also the man,
which of them could prove to be most excellent.

The Man. The first which I heard was the man, that said:
“Adam our forefather, by woman’s shrewd counsel
to eat of an apple, was piteously betrayed.
Well happy is he that with you doth not mell.”

The Woman. Jesu of a maiden and virgin, his mother,
was incarnated to redeem that man had lost;
set thou this one now against the other
and woman is more excellent in every cost.

The Man. No women into angels never was transformed,
but women into devils full oft hath been figurate;
for they pride in hell cruelly to be burned.
Unhappy is he that hath one to his make.

The Woman. Many angels to women have been transported
more than to men, for their chastity.
First, our dear lady the angel exorted,
saying the son of God in her conceived should be.

The Man. Joseph by woman was put in prison
and nigh was slain by treason cruel;
David an adulterer with woman was become.
Well happy is he that with them doth not mell.

The Woman. Mankind to deliver out of this worldly pain
and bring him to the joy of the celestial place
god in his mother took nature human.
Who dispraiseth women, God send him no grace.

The Man. For woman was slain the worthy prince Amon;
the love of them causeth much displeasure.
By women was deceived the sage Salomon,
which by the mean of them false idols did adore.

The Woman. That woman is most replete with grace
by good reason, I shall prove plain,
for God in woman first took his place
when into this world he came certain.

The Man. Virgil, the sage clerk of great intelligence,
betrayed was by woman, as written ye may find,
trusting in her grace, in every man’s presence
was tied at a window til men did him unbind.

The Woman. God to us by woman paradise hath restored
that before was lost by our great negligence
and above all saints highly hath honored
Mary his mother, woman of most excellence.

The Man. Towns have been destroyed, and cities many one,
diverse men for women be damned deep in hell.
More joyful unto man than woman hath been none.
Well happy is he that with them doth not mell.

The Woman. By the mean of Hester, the judgment was respited
of Assuerus her husband, for the Jews all
which should have died had not he delited
in her high beauty and words petitional.

The Man. Priam, Paris, and Deiphebus,
first by the occasion of women was slain.
Also Troilus, Hector, and Helenus,
and all Troy hath been confounded plain.

The Woman. Judith, 900 men and mo'
made for to fly and yield in confusion
after that Holefermus' head she had cut in two,
which would have destroyed all the region.

The Man. Women their face and forehead doth paint
for to deceive both young and old.
The strong Sampson Dalyda (*sic*) did attainit,
And him betrayed his head when she had poled.

The Woman. Woman is honored in every place
for queen of earth and of heaven high,
which is petitioner for man's trespass
to good on their souls to have mercy.

The Man. Some women can flatter and most can lie
to obtain man's love, they can feign well.
They will never leave it until they die.
Well happy is he that with them doth not mell.

The Woman. Woman is called treasure of grace;
in heaven our lady it is full sure,
for she for man's soul doth so purchase
that thousands she saved by her prayer.

The Man. Some that hath been taken for very sage
by woman's love did so him endeavor
that for it he sold all his heritage
and after hath he died a miserable beggar.

The Woman. Many hath offices and good wages
by women to live right prosperately
benefices and advantages
to maintain men accordingly.

The Man. When a young pigeon a woman hath gotten
she will make him at length as strong as a crane,
for surely she will never forsake him
til that his cropper bone wax very lame.

The Woman. Then look a cawdell you do gyt,
and soon ye look you a better norce,
For I heard say, God gave man wit
to know the better from the worse.

The Man. Women will speak and contrary say,
They will not shame a lie to tell,
To scold and brawl is all their play.
Well happy is he that with them doth not mell.

The Woman. The coming of our lord Jesu,
Many devout woman did prophecye
Sibylls they were that it best knew
For to dispraise women ye do now unwisely.

The Man. One must them give that they desire
To beat or correct them they waxen worse.
They never will stint for to require
As long as a penny is in one's purse.

The Woman. When all the apostles from our lord fled
Women til his death still did him ensue
Never woman our lord denied
As Peter did by ever was true.

The Man. When ye of any man know the intention
Which could be secret ye publish it by and by
Unto your gossips, ye make thereof mention
As soon as ye together beeth, chatting like a pye.

The Woman. Christ after his death for our consolation
First showed unto woman personally
To Mary Magdaleyn after his resurrection
Which for his death bewailed grievously.

The Man. A wife of her husband will have the audience
As chief masters, her tale to tell;
She will cry and weep, except she have the pre-eminence
Well happy is he that with them doth not mell.

The Woman. That a man should a woman for his wife believe
By Abraham is signified plain
For god unto Sara first knowledge did give
That a child should be procreate betwixt the twain.

Source: Alexis, Guillaume. *Here Begynneth an Interlocucyon, with an Argument, betwixt Man and Woman and Which of Them Could Prove to Be Most Excellent*. London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1525, pp. 2–6 (no page numbers in text).

Children

Like those of women (see the previous section), the roles of children are often obscured in the public sector: small children do not run governments, do not usually write high literature, and do not build bridges on their own. That said, children in some ways were much more involved in public life than their modern Western counterparts. Whereas 12-year-old children in the United States and Europe spend their days in classrooms, their medieval and *Renaissance* counterparts were generally already earning a living as assistants or apprentices or even as fully qualified craftsmen. The following documents examine some of the features of children's life that are not covered in other sections of this volume, such as education or games and sports.

The link of affection between parents and children is particularly clear in many documents of the period. This affection, however, did not always take the same forms as it does in the modern day. Document 17, for example, outlines the signs of affection that children showed to their parents; these signs included standing when the parents entered the room,

staying quiet when the parents were speaking, and uncovering their heads whenever the parents were present. Although such rituals seem formal by current standards, they were conventional means of demonstrating respect and affection during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The love that parents showed their children resonates throughout the poems about Golden Bells (Document 14), by the influential Chinese poet Po Chu-i. Although the poet strives to show how children interfere with a busy life and weighty philosophy, the severe sorrow he experiences upon the girl's early demise echoes throughout the poems.

No one can choose his or her own parents. Our upbringing depends entirely on factors outside of our own control. Two radically different upbringings occur in two of the documents featured in this section. Englishwoman Margaret Cavendish (Document 15) was born into a life of aristocratic luxury, until the changing political climate forced her into exile in France. She describes her childhood as paradisiacal—although her father died young, her mother ensured that her children received a sound education, absorbed a strong moral code, and never went without the luxuries of life. Zál, in the legendary *Sháh Námeḥ* (Document 16), suffered through a dramatically different childhood. Ostracized by the people because of his unusual white hair, the child was left to die on a mountainside before being rescued by the gods. Although unrealistic, the story of Zál nevertheless discusses the damaging effects of peer pressure and the evil of complying with such unreasonable demands. Finally, the theme of premature death, in the cases of Golden Bells and Zál, reminds us that childhood was a dangerous time before the advent of vaccinations, improved nutrition, and modern antibiotics. Most parents expected to lose at least one of their children. The pain of loss, however, was no less.

14. The Early Death of Golden Bells

Children are associated with both joy and exasperation in societies around the world. In these two touching poems by Po Chu-i (772–846), the great Tang dynasty poet, the author explores his feelings about the birth of a new daughter when the author was approaching 40 years old. Although the poet claims to wish he had “a sage’s heart” and was therefore able to contemplate great philosophical matters, he finds instead that he is pulled into a simple love for the girl, even though the only real reward he will obtain from the relationship is the pleasure he is getting now from her company.

Tragically, the girl dies before she is three years old, bringing the poet great sorrow. He speaks of himself in the opening line as “ruined and ill.” The sorrowing poet, however, uses this sorrow as a moment of meditative contemplation: he reflects that personal relationships inevitably lead to grief and sorrow. As a result, avoiding them is best. Despite such stoical statements, the lament for the deceased daughter makes clear the poet’s continuing emotional attachment. Boys are preferred to girls generally in Chinese culture, as the second poem itself makes clear, yet girls were still clearly capable of capturing their parents’ love.

Golden Bells

When I was almost forty
I had a daughter whose name was Golden Bells.

Now it is just a year since she was born;
She is learning to sit and cannot yet talk.
Ashamed, to find that I have not a sage's heart,
I cannot resist commonplace thoughts and feelings.
Henceforward I am tied to things outside myself.
My only reward, the pleasure I am getting now.
If I am spared the grief of her dying young,
Then I shall have the trouble of getting her married.
My plan for retiring and going back to the hills must now be postponed for fifteen years!

Remembering Golden Bells

Ruined and ill, a man of two score;
Pretty and guileless, a girl of three.
Not a boy, but still better than nothing:
To soothe one's feeling, from time to time a kiss!
There came a day, they suddenly took her from me;
Her soul's shadow wandered I know not where.
And when I remember how just at the time she died
She lisped strange sounds, beginning to learn to talk,
Then I know that the ties of flesh and blood
Only bind us to a load of grief and sorrow.
At last, by thinking of the time before she was born,
By thought and reason I drove the pain away.
Since my heart forgot her, many days have passed
And three times winter has changed to spring.
This morning, for a little, the old grief came back,
Because, in the road, I met her foster-nurse.

Source: *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*. Translated by Arthur Waley. London: Constable, 1920, pp. 119–20.

15. A Noblewoman's Childhood

Margaret Cavendish, *Duchess of Newcastle* (1623–1673), was one of the leading women authors of her time, although her political commitment to the monarchy during the English civil war of the seventeenth century caused her serious trouble throughout her life, including exile and a critical lack of financial resources. In the following extract from her autobiography, Margaret Cavendish relates her aristocratic upbringing as a member of the influential Lucas family. According to Cavendish, the children were trained to seek out a happy medium between pleasure and work. Nonetheless, she points out that their mother, though left a widow and thus subject to financial uncertainty, never spared any money on their education or dress because her mother believed that the child's early years were formative and thus very important. Her mother's educational philosophy can be seen also in her rejection of corporal punishment—rational discussion rather than beating was used to show the children the benefits of righteousness and the wrongs of evil-doing.

The following extract also demonstrates that the Lucas family was very conscious of social class. Although Cavendish notes that even nobles might sometimes be forced to become

servants out of pecuniary need, she concurs with the wisdom of her mother's policy that the servants should not be in charge of the children. Rather, the servants were ordered to show the same respect to the children as they did to the mother. Moreover, male servants were not allowed to talk with female servants in the presence of the children for fear that the male servants would behave indiscreetly while attempting to attract the females. In effect, the Lucases believed that the lower classes had lower moral standards than aristocrats; the children, therefore, needed to be protected from them.

As for my breeding, it was according to my birth, and the nature of my sex; for my birth was not lost in my breeding; for as my sisters was, or had been bred, so was I in plenty, or rather with superfluity; likewise we were bred virtuously, modestly, civilly, honourably, and on honest principles: as for plenty, we had not only for necessity, convenience, and decency, but for delight and pleasure to superfluity; 'tis true we did not riot, but we lived orderly; for riot, even in kings' courts and princes' palaces, brings ruin without content or pleasure, when order in less fortunes shall live more plentifully and deliciously than princes, that live in a hurly-burly, as I may term it, in which they are seldom well served, for disorder obstructs; besides, it doth disgust life, distract the appetites, and yield no true relish to the senses; for pleasure, delight, peace and felicity, live in method and temperance.

As for our garments, my mother did not only delight to see us neat and cleanly, fine and gay, but rich and costly; maintaining us to the height of her estate, but not beyond it; for we were so far from being in debt, before these wars, as we were rather before-hand with the world; buying all with ready money, not on the score; for although after my father's death the estate was divided between my mother and her sons, paying such a sum of money for portions to her daughters, either at the day of their marriage, or when they should come of age; yet by reason she and her children agreed with a mutual consent, all their affairs were managed so well, as she lived not in a much lower condition than when my father lived; 'tis true, my mother might have increased her daughters portions by thrifty sparing, yet she chose to bestow it on our breeding, honest pleasures, harmless delights, out of an opinion, that if she bred us with needy necessity, it might chance to create in us sharking qualities, mean thoughts, and base actions, which she knew my father, as well as herself, did abhor: likewise we were bred tenderly, for my mother naturally did strive to please and delight her children, not to cross and torment them, terrifying them with threats, or lashing them with slavish whips; but instead of threats, reason was used to persuade us, and instead of lashes, the deformities of vice was discovered, and the Graces and Virtues were presented unto us; also we were bred with respectful attendance, every one being severally waited upon; and all her servants in general used the same respect to her children, (even those that were young) as they did to herself; for she suffered not her servants either to be rude before us, or to domineer over us, which all vulgar servants are apt, and oftentimes which some have leave to do; likewise she never suffered the vulgar serving-men to be in the nursery among the nurse-maids, lest their rude love-making might do unseemly actions, or speak unhandsome words in the presence of her children, knowing that youth is apt to take infection by ill examples, having not the reason of distinguishing good from bad; neither were we suffered to have



Pieter de Hooch, *Woman with a Child in a Pantry*, c. 1660. The mother has tucked up her outer skirt in order to keep it from getting dirty while she goes about her housework. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

any familiarity with the vulgar servants, or conversation: yet caused us to demean ourselves with an humble civility towards them, as they with a dutiful respect to us; not because they were servants were we so reserved; for many noble persons are forced to serve through necessity; but by reason the vulgar sort of servants are as ill bred as meanly born, giving children ill examples and worse counsel.

As for tutors, although we had for all sorts of virtues, as singing, dancing, playing on music, reading, writing, working, and the like, yet we were not kept strictly thereto; they were rather for formality than benefit; for my mother cared not so much for our dancing and fiddling, singing and prating of several languages, as that we should be bred virtuously, modestly, civilly, honourably, and on honest principles.

Source: Cavendish, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle. *A True Relation of the Birth, Breeding, and Life of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle*. Edited by Sir Egerton Brydges. Kent: Johnson and Warwick, 1814, pp. 3–6.

16. An Albino Child Abandoned

The national epic of Persian speakers is the Sháh Námeḥ (Book of Kings) by the eleventh-century poet Firdawsi. Although the Sháh Námeḥ records mostly legendary history, it nevertheless discusses important social and cultural issues. The following extract, for example, examines the societal mistreatment of those whose physical appearance differs from the norm. When Sám's son turns out to have white hair as an infant, the people suggest that the boy, named Zál, must be a demon and that his father himself was probably also a demon. To stop these rumors, which are undermining Sám's position as leader, the father leaves his son on a mountain, expecting the child to be killed and eaten by a griffin. Rumors and people's prejudice are leading to the death of a child.

The deities, however, have other plans for the child. The griffin actually saves the child and carries the child to his home on the top of the mountain, where he hears a divine voice commanding him to take good care of the child because the child will have an heir of everlasting fame. Although the people sought to destroy the child, the gods worked to save him. Prejudice about physical appearance is thus contrary to the will of the gods.

ZÁL, THE SON OF SÁM

According to the traditional histories from which Firdusi has derived his legends, the warrior Sám had a son born to him whose hair was perfectly white. On his birth the nurse

went to Sám and told him that God had blessed him with a wonderful child, without a single blemish, excepting that his hair was white; but when Sám saw him he was grieved:

His hair was white as goose's wing,
His cheek was like the rose of spring
His form was straight as cypress tree—
But when the sire was brought to see
That child with hair so silvery white,
His heart revolted at the sight.

His mother gave him the name of Zál and the people said to Sám, "This is an ominous event, and will be to thee productive of nothing but calamity; it would be better if thou couldst remove him out of sight.

No human being of this earth
Could give to such a monster birth;
He must be of the Demon race,
Though human still in form and face.
If not a Demon, he, at least,
Appears a party-coloured beast."

When Sám was made acquainted with these reproaches and sneers of the people, he determined, though with a sorrowful heart, to take him up to the mountain Alberz, and abandon him there to be destroyed by beasts of prey. Alberz was the abode of the Símurgh or Griffin, and, whilst flying about in quest of food for his hungry young ones, that surprising animal discovered the child lying alone upon the hard rock, crying and sucking its fingers. The Símurgh, however, felt no inclination to devour him, but compassionately took him up in the air, and conveyed him to his own habitation.

He who is blest with Heaven's grace
Will never want a dwelling-place
And he who bears the curse of Fate
Can never change his wretched state.
A voice, not earthly, thus addressed
The Símurgh in his mountain nest—
"To thee this mortal I resign,
Protected by the power divine;
Let him thy fostering kindness share,
Nourish him with paternal care;
For from his loins, in time, will spring
The champion of the world, and bring
Honour on earth, and to thy name;
The heir of everlasting fame."

The young ones were also kind and affectionate to the infant, which was thus nourished and protected by the Símurgh for several years.

Source: Firdawsi. *Sháh Námeḥ*. In *Persian Literature, Comprising the Sháh Námeḥ, the Rubáiyát, the Divan and the Gulistan*, trans. James Atkinson. Rev. ed., vol. 1. World's Great Classics series. New York: Colonial, 1900, pp. 50–51.

17. Honoring Parents

In Christianity, the Fourth Commandment commands children to honor their parents. The following document explains how one seventeenth-century commentator understood that command. The author, W.C., uses references to the Bible to describe not only how children should behave toward their parents but also what emotions the children should have concerning their parents. For example, the author states, "Children are to be delighted greatly in their Parents presence," although it is unclear how exactly a child who did not have fun with his or her parents should cultivate this emotion.

Although emotions are difficult to control, behavior is perhaps more straightforward. W.C. gives a long list of ways in which children should outwardly show respect for their parents: the children must stand when their parents enter the room, they must uncover their heads as a sign of respect in the presence of their parents, they must bow to their parents when they come to them, they must be completely silent when their parents are speaking, and they must call their parents by respectful titles, such as "Lord." These rituals give a general impression of a very formal relationship between parents and children. This formality can imply to modern readers that the parent-child relationship was not loving, but this assumption is certainly not true. In fact, these formal rituals were ways of demonstrating affection and love, rather than methods of maintaining distance.

Question. How should children honor their Parents with inward honor?

Answer. Children should honor their Parents with inward honor these three ways:

1. First, highly respecting and prizing of them, to have a good opinion, and reverent esteem of them, in regard to that authority that God hath stamped upon them over their children. The contrary to this is a sin,
 1. Forbidden, Prov. 23, 22
 2. Taxed, Ezek. 22:7, Him. 7:6
 3. Cursed, Deut. 27:16.
2. Secondly cordially loving them. What is required of Christians towards their pastor, 1 Thes. 5:12–13. The same should be performed by children to their Parents, there being an analogy and proportion between spiritual and natural Parents; for as spiritual Parents are over them in the Lord, labor among them, and admonish them, and their children should esteem them very highly in love. This love in children to Parents is thus to be expressed:
 1. Children are to be delighted greatly in their Parents presence, to be much affected with the very sight of a Father or Mother, Gen. 45:10, 46:29–31.
 2. Children are to be backward, and loath to part with their Parents, Ruth 1:14–17, 1 Kings 19:20, Deut. 21:13.
 3. Children should express their love by being affected with Parents favors or frowns, Prov. 4:3, Gen. 37:30, 2 Sam. 14:32, Numb. 12:14.
 4. They are to prize very much Parents good counsels, and instructions, yea, their very rebukes, and carefully remembering and recording their most useful sayings, Prov. 4:5–7, 8:21, 3:1, 2:1, 6:21, 7:1–3.
 5. They are cordially to sympathize with their Parents, in their joys or sorrows, Gen. 44:34, 37:35.

6. Yea, this love to their Parents should be expressed by prizing and cleaving to their good Parents special friends, Prov. 27:10. But especially they are to cleave to brethren and sisters of the same Parents, 1 Pet. 3:8, 1 John 5:1, Acts 7:26. . . .
3. By standing in awe of them, by an awful, reverent, or filial fear of them, Levit. 19:3. This inward filial fear and reverence in children towards their Parents taketh in these particulars:
 1. They are inwardly to awe the very persons, relation, and authority of their Parents, Lev. 19:3.
 2. They are inwardly to awe the commands, reproofs, threats, and corrections of Parents, Jer. 35:6.
 3. They are to fear to lose Parents favour, or to incur their just displeasure, by giving them any just offence, Gen. 27:12.
 4. They are to fear to cross any weighty intents, purposes, or desires of Parents, Judg. 11:36.
 5. They are to fear that trouble, or heart-grief should be occasioned to Parents, if they can prevent it, 1 Sam. 9:5, Gen. 44:34.
 6. They are to fear to fall short of their blessing and benefit of Parents' prayers, and of their godly counsels. This was in good Joseph, Gen. 48:1ff., and profane Esau, Gen. 27:34.

Question. How should children honor their Parents with outward honour?

Answer. Children should honour their Parents outwardly fourteen several ways:

1. First, by an humble and reverent deportment and carriage of the body, either in gesture, speech or action, which may be expressed in these following particulars:
 1. To rise up when our Parents come into our presence, 1 King. 2:19, Levit. 19:32, Judg. 1:14–15, Gen. 31:35.
 2. To uncover the head in token of our reverencing them, Lev. 19:32.
 3. To bow unto them, and do reverence, when they come into their Parents presence, Gen. 41:43, and 48:12, Exod. 18:7, 2 Sam. 14:33, 1 King. 2:19.
 4. To stand before their Parents when any business is imparting by the one to the other, Judg. 1:14–15, Exod. 18:13, 2 King. 5:25.
 5. To be silent whilst our Parents are speaking in our presence, and give ear unto them, Gen. 49:1–2, Job 29:9–10.
 6. When we are by necessary occasions to speak, to use words of submission, and speak reverently, both to, and of our Parents: as Sarah called her husband “Lord,” 1 Pet. 3:6, and Rachel said to Laban her father, “Let it not displease my Lord, that I cannot rise up before thee,” Gen 31:35, and as Prov. 31:28.
 7. They are to attend reverently to their counsels or instructions, Pro. 4:1.20.
 8. They must meekly and humbly subject themselves to their seasonable corrections, Heb. 12:9, Prov. 13:24, 19:18, 22:15, 23:13–4, 29:15–17, Deut. 21:18–22.
 9. They are to make humble confession to Parents, and to express filial shame and blushing upon occasion of faults and sins against them, especially when Parents deal with children for the same, Heb. 12:9, Luk. 15:21.

2. Secondly, this outward honor that children are to give unto their Parents, may be expressed by covering their failings to prevent dishonor and shame, which otherwise might befall them, Gen. 9:21–2, 23 Prov. 10–12, 1 Pet. 4:8.
3. Thirdly, another duty of outward honor is comprehended under the name of service, or waiting upon; it comprehends all such duties as are used by servants to their Masters, Luk. 15:19–29, 17:8, Phil. 2:22, Mal. 3:17, Gen. 37:12–14, 42:1–3, Ruth 2:2ff. Math. 21:28–30.
4. Fourthly, children should honor their Parents by acquainting them with their secrets of weight, Jud. 14:16, Numb. 10:29–33. Craving their advice, approbation, and leave, in their particular undertakings, Exod. 12:26, 13:14, Josh. 4:6, Exod. 18:8–27, Gen. 34:4, 2 Sam. 13:26, 15:7, Ruth 1:16, 2:2. And their prayer to God for direction therein, and a blessing upon themselves and their concernments, Gen. 27:19–38, 48, 9:13–21.
5. Fifthly, children should honor their Parents by obedience and subjection, Eph. 6:1:
 1. To wholesome counsels and lawful commands.
 2. To reproofs and fitting correction.

First, children being under tuition must be obedient to their Parents' counsels and commands, and be contented therein to be crossed in their own will, Gen. 22:6–10, 37:14, 42:1–3, 48:17–19.

1. In matters of Religion and the fear of the Lord, Gen. 18:19, Deut. 4:9, Josh. 24:15, 1 King. 2:2–3, 1 Chron. 22:11, 2 Tim. 3:14–15, compared with 1:5.
2. In civil matters; and that under these two considerations:
 1. Considered in their childhood, and so they are to be subject to their Parents for their diet, their apparel, their work, even in the meanest employment, Mal. 3:17, Math. 21:28–30, Luk. 15:19, Gen. 24, 29.
 2. Considered in their up-grown years, and so they are to be subject to their Parents for their disposal and that especially in these two particulars:
 1. For their disposing into services, Exod. 21:7–12.
 2. For their disposing in Marriage, Gen. 24 throughout, Gen. 28:1–8, Gen. 29:18–20, Deut. 7:3–4.

Secondly, children must be subject to their Parents' reproofs and fitting corrections, Prov. 13:24, 19:18, 22, 15, 23:13–14, 29:15–17, Heb. 12:9.

Reasons to persuade children to be obedient unto their Parents

1. The very placing of the commandment may move us much, in that God hath put it before our goods, yea, before our life; to show that obedience ought to be dearer to use than our goods, yea, than our lives.
2. The name of Father and Mother, which are names of nature, full of love, and the more apt to move obedience.
3. Many blessings do attend it; it hath the promise of long life, a thing very amiable, for death is repugnant to nature, Eph. 6:1–2, Prov. 4:10–22.

4. It is a good thing, it is to God acceptable; yea, it is that which God is delighted with, Col. 3:20.
5. It is not only good, but it is right, Eph. 6:1. We cannot forbear it without injury; it is their own, it is due unto them: and therefore if you keep it back, you do them wrong and injustice.
6. It concerns children to yield obedience unto their Parents, because they watch over their souls, Heb. 13:17. This holds in proportion with natural Parents.
7. The exercise of this duty exceedingly furthereth the exercise of other particular Acts of piety towards God, and righteousness towards others; it will be a means to usher in all other Acts of obedience unto all the commandments, Levit. 19:2–4, Gen. 18:19.
8. It will be a good means to bring other children (though rebellious) into filial obedience: as Jacob's obedience wrought upon Esau, Gen 28:6–9.

Sixthly, children especially of godly Parents, should be observing, minding, prizing, and treasuring up such Parents' good speeches (as one hath expressed) as so many oracles of god, which will evidence to all that their children honor them, Job 15:18, Psalms 44:1–2, Psalms 78:2–3, Prov. 4:3–4, Deut. 6:20 to the end, Exod. 13:14, Josh. 4:6–7, 21, 23.

Seventhly another duty that children should perform is this: cordially and constantly to pray and give thanks to God for their Parents, 1 Tim. 2:1–2, Heb. 13:18, Rom. 10:1. As Subjects should pray and give thanks for their Magistrates, and people for their Minister, and as Paul prayed for Israel, so should children pray and give thanks for their Parents.

Source: W. C. *A Schoole of Nurture for Children, or The Duty of Children in Honouring Their Parents, Unfolded, Proved, and Applied.* London: Simon Miller, 1656, pp. 4–16.

Part III

ECONOMIC LIFE

To supply food and clothes for themselves and their families, people need to work. Economic life, therefore, is an indispensable part of daily life. Some occupations are connected with these basic needs. Prosperous farming families in the Middle Ages, might build their own cabin, grow their own fruits and vegetables, milk their own cows, and make their own clothes from wool shorn from their own sheep. Other occupations are further removed from directly supplying the basics of life—pinner (people who make nails, tacks, and other fasteners) cannot live by eating nails. Instead, they must sell enough product to be able to buy the things that they and their families need. Self-sufficiency, therefore, is one marker of how urban and rural life differed from each other in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

The following section on urban life examines the complex economies and mutual dependencies that developed during this time period across the world. Major cities, such as London, Madrid, Tenochtitlan (Mexico City), Mecca, and Beijing, continued to grow in size, influence, and power throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Cities offered an economy scale not generally found in the countryside. Craft specialists developed in cities; some people did nothing but make nails; others only butchered animals; others simply exchanged foreign currency for local money. Such specialization enabled more efficient production and frequently superior products than what could be found in rural districts. The growing urban populations and large customer base also attracted competition; in an effort to create a monopoly, craftsmen often banded together in guilds to allow only licensed individuals to sell certain merchandise and services. Royal legislation, furthermore, often gave cities favorable tax breaks—a recognition of the cities' power. Cities were not merely economic and political centers; they could also be spiritual centers, as Mecca—the center of Islamic prayer life—makes clear.

Rural villages may not have been as powerful as cities, but rural life as a whole still dominated the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Throughout the period, most people lived and worked in the countryside. As the sources from the Rural Life section show, rural life was difficult. The vast majority of rural inhabitants lived in meager circumstances, farming lands and estates that belonged to a small group of wealthy landowners, including monasteries. During the earlier Middle Ages, many agricultural laborers

were actually slaves—they didn't even own themselves. Other documents indicate a profound distrust between the wealthy landowners and their agricultural laborers; Walter of Henley, for example, accuses the peasants of laziness.

Some occupations, of course, were based neither in the city nor in the countryside, but in both. Merchants traveled vast distances as they brought goods to the most profitable markets, unwittingly helping to match supply and demand. The documents in the section on trade and monetary systems explores how these merchants essentially made the world a smaller place during the course of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. By 1500, Europe, Asia, and the Americas had been interwoven into a web of trade and economic interest.

One of the products sold by merchants was slaves. Modern readers may associate slavery with the southern United States, but slavery was a worldwide phenomenon during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. China, Europe, South America—peoples in these areas and others depended on slaves to provide agricultural labor, entertainment, and sacrificial victims. Despite the prevalence of slavery, many of the documents in the Slavery section demonstrate that intellectuals were uncomfortable with the abuse of fellow human beings. Despite these attempts to restrain the horrors of slavery, the practice continued into the modern era. Economic life was harder for some than for others.

Urban Life

As economies during the Middle Ages moved away from agrarian products toward crafts, trade, and incipient industry, cities grew and became increasingly more important. In the year A.D. 600, political power and economic clout rested primarily in the hands of landed gentry in the countryside; by 1600, cities such as London, Paris, Madrid, Venice, Tenochtitlan, Cuzco, Mecca, Constantinople, and Beijing were clear centers of political control and economic clout. Many of these cities had ancient roots—Beijing had important settlements by the sixth century B.C.—but the Middle Ages witnessed urban life's dramatic rise toward cultural dominance. Document 6 offers an eyewitness tour of the marvels of Tenochtitlan (now Mexico City) during the heyday of the Aztec Empire.

Cities became powerful in part because they made money. The large numbers of potential buyers and willing workers enabled an economy of scale that in turn enabled the efficient manufacture and easy distribution of goods and services. The urban economy, particularly in Europe, was dominated in large part by trade guilds, organizations that determined who could and could not practice a particular craft in a particular city. For example, in the northern English city of the York, the pinners, who made nails and other fasteners, controlled who was able to sell fasteners in the city of York—only members of the pinners' guild. This monopoly control of specific industries undercut competition and helped ensure healthy profits for guild members. The lure of high profits encouraged upwardly mobile families to apprentice their children into these crafts, although sufficient evidence shows that the children themselves were often less pleased with these financial arrangements. Documents 3 and 4 give helpful insights into the guild economy.

Cities were frequently able to leverage their economic clout to gain special privileges. As the city charters in Document 8 show, these privileges came in both financial and political forms. On the one hand, royal authority often canceled the taxes that city merchants would ordinarily need to pay. The equivalent happens today when cities lower

business taxes. The increased incentive for economic activity frequently results ultimately in more revenue for everyone. On the other hand, the king also granted the cities a limited form of self-rule. London, for example, elected its own mayor to manage its affairs independently of the crown, but that mayor had to swear loyalty to the king himself.

Although urban life offered literally rich rewards, the spiritual life was not neglected, despite what some critics suggested (Document 1). Certain cities, such as Mecca in the Arabian Peninsula, were themselves considered sacred and were governed by special laws to protect that sanctity, as Document 7 describes. In other cities, such as Tenochtitlan, capital of the Aztec empire in Mexico, the central marketplace (symbolizing economic prosperity) was surpassed only by the temple district (symbolizing spiritual life). The Aztecs valued religion over money, and their city layout reflected these priorities. Spiritual life likewise encouraged a concern for the plight of the poor. Monasteries and church institutions, such as the abbey near Stapel mentioned in Document 5, founded and maintained hospitals to care for the sick and dying of the poorer classes, who had flocked to the cities in search of a better life.

The necessity of such hospitals for the poor reminds us that not everyone came out ahead in urban life. Some simply did not succeed economically. Others, such as Jews, were consistently discriminated against by their city-dwelling neighbors. Even when the learned elite recognized the valuable contribution that Jews made to city life (Document 2), the Jews were kept apart from the mainstream and therefore formed a separate community. Many of these separate communities were forcibly evicted during the later Middle Ages. Cities held great promise, but not all of their promises were fulfilled.

1. The Philosophy of Chinese Businessmen

Ch'en Tzu-ang (A.D. 656–698), the author of the following poem, was a controversial poet who delighted in surprising his audience. According to one story, he bought an extremely expensive guitar and announced loudly that he would play it publicly the next day. Once a large crowd had gathered on the following day, Ch'en Tzu-ang picked up the guitar and then smashed it violently against the ground, breaking it into smithereens. He then proceeded to deliver his poems instead.

In the following poem, Ch'en Tzu-ang chides businessmen whose thoughts are predominantly upon the things of this world. As a result, they remain ignorant of the world to come. The poet uses paradoxes, such as seeing the whole world in one cup and entering the Gate of Immutability through Mutation, to represent the difficulty and mystery involved in contemplation of ultimately eternal truths.

Business men boast of their skill and cunning
But in philosophy they are like little children.
Bragging to each other of their successful depredations,
They neglect to consider the ultimate fate of the body
What should they know of the Master of Dark Truth
Who saw the wide world in a jade cup,

By illumined conception got clear of Heaven and Earth,
On the chariot of Mutation entered the Gate of Immutability?

Source: *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*. Translated by Arthur Waley. London: Constable, 1918, p. 95.

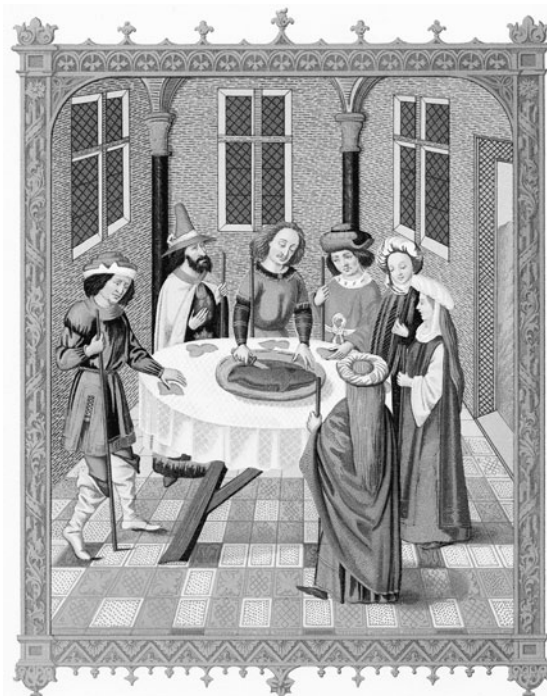
2. A Jewish Ghetto

The Jewish people have a history of extraordinary adversity. The Holocaust of World War II highlights the injustices done to Jews, but the Jewish people were persecuted long before that. Within the first 150 years A.D., Jewish rebellions were repeatedly put down by Roman authorities in Palestine, often with considerable brutality and slaughter. The temple at Jerusalem, for example, was destroyed in A.D. 70, and hundreds of thousands of Jews were massacred in the aftermath of the Bar Kokhba revolt of A.D. 132–135. As a result, the Jewish communities outside of Palestine (called the Diaspora) became as important to Jewish life as the communities remaining in Palestine. Unfortunately, the Jewish Diaspora lived continuously as strangers in foreign lands. The following document, in which Bishop Rudiger Huozmann grants land to a Jewish community at Speyer in Germany in the eleventh century, shows the realities of Jewish life in Christian lands during the High Middle Ages.

The Jews were valued and despised at the same time. As the document notes, Bishop Rudiger attempted to protect the Jews from persecution (“the insolence of the citizens”), but he also invited the Jews to Speyer specifically to “increase the honor” of the city. These contrasting attitudes, despising and valuing the Jews, reflect the ambiguous position of Jews in Christian medieval society. On the one hand, the Jews were not trusted because they were not Christian—they were viewed as enemies of Christ and as potential enemies of the state. On the other hand, Jews had developed great skills in trade and in money-changing; the document specifically grants the Jewish community the right to trade in the harbor and the right to change gold and silver currency. This economic activity boosted not only the Jews’ standard of living but also the community of the whole city. Speyer would become wealthier and more prosperous as a result of the Jews’ economic and entrepreneurial activities. Speyer wanted to be prosperous, and it needed Jews to be so, however much the citizens distrusted them.

To attract Jewish settlers, the bishop was willing to grant them extensive legal rights and privileges. Not only were they granted trading rights, but they were also granted freedom from the *thelony*, a form of customs tax levied on trade. They were also granted, in return for a fixed rent, a large walled neighborhood, separate from the main town, so that they could live as they wished. Also provided was a cemetery so that Jewish burial customs could be practiced. One of the most interesting concessions was the granting of their own separate law court. The chief rabbi was empowered by the bishop to hear not only cases between Jews but also cases brought against the Jews; the bishop, however, remained as head of the court of appeal.

This document, in sum, demonstrates how highly the learned establishment (e.g., the bishop) valued the Jews, even if the less educated people



THE JEWS' PASSOVER.
Fac-simile of a miniature from a missal of fifteenth century ornamented with paintings
of the School of Van Eyck.
Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Th. lat., n° 109.

A fifteenth-century depiction of a Jewish passover. In accordance with the Hebrew Scriptures, the diners at this seder are eating standing up and with their staffs in hand so as to be ready to flee. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.



Christian and Jewish scholars debate theology. The two groups of scholars can be distinguished by their clothing. The Christians are clean-shaven with floppy caps, while the Jewish scholars wear beards and pointed hats in this depiction. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

(“the citizens” in this document) esteemed them less. Unfortunately, anti-Jewish sentiment grew as the Middle Ages wore on. During the twelfth century, reports of Jews’ massacring innocent Christian children became widespread; these stories were urban legends without factual basis, but they greatly influenced later medieval society. King Edward I expelled the Jews from England in 1290, King Philip IV expelled them from France in 1306, and many other rulers drove the Jews from their territories during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In the name of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity, I, Rudiger, surnamed Huozmann, Bishop of Speyer, when I made the villa of Speyer into a town, thought I would increase the honor I was bestowing on the place if I brought in the Jews. Therefore I placed them outside the town and some way off from the houses of the rest of the citizens, and, lest they should be too easily disturbed by the insolence of the citizens, I surrounded them with a wall. Now the place of their habitation which I acquired justly (for in the first place I obtained the hill partly with money and partly by exchange, while I received the valley by way of gift from some heirs) that place, I say, I transferred to them on condition that they pay annually three and a half pounds of the money of Speyer for the use of the brethren.

I have granted also to them within the district where they dwell, and from that district outside the town as far as the harbor, and within the harbor itself, full power to change gold and silver, and to buy and sell what they please. And I have also given them license to do this throughout the state. Besides this, I have given them land of the church for a cemetery with rights of inheritance. This also I have added that if any Jew should at any time stay with them, he shall pay no thelony.

Then also just as the judge of the city hears cases between citizens, so the chief rabbi shall hear cases which arise between the Jews or against them. But if by chance he is unable to decide any of them, they shall go to the bishop or his chamberlain. They shall maintain watches, guards, and fortifications about their district, the guards in common with our vassals. They may lawfully employ nurses and servants from among our people. Slaughtered meat which they may not eat according to their law, they may lawfully sell to Christians, and Christians may lawfully buy it. Finally, to round out these concessions, I have granted that they may enjoy the same privileges as the Jews in any other city of Germany.

Lest any of my successors diminish this gift and concession, or constrain them to pay greater taxes, alleging that they have usurped these privileges, and have no episcopal warrant for them, I have left this charter as a suitable testimony of the said grant. And that this may never be forgotten, I have signed it, and confirmed it with my seal as may be seen below. Given on Sept. 15th, 1084, etc.

Source: Altmann, Wilhelm, and Ernst Bernheim, eds. *Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Erläuterung der Verfassungsgeschichte Deutschlands im Mittelalter*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1904.

3. Butchers' Guilds

Guilds were central to the European economy. Essentially, a guild is a licensed monopoly. Only members of a guild were allowed to practice the business of that guild in a particular location. For example, as noted earlier, only members of the pinners' guild in the northern English city of York—pinners are makers of nails and other fasteners—could make and sell nails in York. In return for having this monopoly of trade, the guilds paid the local authorities a fixed sum of money.

The first document given here, written in Paris in 1182, outlines the basics of a trade guild. The guild members did not need to pay any sales tax, but they did need to pay a fixed fee three times a year—roughly the equivalent of \$400 dollars each time. As the document suggests, the king farmed out the right to collect these fees to other individuals. In return, the king would receive less money from the individual to whom he granted the right to collect the fees, but the king would also not have the hassle of overseeing the collection of the fees.

In return for paying these flat fees, the butchers' guild was able to control a monopoly of meat products in the city of Paris. No one could open a butcher's shop unless the butchers' guild gave that person permission. The freedom from sales tax likewise was a significant economic advantage.

Although the guild system benefited the guilds and the authorities who received money from the guilds, the monopoly, by its nature, undercut the free market economy. The absence of a free market tends both to reduce the quality of goods offered and to increase the price at which those goods are offered. To counteract this tendency, regulations, as the second document given here demonstrates, were passed to ensure the quality of the product that guilds provided. In the five provisions of the second document, from Tülin in Germany and dated 1237, two provisions attempt to control the quality of the meat: the butchers were held monetarily responsible for bad meat, and they were banned from selling freshly killed animals (most meat was aged in the Middle Ages to enhance its flavor and tenderness). Servants likewise were barred from selling meat; as a result, only professional butchers could sell meat to the public. The third regulation prevents butchers from acting as middlemen, that is, buying meat in country markets (where prices were lower because of less demand) and selling that same meat in city markets (where prices were higher).

Although modern economists recognize that such product mobility is actually good for the economy, the Middle Ages generally viewed such activity as immoral because the middlemen were thought to be profiting off of other people's labor. Finally, the regulations also show increasing anti-Semitism because Jews were forced to pay higher prices for meats, although the higher price also may have reflected the Jewish community's need for meat killed and butchered according to kosher methods. The guild monopolies of the Middle Ages offered economic advantages to certain individuals and economic disadvantages to many others.

PARIS BUTCHER'S GUILD

In the name of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity, Amen. Philip, by the grace of God, King of the Franks. Be it known to all present and future generations that the butchers of Paris came to our presence asking that we could grant and permit them to hold in peace their ancient customs, just as our father and grandfather, Louis of good memory,

and other predecessors of ours—the Kings of France—had granted them. On the advice of those who attended us we heard their petition, but, since those customs granted by our father were not in a written charter, we have ordered them to be put into writing, and to be confirmed with our seal.

These are the customs:

1. The butchers of Paris can buy living and dead cattle, and whatever pertains to their trade, freely without tax and without giving any *pedagium* within the area of Paris, from wherever they come, or wherever they are taken, if by chance it should happen that they are being taken anywhere. Fish of the sea, and fish from fresh water, they may likewise buy and sell.
2. No one can be a Paris butcher, nor shall other butchers have their rights, namely, food and drink, unless they wish to concede them of their own will.
3. On the Octave of Christmas, every butcher will give us annually twelve denarii; on the Octaves of Easter and of St. Denis, thirteen denarii to him who holds it in fief from us.
4. Every butcher shall owe an obol for stallage to our reeve for every Sunday on which he cuts pork or beef, and every butcher owes every year to us, at the vintage, one *hautban* of wine.

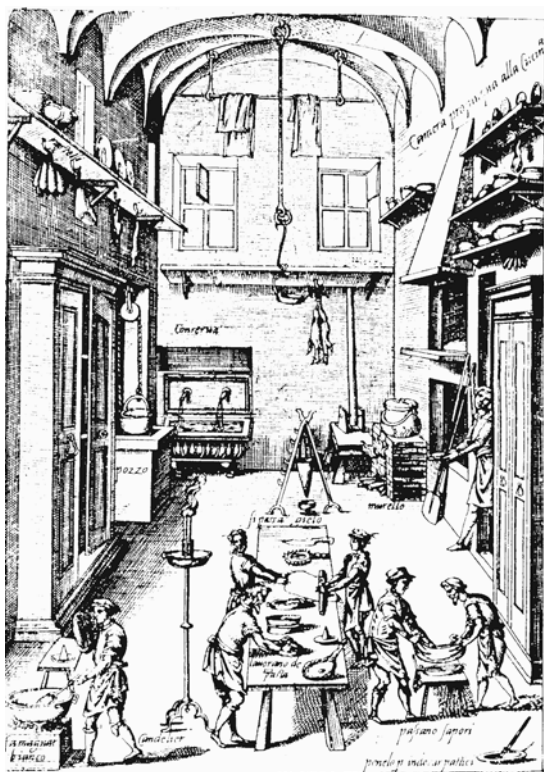
And in order that all these things may remain secure for ever, we have strengthened this charter by the addition of our seal and signature.

Done at Paris in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord, 1182, in the fourth year of our reign. Witnesses, etc. . . .

GERMAN MEAT REGULATIONS

1. The first is that none of the servants of the butchers shall presume to buy or sell cattle in the city or in the country.
2. The second is that no butcher presume to sell meat on the day on which the animal is killed.
3. The third is that none of them shall dare to attempt the purchase of meat from rural butchers on a market day.
4. The fourth is that if any butcher buys an ox for a talent, a Jew will pay twenty-four denarii for the killing of it, without causing delay for the denarii. Also for cattle which are bought for six solidi, a Jew will pay sixteen denarii for killing. Also for cattle which are bought for half a talent, a Jew will pay twelve denarii. Also for small cattle which are called *chlovieh*, a Jew will pay two denarii; for a lamb a Jew will pay one denarius.
5. Also it has been decreed that if any butcher traffics in bad meat, the master craftsmen will seize that meat until he makes amends in the presence of the mayors.

Sources: Fagniez, Gustave. *Documents Relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Industrie et du Commerce en France*. Vol. 1. Paris: Picard, 1898, p. 91; Keutgen, F. *Urkunden zur Städtischen Verfassungsgeschichte*. Berlin: Felber, 1901, p. 360. Adjusted by the Lawrence Morris.



"Large Kitchen." From *Il Cuoco Segreto Di Papa Pio V* (The Private Chef of Pope Pius V), by Bartolomeo Scappi, Venice, 1570.

4. Apprenticeship

As Document 3 indicates, being a member of a guild could be lucrative. To enter into a guild, a youth generally had to complete an apprenticeship under a member of that guild. Apprenticeship was a complex legal contract in which a craftsman agreed to take on a young man, to feed him and clothe him, and to teach him the craft, in return for certain economic privileges. The major privilege that the craftsman received was the unpaid labor (not counting the housing, clothing, and feeding) of the young assistant. These contractual terms could vary, however. According to the immediately following contract, for example, the young apprentice Michael will receive lodging but no food ("without board").

Although both parties to the contract should benefit, numerous provisions demonstrate that the apprentice relationship was often fraught with difficulty. Both contract extracts presented in this section, for example, force the parents to return their child to the craftsman if the child should run away. Clearly, homesickness or harsh living conditions could cause a young apprentice to flee his new business relationship. The first contract given here wisely provides a get-out clause by which the mother, probably a widow because the father would have made the contract if he were alive, is able to buy out the child's remaining two years of service. Moreover, both contracts make the parents financially responsible for any damage that their children may cause.

Both contracts also clearly demonstrate the great value to be had from a child's induction into a craft. The parents are willing to accept significant financial responsibilities, but the responsibilities of the craftsmen are much less fully sketched out. This disparity in financial obligation shows just how far parents were willing to go to get their children apprenticed. Learning a craft was a ticket to financial security, and it was worth all the homesickness and financial liabilities imposed upon the young apprentice and his family.

AN APPRENTICESHIP IN WEAVING

Be it known to present and future aldermen that Ouede Ferconne apprentices Michael, her son, to Matthew Haimart on security of her house, her person, and her chattels, and the share that Michael ought to have in them, so that Matthew Haimart will teach him to weave in four years, and that he (Michael) will have shelter, and learn his trade there without board. And if there should be reason within two years for Michael to default, she will return him, and Oude Ferconne, his mother, guarantees this on the security of her person and goods. And if she should wish to purchase his freedom for the last two years she may do so for thirty-three solidi, and will pledge for that all that has been stated. And if he should not free himself of the last two years let him return, and Ouede Ferconne, his mother, pledges this with her person and her goods. And the said Ouede pledges that if Matthew Haimart suffers either loss or damage through Michael, her son, she will restore the loss and damage on the security of herself and all her goods, should Michael do wrong. . . .

AN APPRENTICESHIP FOR STEPHEN BORRE

April the ninth. I, Peter Borre, in good faith and without guile, place with you, Peter Feissac, weaver, my son Stephen, for the purpose of learning the trade or craft of

weaving, to live at your house, and to do work for you from the feast of Easter next for four continuous years, promising you by this agreement to take care that my son does the said work, and that he will be faithful and trustworthy in all that he does, and that he will neither steal nor take anything away from you, nor flee nor depart from you for any reason, until he has completed his apprenticeship. And I promise you by this agreement that I will reimburse you for all damages or losses that you incur or sustain on my behalf, pledging all my goods, etc., renouncing the benefit of all laws, etc. And I, the said Peter Feissac, promise you, Peter Borre, that I will teach your son faithfully and will provide food and clothing for him.

Done at Marseilles, near the tables of the money-changers. Witnesses, etc.

Source: Blancard, L. *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce de Marseille au Moyen Age*. Vol. 2. Marseilles: Barlatier-Feissat, 1884, p. 33. In Roy Cave and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965, pp. 256–57.

5. Founding a Hospital

In modern times, hospitals are places where the seriously ill go to become better. In the Middle Ages, hospitals instead were places where only those who were both poor and seriously ill went; death was frequently the outcome. The wealthy classes were treated in their own homes by private doctors and private priests; the poor, on the other hand, relied on hospitals once they became too ill, or too poor, to be cared for by their relatives and friends. Hospitals, thus, were a form of charity and were often sponsored by ecclesiastical institutions.

In the following document, an abbey of monks transfers a hospital from its own lands to the city center of Stapel in the year 1200. To provide for the hospital financially, the abbey pledges to set aside the income from certain pieces of land that it owns. With these proceeds, the abbey hopes to support at least 40 poor people. In addition to providing material benefits to the poor, the abbey also outlines a plan to supply spiritual benefits. They will staff the hospital church, and the priests will provide extreme unction (a ritual confirming forgiveness on the seriously ill) and Christian burial for the hospital inhabitants. The emphasis on death rituals indicates that the monks took a realistic view of how well the hospital would succeed in treating its diseased inhabitants. The hope of the poor would need to be in a better life after death.

Thomas, by divine consent Abbot, and the whole community of the abbey of Saint Trond, to all seeing these presents, greeting in the Lord forever. Taking into consideration the inconvenience arising from the hospital for the sick being on our domain, and seeing the usefulness of the hospital situated in the main street of Stapel, on the advice of honest men, and with the permission of the Lord Bishop James of Palestrina, legate of the apostolic see, we have made the following change, namely, we have assigned to the hospice situated in Stapel, six *bonniers* of land, of which four lie next to our cultivated land near Schuerhoven, and two in another part lying opposite. From this there is paid annually to us five pence as tax from each *bonnier*. Moreover, we grant whatever interest we have in the mill of Stayen to the same house, with this condition, that it be expected to

pay annually to us five Liège solidi for the upkeep of the poor to the number of forty. We grant also to the brethren the right to build a chapel in that place, where divine offices may be celebrated, and they may elect a priest from among themselves. He who is elected shall be presented to the abbot; if he be suitable the abbot will approve of him. This priest shall administer to the brethren, and to the sick in that place, all the sacraments of the church and extreme unction. The priest of Holy Sepulcher church shall bury those who die. We desire that these things shall not be to the prejudice of the church of Holy Sepulcher and that all things be granted forever. Whatever the said house is known to have from Lord Wirsch of the village of Planken in taxes or rents or other payments shall be paid to our monastery in recompense perpetually. We shall remain as true patron of the said hospice, just as we have been, and it will be always under our protection. Witnesses, etc.

Source: de Smet, J. J. *Monuments pour servir à l'Histoire des Provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg*. Vol. 2. Brussels: M. Hayez, 1870, p. 562. In Roy Cave and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965, pp. 321–22.

6. A Tour of Mexico City with Moctezuma

Tenochtitlan, as Mexico City was called during the height of the Aztec empire, clearly impressed the Spanish conquistadors, as the following document demonstrates. Throughout the eyewitness account of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, an extract of which is given below, the Aztec city is compared favorably with the great cities of Europe: “Those who had been at Rome and at Constantinople said, that for convenience, regularity, and population, they had never seen the like.” The inhabitants likewise are given high praise: Díaz states that their artists equaled such European geniuses as Michelangelo. Although the next generation of Spanish colonialists, especially the profiteering businessmen, would frequently look down upon the Native Americans, many of the original sixteenth-century conquistadors were simply impressed.

The marketplace explored by Hernán Cortés and his men testifies to the thriving economy of the Aztecs. The marketplace dominated one of Tenochtitlan’s central squares and was full of an amazing variety of merchandise, from gold to slaves chained to pillars to basic foodstuffs. Very like a modern department store, the marketplace was clearly organized by product. All the gold merchants were in one area, all the armorers in another, all the food merchants in yet another, and so forth. The market was packed, producing a continuous hubbub that could be heard from far away. In addition, legal officials continually policed the area to ensure fair trading practices.

The other center point of Tenochtitlan was the temple. The document makes clear that the temple was even more important than the central market. Although the Aztec king Moctezuma (the more accurate form of the Nahuatl name frequently rendered “Montezuma”) allowed the Spaniards to go to the marketplace on their own, he insisted on accompanying them to the temple. Indeed, Moctezuma offered an incense sacrifice before the Spaniards were allowed up into the temple itself. The importance of temples to the Mexica (as the Aztecs are also called) was apparent by the prominence of the buildings themselves. The temple was so tall that the Spaniards were able to survey all of Tenochtitlan from the

top of the temple and also were able to see much of the surrounding countryside. The main buildings visible in other towns were likewise temples. The centrality of temples to Meso-american culture can also be seen in the Aztec pictographs—the conquering of a people was recorded by a pictorial representation of the destruction of their temple.

But whereas the Aztecs revered the temple, the Spaniards hated it. Although Díaz is complimentary in general to the Mexica civilization, he refers to the Aztec idols as “accursed,” and he focuses on the altar stained with the blood of human sacrifices. Once open hostilities broke out between the Spanish, their Native American allies, and the Aztecs, the temple precincts were the sites of some of the fiercest fighting, as the Spanish attempted to destroy the temples and the Aztecs to protect them.

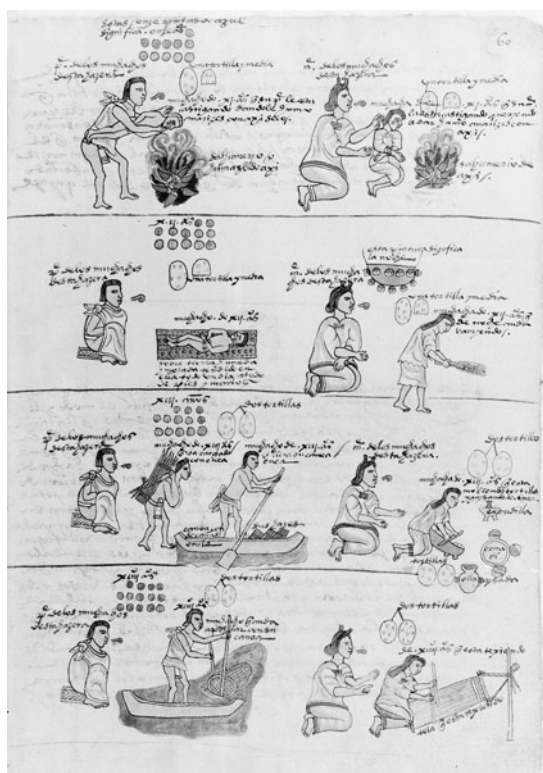
Although the Mexica ultimately lost control of Tenochtitlan to the Spanish, the city survived to become modern-day Mexico City. The very location of the city, originally built up from the bottom of Lake Texcoco so that the city resembled Venice in its need for bridges and boats to get anywhere, is a testimony to the achievements of Mexica civilization.

The place where the artists principally resided was named Escapuzalco, and was at the distance of about a league from the city. Here were the shops and manufactories of all their gold and silver smiths, whose works in these metals, and in jewelry, when they were brought to Spain, surprised our ablest artists. Their painters we may also judge of

by what we now see, for there are three Indians in Mexico, who are named Marcos de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz, and Crespillo, who, if they had lived with Apelles in ancient times, or were compared with Michaelangelo or Berruguete in modern times, would not be held inferior to them. Their fine manufactures of cotton and feathers, were principally brought from the province of Costitlan. The women of the family of the great Montezuma also, of all ranks, were extremely ingenious in these works, and constantly employed; as was a certain description of females who lived together in the manner of nuns.

One part of the city was entirely occupied by Montezuma’s dancers, of different kinds, some of whom bore a stick on their feet, others flew in the air, and some danced like those in Italy called by us Matachines. He had also a number of carpenters and handicraft men constantly in his employ. His gardens, which were of great extent, were irrigated by canals of running water, and shaded with every variety of trees. In them were baths of cut stone, pavilions for feasting or retirement, and theatres for shows, and for the dancers and singers; all which were kept in the most exact order, by a number of labourers constantly employed.

When we had been four days in Mexico, Cortes wished to take a view of the city, and in consequence sent to request the permission of his Majesty. Accordingly, Aquilar, Donna Marina, and a little page of our general’s called Orteguilla, who already understood something of the language, went to the palace for that purpose. Montezuma was pleased immediately to accede, but being apprehensive that we might offer some insult to his temple, he deter-



Aztec childhood. This image from the Codex Mendoza shows the upbringing of an Aztec boy (left-hand column) and girl (right-hand column). The boy learns to fish, while the girl learns to bake and weave. Both are punished in the same way, however: they are held over a fire that is burning chiles. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

mined to go thither in person, which he accordingly did, in the same form, and with the same retinue, as when he first came out to meet us, but that he was on this occasion preceded by two lords bearing scepters in their hands, which they carried on high, as a signal of the king's approach. Montezuma, in his litter, with a small rod in his hand, one half of which was gold, and the other half wood, and which he bore elevated like a rod of justice, for such it was, approached the temple, and there quitted his litter and mounted the steps, attended by a number of priests, and offering incense with many ceremonies to his war gods.

Cortes at the head of his cavalry, and the principal part of our soldiers under arms, marched to the grand square, attended by many noblemen of the court. When we arrived there, we were astonished at the crowds of people, and the regularity which prevailed, as well as at the vast quantities of merchandise, which those who attended us were assiduous in pointing out. Each kind had its particular place, which was distinguished by a sign. The articles consisted of gold, silver, jewels, feathers, mantles, chocolate, skins dressed and undressed, sandals, and other manufactures of the roots and fibres of nequen, and great numbers of male and female slaves, some of whom were fastened by the neck, in collars, to long poles. The meat market was stocked with fowls, game, and dogs. Vegetables, fruits, articles of food ready dressed, salt, bread, honey, and sweet pastry made in various ways were also sold here. Other places in the square were appointed to the sale of earthen ware, wooden household furniture such as tables and benches, firewood, paper, sweet canes filled with tobacco mixed with liquid amber, copper axes and working tools, and wooden vessels highly painted. Numbers of women sold fish, and little loaves made of a certain mud which they find in the lake, and which resembles cheese. The makers of stone blades were busily employed shaping them out of the rough material, and the merchants who dealt in gold, had the metal in grains as it came from the mines, in transparent tubes, so that they could be reckoned, and the gold was valued at so many mantles, or so many xiquipils of cocoa, according to the size of the quills. The entire square was enclosed in piazzas, under which great quantities of grain were stored, and where were also shops for various kinds of goods. I must apologize for adding, that boat loads of human ordure were on the borders of the adjoining canals, for the purpose of tanning leather, which they said could not be done without it. Some may laugh at this but I assert the fact is as I have stated it, and moreover, upon all the public roads, places for passengers to resort to, were built of canes, and thatch with straw or grass, in order to collect this material. The courts of justice, where three judges sat, occupied a part of the square, their under-officers going in the market, inspecting the merchandise.

From the square we proceeded to the great temple, but before we entered it we made a circuit through a number of large courts, the smallest of which appeared to me to contain more ground than the great square in Salamanca, with double enclosures built of lime and stone, and the courts paved with large white cut stone, very clean; or where not paved, they were plastered and polished. When we approached the gate of the great temple, to the flat summit of which the ascent was by a hundred and fourteen steps, and before we had mounted one of them, Montezuma sent down to us six priests, and two of his noblemen, to carry Cortes up, as they had done their sovereign, which he politely declined. When we had ascended to the summit of the temple, we observed on the platform as we passed, the large stones whereon were placed the victims who were to

be sacrificed. Here was a great figure which resembled a dragon, and much blood fresh spilt. Montezuma came out from an adoratory in which his accursed idols were placed, attended by two priests, and addressing himself to Cortes, expressed his apprehension that he was fatigued; to which Cortes replied, that fatigue was unknown to us.

Montezuma then took him by the hand, and pointed out to him the different parts of the city, and its vicinity, all of which were commanded from that place. Here we had a clear prospect of the three causeways by which Mexico communicated with the land, and of the aqueduct of Chapultepeque, which supplied the city with the finest water. We were struck with the numbers of canoes, passing to and from the main land, loaded with provisions and merchandise, and we could now perceive, that in this great city, and all the others of that neighbourhood which were built in the water, the houses stood separate from each other, communicating only by small drawbridges, and by boats, and that they were built with terraced tops.

We observed also the temples and adoratories of the adjacent cities, built in the form of towers and fortresses, and others on the causeway, all whitewashed, and wonderfully brilliant. The noise and bustle of the market-place below us could be heard almost a league off, and those who had been at Rome and at Constantinople said, that for convenience, regularity, and population, they had never seen the like.

Source: Díaz del Castillo, Bernal. *The True History of the Conquest of Mexico*. London: Harrap, 1927, pp. 175–78. Translation adjusted by Lawrence Morris.

7. Special Laws Governing Mecca

Makkah, or Mecca as it is often spelled in the West, is the holiest city in Islamic tradition. Makkah derives its importance from being the birthplace of Muhammad, the founder of Islam, and from holding al-Haram, the temple district that surrounds the Kaaba shrine, which was used in the local polytheistic religion before the rise of Islam. According to Islamic tradition, the Kaaba was set up by the patriarch Abraham. The central importance of the Kaaba, Haram, and Makkah is marked by Muslim prayer rituals in which the participant must face toward Makkah. The Muslim believer, moreover, must make a pilgrimage (called hajj) to Makkah at least once in his or her life.

This sacred nature of Makkah is also reflected in the special laws that governed the city. For example, as the ninth-century Muslim historian al-Baladhuri recorded in the following excerpt from his history *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, the houses of Makkah could be neither sold nor rented. This prohibition reflects the competing interests in Makkah. On the one hand, Muhammad had declared that Makkah belonged only to the inhabitants of the city—thus, no outsider could buy property there. On the other hand, the necessity of hajj meant that large numbers of pilgrims needed accommodation in the city. To avoid extortionate prices, the pilgrims were instead entitled to free lodging in the city. In effect, Makkah's houses belonged to its inhabitants, but anyone was allowed to stay in them free of charge!

Although this arrangement is very interesting in theory, the practicalities were tricky. People are naturally reluctant to open their houses to total strangers, of whatever faith. This reluctance can be seen in the pronouncements of various Muslim leaders, called imams,

which allowed houses to be rented or sold. Al-Baladhuri's account is particularly useful as a source because he records these multiple, disagreeing judgments instead of falling into the historian's temptation of supplying only those facts and opinions with which the historian himself or herself agrees.

Similarly conflicting opinions governed the plants growing in the Haram. Some imams held that plants cultivated by humans could be used but that plants growing uncultivated should not be cut or used by humans. Other religious leaders were much more liberal and allowed greater use of the Haram vegetation. Although the religious leaders disagreed among themselves, they all proclaimed the centrality and holiness of Makkah.

‘Amr an-Nâkid from Mujâhid: “Makkah is inviolable,” said the Prophet, “It is not legal either to sell its dwellings or to rent its houses.”

THE DWELLING PLACES OF MAKKAH NOT TO BE RENTED

Muhammad ibn-Hâtim al-Marwazi from ‘Â’ishah who said, “Once I said to the Prophet, ‘Build for thee, Prophet of Allah, a house in Makkah that will protect thee against the sun,’ to which he replied, ‘Makkah is the dwelling place only of those who are already in it.’”

Khalaf ibn-Hishâm al-Bazzâr from ibn-Juraij who said, “I have read a letter written by ‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azzîz in which the renting of houses in Makkah is prohibited.”

Abu-‘Ubaid from ibn-‘Umar; the latter said: “The whole of *al-Haram* is a place of worship.”

‘Amr an-Nâkid from ‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-abi-Sulaimân: A message written by ‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azîz to the chief of Makkah reads: “Let not the inhabitants of Makkah receive rent for their houses because it is not legal for them.”

The following tradition regarding the text, “Alike for those who abide therein and for the stranger” was communicated to us by ‘Uthmân ibn-abi-Shaibah from ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Sâbit: By the stranger is meant the pilgrims and visitors who go there and who have equal right in the buildings, being entitled to live wherever they want, provided none of the natives of Makkah goes out of his home.

The following tradition regarding the same text was communicated to us by ‘Uthmân on the authority of Mujâhid: The inhabitants of Makkah and other people are alike so far as the dwellings are concerned.

‘Uthmân and ‘Amr from Mujâhid: ‘Umar ibn-al-Khattâb once said to the people of Makkah, “Make no doors for your houses that the stranger may live wherever he wants.”

‘Uthman ibn-abi-Shaibah and Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from abu-Hasîn—The latter said, “I once told Sa’id ibn-Jubair in Makkah that I wanted to ‘abide therein’ to which he replied, ‘Thou art already abiding therein’ and he read ‘Alike for those who abide therein and for the stranger.’”

The following tradition in explanation of the same text was communicated to us by ‘Uthmân on the authority of Sa’id ibn-Jubair: All people in it are alike whether they are the inhabitants of Makkah or of some other place.

Muhammad ibn-Sa’d from al-Wâkidi: Many cases were brought before abu-Bakr ibn-Muhannad ibn-‘Amr ibn-Hazm regarding the rent of the houses of Makkah, and abu-Bakr in each case judged against the tenant. This too in the view of Mâlik and

ibn-abi-Dh'ib. But according to Rabî-'ah and abu-az-Zinâd, there is no harm in taking money for renting houses or for selling dwellings in Makkah.

Al-Wâkidi said, "I saw ibn-abi-Dhi'b receiving the rent of his house in Makkah between as-Safa and al-Marwah."

It was said by al-Laith ibn-Sa'd, "Whatever has the form of a house, its rent is legal for its proprietor. As for the halls, the roads, the courts, and the abodes that are in a state of ruins, he who comes to them first can have them first without rent."

A tradition to the same effect was transmitted to me by abu-'Abd-ar-Rahmân al-Awdi on the authority of ash-Shâfi.

Said Sufyân ibn-Sa'îd ath-Thauri: "To rent a house in Makkah is illegal"; and he insisted on that.

According to Al-Auzâ'I, ibn-abi-Laila and abu-Hanîfah, if the rent is made during the nights of the Pilgrimage it is void, but if it is in other nights, whether the one who hires is a neighbor or not, it is all right.

According to certain followers of abu-Yûsuf, its rent is absolutely legal. The one "abiding therein" and the "stranger" are alike only as regards making the circuit of the "House."

THE PLANTS OF THE HARAM

Al-Husain ibn-'Ali ibn-al-Aswad from 'Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-al-Aswad: The latter found no harm in gathering vegetables, cutting, eating or making any other use of anything else planted by man in Makkah be it palm-trees or otherwise. He only disapproved of this being done with trees and plants that grow of their own accord without the agency of man. From this category *al-idhkir* was excluded. According to al-Hasan ibn-Sâlih, 'Abd-ar-Rahmân allowed it in the case of rotten trees that have decayed and fallen to pieces.

According to the view of Mâlik and ibn-abi-Dh'b, as stated by Muhammad ibn-'Umar-al-Wâkidi, regarding the legality or illegality of felling a tree of the Haram, it is wrong at all events; but if the man who does it is ignorant he should be taught and receive no penalty; if he knows but is impious, he should be punished without paying the value of the trees. He who cuts it may have it for his use. According to abu-Sufyân ath-Thauri and abu-Yûsuf, he should pay the value of the tree he cuts and cannot have the wood for his use. The same view is held by abu-Hanîfah.

According to Mâlik ibn-Anas and ibn-abi-Dhi'b, there is no harm in cutting the branches of the *thumâm* plant and the ends of the senna plant from the Haram to be used as medicine or tooth-picks.

According to Sufyân ibn-Sa'îd, abu-Hanîfah, and abu-Yûsuf, whatever in the Haram is grown by man or was grown by him can be cut with impunity; whatever is grown without the agency of man, its cutter should be responsible for its value.

"I once," said al-Wâkidi, "asked ath-Thauri and abu-Yûsuf regarding the case of one who plants in the Haram something that is not ordinarily grown and which he tends until it grows high, would it be right for him to cut it. They answered in the affirmative. Then I asked about the case of a tree that may grow of its own accord in his garden and that does not belong to the category of trees planted by man, and they said, 'He can do with it whatever he likes.'"

Muhammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâkidi: The latter said, "It has been reported to us that ibn-'Umar used to eat in Makkah the vegetables grown in the Haram."

"No pilgrim or visitor of the Haram," said abu-Hanîfah, "shall have his camel graze in the Haram, nor shall he cut grass for it." The same view is held by Zufar. But Mâlik, ibn-abi-Dhi'b, Sufyân, abu-Yûsuf and ibn-abi-Sabrah are of the opinion that there is no harm in having the animals graze, but the man should not cut the grass for them. Ibn-abi-Laila, however, holds that there is no harm in having someone cut the grass.

'Affân and al'Abbas ibn-al-Walîd an-Narsi from Laith: 'Atâ' found no harm in using the vegetables of the Haram as well as what is planted therein including the branches and the tooth-picks, but Mujâhid disapproved of it.

Source: al-Baladhuri, Abbas Ahmad ibn-Jabir. *The Origins of the Islamic State*. Translated by Philip Hitti. New York: Columbia University Press, 1916, pp. 69–73.

8. City Charters

By the thirteenth century, the importance of cities was vitally clear. Just as the cities were growing in population size, their economic prosperity, which ultimately benefited the whole country, grew. The central role of cities in the national economy and in national governance forced the king to grant the inhabitants of cities certain concessions, essentially enabling the cities greater financial freedom and greater self-governance.

The financial advantages of urban life can be seen clearly in the first of the following extracts, in which merchants from the city of York are freed from most taxes not only in York itself but throughout the kingdom of England, which, at the start of the thirteenth century, included much of western France. The king also promises in the extract to pursue anyone who should be so bold as to harm the York merchants. The city of York, and its merchants in particular, thus gained economic advantages from tax relief and increased security for their business transactions.

The importance of self-government can be seen in the final two of the following three extracts. In the charter granted to the English city of Cambridge, the citizens, called burghers, are entitled to elect their own reeve (manager) in return for a fixed lump sum payment to the king. The citizens of London are likewise granted the right to elect annually a mayor. However, the possible dangers of granting too much power to the cities are also highlighted by this document. The mayor must present himself to the king or to the king's representative (the justiciar) and must swear loyalty to the crown. London is granted significant self-rule, provided that it remains loyal to the king himself. From the royal perspective, cities are to be encouraged, but they must also be controlled.

CONFIRMATION FOR THE CITIZENS OF YORK, A.D. 1200

John, by the grace of God, etc. Know that we have granted to our citizens from York all the freedoms and laws and customs, including their merchant guild and their trade guilds in England and Normandy, and the landing tax along the sea coast, just as they held them, freely and well, in the time of King Henry, our great grandfather. And we desire and resolutely instruct that they hold and possess the aforementioned freedoms and

customs along with all the freedoms pertaining to the aforementioned merchant guild and trade guilds, freely, peacefully, and without annoyance, just as they once held them in the time of the aforementioned King Henry, our great grandfather, as the charter of our father and the charter of our brother Richard clearly indicates. Moreover, know that we have granted and have confirmed with the present charter to all our citizens of York the quittance of all landing tax, wreck fees, bridge tolls, road tolls, trespass, and all customs throughout England, Normandy, Aquitaine, Andegavia, Pictavia, and all ports and sea coasts in England, Normandy, Aquitaine, Andegavia, Pictavia. Wherefore we desire and resolutely instruct that they should be left in peace, and we prohibit anyone to harass them upon pain of a ten pound penalty, as the charter of King Richard, our brother, clearly indicates. T. G. Archbishop of York, Ph. Bishop, Galfrid son of Peter, count of Essex, etc. Written by the hand of S. Wellensis, archdeacon, and John de Gray, at York, 25 March, in the first year of our reign.

CHARTER TO CAMBRIDGE, A.D. 1207

John, King of England by the grace of God, etc. Know that we have granted and confirmed with this charter to our burghers from Cambridge, the town of Cambridge along with all things pertaining to it, to have and to hold in perpetuity, from us and our heirs and their heirs, provided that they pay annually to our Exchequer the traditional payment, namely 40 white pounds plus twenty pounds profit [. . .]. Wherefore, we desire and firmly instruct that the aforementioned burghers and their heirs have and hold the aforementioned town with all things pertaining to it, freely and peacefully, etc., along with all freedoms and free customs. We have granted to them also that they should create for themselves a reeve, whomever they want whenever they want. Witnessed by lords William of London, Peter Wintoniensis, John of Norwich, Joscelin Bishop of Bath, Galfrid son of Peter Count of Essex Count Alberic, William Brewer, Galfrid de nevilla, Reginald de Cornhill. Written by the and of Hugo de Wells, archdeacon of Wells, at Lamham, 8 May, in the eighth year of our reign.

CHARTER TO LONDON, A.D. 1215

John, King of England by the grace of God, etc. Know that we have granted, and have confirmed with this charter, to our barons of the city of London that they should elect a mayor for themselves every year, who shall be loyal to us, wise, and suitable for city management, and that, once he has been elected, he shall be presented to us, or to our justiciar if we are absent, and should swear loyalty to us; and that, if they wish, they can remove him at the end of the year and put another in his place, or they can keep him, provided that he be shown to us, or to our justiciar if we are absent. We have also granted to these barons, and we have confirmed it with this charter, that they should possess, freely, peacefully, fully, and without annoyance, all the liberties which they have hitherto enjoyed, both in the city of London and outside of it, both on land and on sea, and everywhere, except for our Chamberlainship. Wherefore we desire and resolutely instruct that the aforementioned barons of the city of London elect for themselves a mayor every year in the aforementioned way, and that they hold all the aforementioned liberties freely, peacefully, fully, and without annoyance, along with everything pertaining to such liberties, as has been mentioned above. Witnessed

by the lords P. Winton, W. Wygorn, W. Bishop of Coventry, William Brewer, Peter son of Herbert, Galfrid de Lucy, and John son of Hugo. Written by the hand of master Richard de Mariscis, our chancellor, at the New Temple in London, 9 May, in the sixteenth year of our reign.

Source: Stubbs, William, ed. *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward the First*. 9th ed. Revised by H.W.C. Davis. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913, pp. 309–12. Translated and adapted by Lawrence Morris.

Rural Life

Throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, farming underpinned the economy. The overwhelming majority of people lived in rural communities and spent their days working with animals, plants, and other people. Although the Romantics of the nineteenth century frequently idolized rural life, peasant life in Europe was difficult, harsh, and unjust—look at the ploughman’s life examined in Document 12. Not only must he spend his days in the fields outside during the heat of summer and the cold of winter, but he was also a slave, without a significant legal voice and with no control of government. Similarly, the ninth-century Chinese charcoal seller depicted by Po Chu-i (Document 10) spends his life on the margins of society, only to be deprived of his hard-earned profits by wealthy government officials. The medieval social system, moreover, encouraged rigid socioeconomic stratification. As Document 11 shows, each socioeconomic bracket was carefully defined and had its own specific name and specific obligations. Although movement was possible within the system, such movement tended to be unusual and was generally limited.

Despite the attempt to impose order, such rigid social stratification did not bring about peace and harmony in the countryside. As Walter of Henley’s guide *Husbandry* shows (Document 14), the wealthy suspected that the peasants were lazy and dishonest. The peasants, however, grew weary of doing all the heavy agricultural work and receiving few of the profits. Agrarian discontent grew markedly in the aftermath of the *Black Death* in the mid-fourteenth century. The plague shrunk the labor force dramatically, which caused peasant labor to be in high demand. In an effort to keep down prices, the ruling classes attempted, in measures such as the one presented in Document 9, to override market forces by fixing the price of labor. In England the issue eventually boiled over into the *Peasants’ Revolt of 1381*. Economic inequality and the attempt to override market forces ended in bloodshed.

Many of the victims during the English peasants’ revolt were high-ranking churchmen. This animosity toward bishops and abbots was not an attempt to overthrow Christianity; instead, it was an attack on some of the wealthiest landowners in Britain. Monasteries throughout the Middle Ages had been granted land by kings, as seen in Document 13. As a result, monasteries and other religious institutions had vested interests in exploiting peasant labor. Many church organizations and orders, such as the Franciscans, were vociferous in their campaigns to improve the life of the poor, but many religious communities were more interested in maximizing revenue. Ultimately, milking cows was not a great way to earn a living in the Middle Ages and Renaissance; rural life’s main reward was lots of fresh air.

9. The English Statute of Laborers, 1351

The Statute of Laborers, promulgated in 1351, sought to curb the massive inflation that had affected the English economy since the Black Death of 1347–1348. The statute commanded that all peasants and tradesmen accept the same prices that they did in the early 1340s (“in the twentieth year of the reign of the king that now is [Edward III], or five or six years before”), just before the plague hit. Moreover, the statute forbade peasants to move from their current workplaces, in search of better wages.

The legislation demonstrates effectively how medieval law generally attempted to serve the interests of the wealthy instead of the poor or working classes. Higher wages would clearly benefit the peasants and workmen, yet the document expresses indignation at the peasants’ demands for two to three times their previous wages because these pay rates contributed “to great damage of the great men;” the term “great men” here refers to the wealthy aristocrats and landowners, not to the morally virtuous or heroic.

The statute also demonstrates how little medieval rulers understood economic principles. When the Black Death killed approximately one-third of the European population, the supply of laborers was drastically reduced. The aristocrats’ demand for laborers, however, remained the same. Modern economic theories of supply and demand indicate that a shock to the supply while demand remains constant will almost inevitably result in a rise in price—exactly what happens today when the Middle Eastern oil supply is threatened. Thus, when the fourteenth-century labor supply shrank while demand remained constant, the price of labor naturally rose. Lacking modern economic theory, medieval rulers attempted to combat this inflation in labor costs by sheer edict. Although the policy was indeed sporadically enforced, a black market in labor developed in which wealthy employers competed for the smaller supply of labor by offering higher wages. In England, continued economic unrest would lead eventually to the Peasants’ Revolt of 1381.

Whereas late against the malice of servants, which were idle, and not willing to serve after the pestilence, without taking excessive wages, it was ordained by our lord the king, and by the assent of the prelates, nobles, and other of his council, that such manner of servants, as well men as women, should be bound to serve, receiving salary and wages, in the same places where they were serving in the twentieth year of the reign of the king that now is, or five or six years before; and that the same servants refusing to serve in such manner should be punished by imprisonment of their bodies, as in the said statute is more plainly contained. Whereupon commissions were made to diverse people in every county to inquire and punish all them which offend against the same statute; and now forasmuch as it is given the king to understand in this present parliament, by the petition of the commonalty, that the said servants having no regard to the said ordinance, but to their ease and singular covetousness, do withdraw themselves to serve great men and others, unless they have livery and wages to the double or treble of that they were wont to take in the said twentieth year, and before, to the great damage of the great men, and impoverishing of all the said commonalty, whereof the said commonalty asks for remedy. Wherefore in the said parliament, by the assent of the said prelates, earls, barons, and other great men, and of the same commonalty there assembled, to refrain the malice of the said servants, be ordained and established the things underwritten:

First, that carters, ploughmen, drivers of the plough, shepherds, swineherds, dairy maids, and all other servants, shall take the same liveries and wages as were given in the said twentieth year, or four years before; so that in the country where wheat was usually given, they shall take for the bushel ten pence, or wheat at the will of the giver, till it be otherwise ordained. And that they be allowed to serve by a whole year, or by other usual terms, and not by the day; and that none pay in the time of plowing or hay-making but a penny the day; and a mower of meadows for the acre shall get five pence, or by the day five pence; and reapers of corn in the first week of August two pence, and the second three pence, and so till the end of August, and less in the country where less was wont to be given, without meat or drink, or other courtesy to be demanded, given, or taken; and that such workmen bring openly in their hands to the merchant-towns their instruments, and there they shall be hired in a common place and not privy.

Also, that none take for the threshing of a quarter of wheat or rye over 2 d. ob. and for the quarter of barley, beans, pease, and oats, 1 d. ob. if so much were wont to be given; and in the country where it is used to reap by certain sheaves, and to thresh by certain bushels, they shall take no more nor in other manner than was usual in the said twentieth year and before; and that the same servants be sworn two times in the year before lords, stewards, bailiffs, and constables of every town, to hold and do these ordinances; and that none of them go out of the town, where he dwells in the winter, to serve the summer, if he may serve in the same town, taking as before is said. Saving that the people of the counties of Stafford, Lancaster and Derby, and people of Craven, and of the marches of Wales and Scotland, and other places, may come in time of August, and labor in other counties, and safely return, as they were wont to do before this time; and that those, who refuse to take such oath or to perform what they be sworn to, or have taken upon them, shall be put in the stocks by the said lords, stewards, bailiffs, and constables of the towns for three days or more, or sent to the next jail, there to remain, till they will justify themselves. And that stocks be made in every town for such occasion between this day and the feast of Pentecost.

Also, that carpenters, masons, and tilers, and other workmen of houses, shall not take by the day for their work, but in the manner as they were wont, that is to say: a master carpenter 3 d. and another 2 d.; and master free-stone mason 4 d. and other masons 3 d. and their servants 1 d. ob.; tilers 3 d. and their knaves 1 d. ob.; and other coverers of fern and straw 3 d. and their knaves 1 d. ob.; plasterers and other workers of mudwalls, and their knaves, by the same manner, without meat or drink, 1 s. from Easter to Saint Michael; and from that time less, according to the rate and discretion of the justices, which should be thereto assigned; and that they that make carriage by land or by water, shall take no more for such carriage to be made, than they were wont the said twentieth year, and four years before.

Also, that cordwainers and shoemakers shall not sell boots nor shoes, nor any other thing touching their trade, in any other manner than they were wont in the said twentieth year. Also, that goldsmiths, saddlers, horsesmiths, spurriers, tanners, curriers, tawers of leather, tailors, and other workmen, artificers, and laborers, and all other servants here not specified, shall be sworn before the justices, to do and use their crafts and offices in the manner they were wont to do the said twentieth



European country folk harvesting wheat with scythe and sickle, 1600s. Woodcut. Note the gender roles: men cut the grain while women collect and carry it. North Wind Picture Archives.

year, and in time before, without refusing the same because of this ordinance; and if any of the said servants, laborers, workmen, or artificers, after such oath made, come against this ordinance, he shall be punished by fine and ransom, and imprisonment after the discretion of the justices.

Also, that the said stewards, bailiffs, and constables of the said towns, be sworn before the same justices, to inquire diligently by all the good ways they may, of all them that come against this ordinance, and to certify the same justices of their names at all times, when they shall come into the country to make their sessions; so that the same justices on certificate of the same stewards, bailiffs, and constables, of the names of the rebels, shall do them to be attached by their body, to be before the said justices, to answer of such

contempts, so that they make fine and ransom to the king, in case they be convicted; and moreover to be commanded to prison, there to remain till they have found surety, to serve, and take, and do their work, and to sell things in the manner aforesaid; and in case any of them come against his oath, and be thereof convicted, he shall have imprisonment of forty days; and if he be another time convicted, he shall have imprisonment of a quarter of a year, so that at every time that he offends and is convicted, he shall have double pain: and that the same justices, at every time that they come, shall inquire of the said stewards, bailiffs, and constables, if they have made a good and lawful certificate, or if any have not, for gift, procurement, or affinity, and they will be punished by fine and ransom, if they be found guilty; and that the same justices have power to inquire and make due punishment of the said ministers, laborers, workmen, and other servants; and also of hostellers, and of those that sell victual by retail, or other things here not specified, as well at the suit of the party, as by presentment, and to hear and determine, and put the things in execution by the exigend after the first capias, if need be, and to deputize others under them, as many and such as they shall see best for the keeping of the same ordinance; and that they which will sue against such servants, workmen, laborers, for excess taken of them and they be thereof attainted at their suit, they shall have again such excess. And in case that none will sue, to have again such excess, then it shall be levied of the said servants, laborers, workmen, and artificers, and delivered to the collectors of the Quintzime tax, in alleviation of the towns where such excesses were taken.

Source: White, Albert Beebe, and Wallace Notestein, eds. *Source Problems in English History*. New York: Harper, 1915. Slightly modified by Lawrence Morris.

10. A Charcoal Seller in China

The difficulty of rural life is clearly seen in the following poem by the Chinese poet Po Chu-i (A.D. 772–846), in which an old charcoal seller struggles to make a living. Up through the nineteenth century, landless peasants made charcoal in rural forests and hauled their products into villages and cities for sale. Charcoal itself is made by heating wood in the absence of oxygen (so that the wood does not burn); the process and the product are famously dirty.

The manufacture and sale of charcoal was not a lucrative industry. The old man in this poem, for example, clearly has no financial resources to fall back on, so he must continue working despite his advanced age. He is so poor, in fact, that he can barely afford clothes; despite lacking a winter coat, he looks forward to the winter because the cold will increase the need for charcoal and consequently raise the price and thereby increase the peasant's meager income.

In this poem, Po Chu-i blames the wealthy governing elite for the continuation of such poverty in ninth-century China. Just as the snow arrives—to which the charcoal seller had been looking forward—government officials confiscate the peasant's entire stock in exchange for a very small payment. Despite this essential robbery, the peasant has no right to complain within the legal system. Po Chu-i's artistry highlights the contrast and conflict between the poor and the wealthy government officials. Whereas the peasant is caked in black soot, the government "boy" wears a white shirt; whereas the peasant cannot afford a coat with a winter lining, the government official sports a yellow coat—yellow and other bright colors were very expensive in the Middle Ages. In sum, in Po Chu-i's poem, the wealthy take advantage of the poor. Like his product, the charcoal seller is burned up and cast aside.

The Charcoal-Seller

An old charcoal-seller

Cutting wood and burning charcoal in the forests of the Southern Mountain.

His face, stained with dust and ashes, has turned to the colour of smoke

The hair on his temples is streaked with gray: his ten fingers are black.

The money he gets by selling charcoal, how far does it go?

It is just enough to clothe his limbs and put food in his mouth.

Although, alas, the coat on his back is a coat without a lining,

He hopes for the coming of cold weather, to send up the price of coal!

Last night, outside the city, a whole foot of snow;

At dawn he drives the charcoal wagon along the frozen ruts.

Oxen, weary; man, hungry; the sun, already high.

Outside the Gate, to the south of the Market, at last they stop in the mud.

Suddenly, a pair of prancing horsemen. Who can it be coming?

A public official in a yellow coat and a boy in a white shirt.

In their hands they hold a written warrant: on their tongues the words of an order;

They turn back the wagon and curse the oxen, leading them off to the north.

A whole wagon of charcoal!

More than a thousand pieces!

If officials choose to take it away, the woodman may not complain.

Half a piece of red silk and a single yard of damask,

The Courtiers have tied to the oxen's collar, as the price of a wagon of coal.

Source: *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*. Translated by Arthur Waley. London: Constable, 1918, pp. 137–38.

11. Farming Rents and Social Class

The Middle Ages were very conscious of social class. Instead of having relative notions of “wealthy” and “poor,” social class was recognized formally with specific terminology, with special economic privileges, and with defined legal rights.

The document reproduced here (*Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*, written c. A.D. 1000), outlines the economic position of the three major classes of non-noble freeman in Anglo-Saxon England: the *geneat*, the *cotsetla* (called a “cotter” here), and the *gebur*. The *geneat* held the highest position of the three. Below these classes, there were slaves (*theowas*), and above them were the lower-ranking noblemen (*thegnas*). Although in the agrarian economy of early feudal Europe, freemen performed many of the same farming tasks as slaves, the freemen had the fundamental advantage that they could not be bought or sold and had greater legal power. Slaves themselves, however, were able to have their own private sources of income and could buy themselves out of slavery. Among the three classes examined by the *Rectitudines*, each lower class had less land and did more service for the local lord. The *cotsetla*, for example, was obliged to do at least one day’s work per week for the lord, whereas the *gebur* must work at least two days per week for the lord; the higher-ranking *geneat* had no such fixed days-per-week stipulation. In modern times, we might see a similar economic stratification between those paid by the hour and those paid a yearly salary. Having to work less for the lord, moreover, meant that one could work more for one’s self—the higher classes made more money.

Although the classes were carefully distinguished from each other both in theory and in practice, the *Rectitudines* makes it clear that there were many gray areas and that customs differed from place to place. In a time when many peasants would never travel further than the neighboring parish because of the difficulties and expenses of travel, such systemic differences were visible primarily to the upper classes alone. The *cotsetla* of one area very well may not have known that he had a significantly worse deal than a *cotsetla* in a different area. When peasants did become aware of other economic opportunities, as they did in the later Middle Ages, the outcome could be revolt (Document 9).

2. *Geneat-right*. *Geneat-right* is various according to the rule of the estate; in some places he must pay land-rent, and a swine yearly for grass-rent, and ride and carry with his beasts, and haul loads, work and provide food for his lord, reap and mow, cut deer-hedges, bring travelers to the township, pay church-scot, and alms-money, keep watch and guard the horses, and go on errands far and near, wherever he is ordered.
3. *Cotter’s right*. The cotter’s right is according to the custom of the estate; in some places he must work each Monday in the year for his lord, or two days in each week at harvest-tide. He has not to pay land-rent. He is wont to have five acres; more, if it is the custom of the estate. And if he have less, it is too little; for his service must be frequent.
4. *Gebur-right*. The *gebur*’s duties are various, in some places heavy, in others light. On some estates the rule is that each week in the year he shall do two days of week-work, whatever is enjoined on him; and three days from Candlemass to Easter; if he lends his horse, he shall do no work while his horse is away. At Michaelmas he must pay ten pence for *gafol*; and at Martinmass twenty-four sesters of malt and two hens; at Easter a lamb or two pence.

Source: Stubbs, William, ed. *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward the First*. 9th ed. Revised by H.W.C. Davis. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913, pp. 89–90. Slight modifications by Lawrence Morris.

12. Peasant Occupations

Ælfric's Colloquy, an extract of which follows, was an Old English/Latin phrase book from around the year A.D. 1000 that was designed to introduce Anglo-Saxon pupils to colloquial Latin. Each Latin phrase was translated into Old English, the language spoken by the Anglo-Saxons. Many of the conversations in the Colloquy are unrealistic because Ælfric, the influential monk who authored the textbook, was seeking to teach basic vocabulary, not to create a work of art. Nevertheless, the Colloquy does give us some sense of the hardships and difficulties of various peasant occupations.

The ploughman who appears in the following extract has the worst job, according to the Colloquy. He must go out to work in the fields every day, in the heat of summer or the frost of winter. Moreover, Anglo-Saxon ploughmen were frequently slaves and were therefore denied many legal and economic privileges—see Document 23 for more information. The shepherd has similar outdoor obligations, and he has the added responsibility of making butter and cheese from the sheep's milk.

The fisherman, by contrast, boasts that he is making a tidy profit because of the high demand for seafood; as he states, "I cannot catch as much as I can sell." As the Colloquy points out, being a fisherman required both skill and bravery. In an era in which very few people knew how to swim, going out on the sea or a big river in a small boat was a frightening proposition. The fisherman in the story sensibly declines to go after whales, which are much more dangerous than the shellfish and game fish (e.g., salmon, sturgeon) that the fisherman usually takes. Nevertheless, the "Master" (from the safety of his abbey walls) implies that the fisherman is a coward as a result!

- Master. What do your companions know?
 Disciple. They are ploughmen, shepherds, oxherds, huntsmen, fishermen, falconers, merchants, cobblers, saltmakers, and bakers.
 Master. What do you say, ploughman? How do you do your work?
 Ploughman. O my lord, I work very hard. I go out at dawn, driving the cattle to the field, and I yoke them to the plough. Nor is the weather so bad in winter that I dare to stay at home, for fear of my lord, but when the oxen are yoked, and the ploughshare and coulter attached to the plough, I must plough one whole field a day, or more.
 Master. Have you any assistant?
 Ploughman. I have a boy to drive the oxen with a goad, and he too is hoarse with cold and shouting.
 Master. What more do you do in a day?
 Ploughman. Certainly I do more. I must fill the manger of the oxen with hay, and water them and carry out the dung.
 Master. Indeed, that is a great labor.
 Ploughman. Even so, it is a great labor for I am not free.
 Master. What have you to say, shepherd? Have you heavy work too?
 Shepherd. I have indeed. In the grey dawn I drive my sheep to the pasture and I stand watch over them, in heat and cold, with my dogs, lest the wolves devour them. And I bring them back to the fold and milk them twice a day. And I move their fold; and I make cheese and butter, and I am faithful to my lord.
 Master. Oxherd, what work do you do?
 Oxherd. O my lord, I work hard. When the ploughman unyokes the oxen I lead them to the pasture and I stand all night guarding them against thieves. Then in the morning I hand them over to the ploughmen well fed and watered . . .
 Master. What is your craft?

Fisherman. I am a fisherman.
Master. What do you obtain from your work?
Fisherman. Food and clothing and money.
Master. How do you take the fish?
Fisherman. I get into a boat, and place my nets in the water, and I throw out my hook and lines, and whatever they take I keep.
Master. What if the fish should be unclean?
Fisherman. I throw out the unclean fish and use the clean as food.
Master. Where do you sell your fish?
Fisherman. In the city.
Master. Who buys them?
Fisherman. The citizens. I cannot catch as much as I can sell.
Master. What fish do you take?
Fisherman. Herring, salmon, porpoises, sturgeon, oysters, crabs, mussels, periwinkles, cockles, plaice, sole, lobsters, and the like.
Master. Do you wish to capture a whale?
Fisherman. No.
Master. Why?
Fisherman. Because it is a dangerous thing to capture a whale. It is safer for me to go to the river with my boat than to go with many ships hunting whales.
Master. Why so?
Fisherman. Because I prefer to take a fish that I can kill rather than one which with a single blow can sink or kill not only me but also my companions.
Master. Yet many people do capture whales and escape the danger, and they obtain a great price for what they do.
Fisherman. You speak the truth, but I do not dare because of my cowardice.

Source: *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*. Vol. 1. Translated by Thomas Wright. London: Trubner, 1884, p. 88. In Roy Cave and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965, pp. 46–48.

13. A Monastic Fish Farm

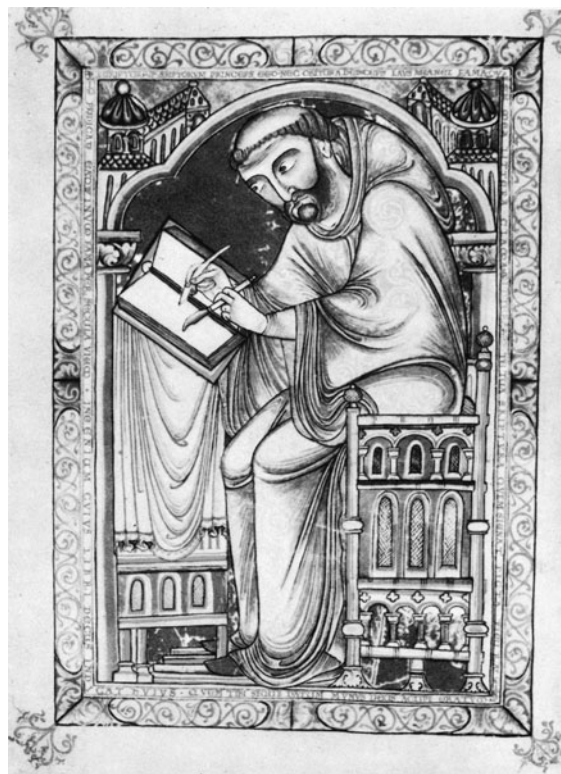
Although the fisherman in Document 12 seems to be an independent trader, not all fishermen were so free. In the following document, Louis the Pious, a king of the Franks, grants a fishing spot to the abbey at New Corvey in A.D. 832. Included with the abbey are 32 serfs, tied to the land, who will do all the actual work involved in fishing (e.g., maintaining the fish supply, catching the fish, transporting and selling the fish). The abbey, however, will get all the monetary profit from that fishing. King Louis, on the other hand, hopes to profit spiritually from his donation. The writ declares, “We hope to receive the reward of eternal life through this distribution of temporal gifts.”

As a result of such donations, monasteries often grew very wealthy. Although abbots’ main concern was supposed to be the spiritual advancement of their subordinate monks, abbots frequently were full-time estate managers, overseeing the complex financial arrangements of the abbey. For example, the monastery’s property could be scattered over a large area. As in this case, land grants were described in the vernacular Frankish tongue to specify its precise location.

The importance of monasteries meant that important people were frequently put in charge of them. In the case of Corvey, Warin, the king’s own cousin, was the abbot.

The king therefore was giving money not only to an abbey but also to a family member. Church and state were intricately interwoven in the Middle Ages.

Although monasteries did become centers of wealth, it would be a mistake to assume that they therefore always abandoned their spiritual vocation. Corvey, for example, would go on to house one of the largest libraries in western Europe, thereby advancing education and learning throughout medieval Europe. The abbey also produced a plethora of missionaries, who left the comforts of home to bring Christianity to others; perhaps the most famous is St. Ansgar, the “Apostle of Scandinavia.”



Eadwine the Scribe. The tonsure (shaved head) shows clearly that the scribe was a monk. In his right hand, he holds a feather pen; in his left hand he holds a knife to scrape away any mistakes. From the Canterbury Psalter, c. 1150. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

In the name of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Louis, by the grace of God, Emperor Augustus. If, of our charity, we have provided churches in places dedicated to divine worship, and in the same place have made refuges for the servants of God, we not only thereby adhere to the honorable custom of royal munificence, but we hope to receive the reward of eternal life through this distribution of temporal gifts.

Wherefore be it known to all, both present and future, that, by these presents, we have granted for the love of God and for the salvation of our soul, to the monastery which is called New Corvey, which we built in Saxony in honor of Saint Stephen, the first martyr, and at the head of which is our faithful cousin Warin, its first abbot, a certain fishery in the River Weser. This fishery is in the village called Wimode, adjoining the villa of Liusci, the earldom of Count Abbo. And because it is constructed in the likeness of stakes which the inhabitants of the district call *Hocas*, it is known by the natives under the local name of *Hocwar*. It is at present within our right, and the same Count Abbo formerly held it as a benefice from us. But seeing that the same fishery without serfs, who were thought of in this provision, could not be very useful to the brethren, we have granted thirty-two serfs to be wholly and entirely in possession of that monastery. And we have also granted to the monastery whatever Abbo had in benefice pertaining to that same fishery for as long as the monks living there continue to pray for divine clemency for us. And in order that this charter may be held in high regard, and accepted by our faithful people in future, we have ordered it to be sealed with our seal below, and we have signed it with our hand.

Source: Schaten, N. *Annales Paderbornenses*. Vol. 1. Neuhaus: 1693, p. 90. In Roy Cave and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965, pp. 60–61. Translation adjusted by Lawrence Morris.

14. How to Run a Manorial Estate

Walter of Henley, the author of the following document from the thirteenth century, knew what he was talking about; he had been a bailiff (chief manager of a manorial estate) before

he became a monk. The job of running a large manor was complex. For starters, the economy was very mixed. As the following excerpt from Walter's account makes clear, an estate could have dove houses, arable land, pasture land, woods for lumber, beehives, and many other sources of income. A skilled estate manager would need to know the ins and outs of all these industries.

Bailiffs had a proverbial distrust of the peasant workers on an estate. According to Walter, "customary servants neglect their work," and dairymaids lie about the amount of milk produced because "they give away and waste and consume the milk." Much of Husbandry, the customary English title of Walter's guide to running a manor, is concerned with estimating how much money a manor should be producing to make sure that the laborers are working hard enough. Working for the lord, as a bailiff does, Walter was naturally concerned with eliminating labor inefficiencies, but the modern reader may perhaps have more sympathy for the generally poor farm workers who spent their lives making profits for the wealthy landowners.

Husbandry gives us a fascinating insight into thirteenth-century English rural life. Even if we are not interested in figuring out the value of a manor, the document gives us fun facts. For example, the peasant received eight weeks of vacation spread throughout the year in holidays (compare the American custom of two weeks' vacation!). The best time to buy cattle was in late spring, between Easter and Pentecost (Whitsuntide), once the plowing had already been done, and the demand for oxen had subsequently decreased. Most importantly, Walter points out that although a three-field rotation system, in which crops were changed to allow the soil to regain its richness, was common, some places still employed the old-fashioned and less efficient two-field system. Despite bailiffs such as Walter, economic inefficiencies remained.

Survey your lands and tenements by true and sworn men. First survey your courts, gardens, dove-houses, cartilages, what they are worth yearly beyond the valuation; and then how many acres are in the demesne, and how much is in each *cultura*, and what they should be worth yearly; and how many acres of pasture, and what they are worth yearly; and all other several pastures, and what they are worth yearly; and wood, what you can sell without loss and destruction, and what it is worth yearly beyond the return; and free tenants, how much each holds and by what service; and customary tenants, how much each holds and by what services, and let customs be put in money. And of all other definite things, put what they are worth yearly. And by the surveyors inquire with how much of each sort of corn you can sow an acre of land, and how much cattle you can have on each manor. By the extent you should be able to know how much your lands are worth yearly, by which you can order your living, as I have said before. Further, if your bailiffs or provosts say in their account that so many quarters have been sown on so many acres, go to the extent, and perhaps you shall find fewer acres than they have told you and more quarters sown than was necessary. For you have at the end of the extent the quantity of each kind of corn with which one shall sow an acre of land. Further, if it is necessary to put out more money or less for ploughs, you shall be confirmed by the extent. How? I will tell you.

If your lands are divided in three, one part for winter seed, the other part for spring seed, and the third part fallow, then is a ploughland nine score acres. And if your lands are divided in two, as in many places, the one half sown with winter seed and spring seed, the other half fallow, then shall a ploughland be eight score acres. Go to the extent and see how many acres you have in the demesne, and there

you should be confirmed. Some men will tell you that a plough cannot work eight score or nine score acres yearly, but I will show you that it can. You know well that a furlong ought to be forty perches long and four wide, and the king's perch is sixteen feet and a half; then an acre is sixty-six feet in width. Now in ploughing go thirty-six times round to make the ridge narrower, and when the acre is ploughed, then you have made seventy-two furlongs, which are six leagues, for be it known that twelve furlongs are a league. And the horse or ox must be very poor that cannot from the morning go easily in pace three leagues in length from his starting-place and return by three o'clock.

And I will show you by another reason that it can do as much. You know that there are in the year fifty-two weeks. Now take away eight weeks for holy days and other hindrances, then there are forty-four working weeks left. And in all that time the plough shall only have to plough for fallow or for spring or winter sowing three roods and a half daily, and for second fallowing an acre. Now see if a plough were properly kept and followed, if it could not do as much daily. And if you have land on which you can have cattle, take pains to stock it as the land requires. And know for truth if you are duly stocked, and your cattle well guarded and managed, it shall yield three times the land by the extent. If free tenants or customary tenants deny services or customs you will see the definite amount in the extent. . . .

At the beginning of the fallowing and second fallowing and of sowing, let the bailiff, and the messer, or the provost, be all the time with the ploughmen, to see that they do their work well and thoroughly, and at the end of the day see how much they have done, and for so much shall they answer each day after unless they can show a sure hindrance. And because customary servants neglect their work it is necessary to guard against their fraud; further, it is necessary that they are overseen often; and besides the bailiff must oversee all, that they all work well, and if they do not well, let them be reproved. . . .

You know surely that an acre sown with wheat takes three ploughings, except lands which are sown yearly; and that, one with the other, each ploughing is worth sixpence, and harrowing a penny, and on the acre it is necessary to sow at least two bushels. Now two bushels at Michaelmas are worth at least twelvepence, and weeding a halfpenny, and reaping fivepence, and carrying in August a penny; the straw will pay for the threshing. At three times your sowing you ought to have six bushels, worth three shillings, and the cost amounts to three shillings and three halfpence, and the ground is yours and not reckoned. . . .

Sort out your cattle once a year between Easter and Whitsuntide—that is to say, oxen, cows, and herds—and let those that are not to be kept be put to fatten; if you lay out money to fatten them with grass you will gain. And know for truth that bad beasts cost more than good. Why? I will tell you. If it be a draught beast he must be more thought of than the other and more spared, and because he is spared the others are burdened for his lack. And if you must buy cattle, buy them between Easter and Whitsuntide, for then beasts are spare and cheap. And change your horses before they are too old and worn out or maimed, for with little money you can rear good and young ones, if you sell and buy in season. It is well to know how one ought to keep cattle, to teach your people, for when they see that you understand it they will take the more pains to do well.

HOW MUCH MILK YOUR COWS SHOULD YIELD

If your cows were sorted out, so that the bad were taken away, and your cows fed in pasture of salt marsh, then ought two cows to yield a wey of cheese, and half a gallon of butter a week. And if they were fed in pasture of wood, or in meadows after mowing, or in stubble, then three cows ought to yield a wey of cheese and half a gallon of butter a week between Easter and Michaelmas. And twenty ewes which are fed in pasture of salt marsh ought to and can yield cheese and butter as the two cows before named. Now there are many servants and provosts and dairymaids who will contradict this thing, and that is because they give away and waste and consume the milk; and know for certainty the milk is not wasted otherwise but in the same thing, for so much they ought to and can yield, for I have proved it. And you will see it with regard to the three cows that ought to make a wey. One of these cows would be poor, from which one could not have in two days a cheese worth a halfpenny; that would be in six days three cheeses, price three halfpence. And the seventh day shall help the tithe and the waste there may be. Now that will be three halfpence in twenty-four weeks which are between Easter and Michaelmas—that is, three shillings. Now put as much for the second cow, and as much for the third, and then you will have nine shillings, and thereby you have a wey of cheese by ordinary sale. Now one of these three cows would be poor, from which one could not have the third of a pottle of butter a week, and if the gallon of butter is worth sixpence then is the third of a pottle worth a penny. . . .

You can well have three acres weeded for a penny, and an acre of meadow mown for fourpence, and an acre of waste meadow for threepence-halfpenny, and an acre of meadow raised for a penny-halfpenny, and an acre of waste for a penny-farthing. And know that five men can well reap and bind two acres a day of each kind of corn, more or less. And where each takes twopence a day then you must give fivepence an acre, and when four take a penny-halfpenny a day and the fifth twopence, because he is binder, then you must give fourpence for the acre. And, because in many places they do not reap by the acre, one can know by the reapers and by the work done what they do, but keep the reapers by the band, that is to say, that five men or women, whichever you will, who are called half men, make a band, and twenty-five men make five bands, and twenty-five men can reap and bind ten acres a day working all day, and in ten days a hundred acres, and in twenty days two hundred acres by five score. And see then how many acres there are to reap throughout, and see if they agree with the days and pay them then, and if they account for more days than is right according to this reckoning, do not let them be paid, for it is their fault that they have not reaped the amount and have not worked so well as they ought. . . .

If you wish to farm out the issue of your stock, you can take four-and-sixpence clear for each cow and acquit the tithe, and save for yourself the cow and calf; and for a sheep sixpence and acquit the tithe, and keep the sheep and lamb; and a sow should bring you six shillings and sixpence a year and acquit the tithe, and save for yourself the sow; and each goose ought to bring you sevenpence-halfpenny clear and acquit the tithe and save the goose; and each hen should bring you ninepence clear and acquit the tithe and save the hen. And ten quarters of apples and pears should yield seven tuns of cider; and a quarter of nuts should yield four gallons of oil. And each hive of bees ought to yield for two hives a year, one with another, for some yield nothing and other three or four a year,

and in some places they are given nothing to eat all winter and in some they are fed then, and where they are fed you can feed eight hives all winter with a gallon of honey; and if you only collect the honey every two years, you should have two gallons of honey from each hive.

Source: Walter of Henley. *Husbandry*. Translated by Elizabeth Lamond. London: Longmans, 1890, pp. 7–9, 11, 19, 23–27, 69, 79–81. In Roy Cave and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965, pp. 50–55. Modified slightly by Lawrence Morris.

Trade and Monetary Systems

Human communities have almost never lived in complete isolation from each other—there have always been “neighbors.” During the Middle Ages and *Renaissance*, however, the peoples of the world began, at one and the same time, to realize just how big and just how small the world was. By the year 1500, Europeans and Chinese had met each other face to face, and Native Americans had laid eyes on the first documented travelers to cross the Atlantic Ocean. Like Christopher Columbus’s voyage in 1492, much of this exploration was conducted primarily in the interest of trade. Columbus himself was in search of a shortcut to the lucrative East Indies, whose wares had been on sale in northern European markets from the early Middle Ages, as Document 20 shows. Despite the successes of medieval merchants, trade was not an easy business, and numerous complications could ruin a merchant. Document 21 outlines some of the hazards of shipping products by seas: pirates, storms, crooked captains, and discontented sailors.

International trade and travel brought new ideas along with new products. Marco Polo’s fourteenth-century accounts of the Far East found an eager readership in Europe. Document 15 gives an example of one of the new ideas brought back from Asia: paper money. Marco Polo describes with amazement how the Great Khan was able to print money from the bark of trees, instead of using metallic coins like those circulating in Europe. Although Polo incorrectly believed that this innovation had enabled the Khan to acquire his vast wealth, Polo did indicate the requirements for a sound and secure money system: the backing of the government and the faith of the people. Sometimes foreign ideas were so valuable that they were intentionally stolen. Document 18 records a case of industrial espionage from the sixth century A.D.

Not all foreigners’ ideas were welcomed, however. The Christian *Byzantine Empire* objected to the propaganda that Muslim Egyptians had started placing on the parchment that they sold to Byzantium (Document 17). A trade war erupted that resulted in the destruction of a hitherto mutually lucrative enterprise; Egypt lost an important customer for its papyrus, and the Byzantine Empire lost not only a major supplier of papyrus but also a market for its coins. Before the trade war, Egypt had used the Byzantine currency as its own local money.

Although international trade helped spur the economies of the world during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, not everyone profited equally. The bankruptcy laws given in Document 16 show that economic failure then as now was a realistic possibility. Fortunately, the legal system protected at least high-status victims from the worst effects: hunger and homelessness. The lower classes were often more disadvantaged. The weavers examined in Document 19 were not allowed to sell their products at full

price and were denied all access to political control. Most of them would not have been able to purchase the imported luxury goods for sale in Winchester town center.

15. Marco Polo on Paper Money

Paper money circulated much earlier in the Far East than in Europe; China used paper money as early as the ninth century, whereas paper money did not come into wide circulation in Europe until the seventeenth century. As his description makes clear, the concept of paper money amazed the European Marco Polo. Europe, with its system of metal coins, was still using a “commodity” currency, in which the form of currency (precious metals in this case) was useful and therefore valuable; gold coins could be made into gold rings, for example. Paper money is a “credit” currency, in which the value of the currency derives not from its intrinsic usefulness, but rather solely from the fact that the government and people have assigned it an arbitrary value. Paper money is valuable not because you can make it into paper airplanes but because the central government and other people declare it to be valuable. In fact, even commodity currencies are mostly credit currencies, given that what makes a gold coin valuable is not the fact that it can be turned into a ring but rather the value that the government and people declare the coin to have.

Marco Polo’s grasp of modern economics was, of course, slim, but his narrative highlights the necessary ingredients for a strong credit currency: strong government control and the acceptance of the populace. A complex system of seals guarded the currency against counterfeiters and demonstrated government support, and the monetary policy of the mint, which exchanged paper money for precious metals and other substances, ensured that there were no competing currencies in circulation. Moreover, if someone failed to accept the money, the guilty party suffered the death penalty.

Marco Polo felt that the ability to create paper money cheaply and easily had made the Khan the wealthiest ruler in the world because he could simply print more money whenever he wanted. This attitude, however, shows how little inflation was understood. When more money is put into an economic system, the prices of goods rise to absorb the “extra” currency. Net wealth, in fact, remains the same.

BOOK 2, CHAPTER XXIV

How the Great Kaan Causeth the Bark of Trees, Made Into Something Like Paper, to Pass for Money Over All his Country

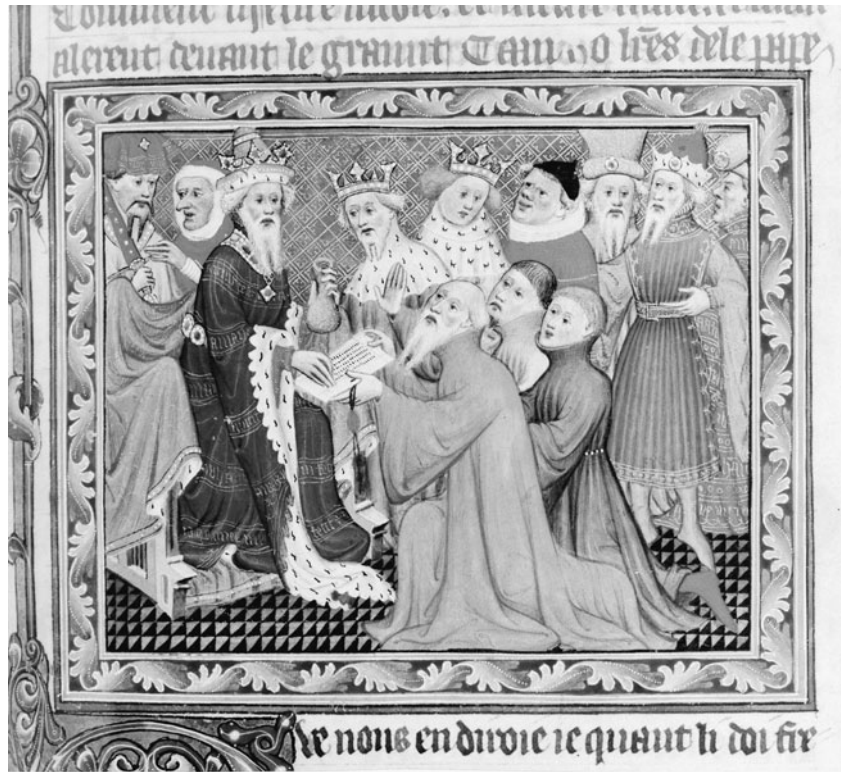
Now that I have told you in detail of the splendor of this city of the Emperor’s, I shall proceed to tell you of the mint which he hath in the same city, in the which he hath his money coined and struck, as I shall relate to you. And in doing so I shall make manifest to you how it is that the Great Lord may well be able to accomplish even much more than I have told you, or am going to tell you, in this Book. For, tell it how I might, you never would be satisfied that I was keeping within truth and reason!

The Emperor’s mint then is in this same city of Cambaluc, and the way it is wrought is such that you might say he hath the secret of alchemy in perfection, and you would be right! For he makes his money after this fashion.

He makes them take of the bark of a certain tree, in fact of the mulberry tree, the leaves of which are the food of the silk-worms—these trees being so numerous that whole districts are full of them. What they take is a certain fine white skin which lies between the wood of the tree and the thick outer bark, and this they make into something resembling sheets of paper, but black. When these sheets have been prepared they are cut up into pieces of different sizes. The smallest of these sizes is worth a half tornesel; the next, a little larger, one tornesel; one, a little larger still, is worth half a silver groat of Venice; another a whole groat; others yet two groats, five groats, and ten groats. There is also a kind worth one bezant of gold, and others of three bezants, and so up to ten. All these pieces of paper are issued with as much solemnity and authority as if they were of pure gold or silver; and on every piece a variety of officials, whose duty it is, have to write their names, and to put their seals. And when all is prepared duly, the chief officer deputed by the Khan smears the seal entrusted to him with vermilion, and impresses it on the paper, so that the form of the seal remains printed upon it in red; the money is then authentic. Anyone forging it would be punished with death. And the Khan causes every year to be made such a vast quantity of this money, which costs him nothing, that it must equal in amount all the treasure in the world.

With these pieces of paper, made as I have described, he causes all payments on his own account to be made; and he makes them to pass current universally over all his kingdoms and provinces and territories, and whithersoever his power and sovereignty extends. And nobody, however important he may think himself, dares to refuse them on pain of death. And indeed everybody takes them readily, for wheresoever a person may go throughout the Great Khan's dominions he shall find these pieces of paper current, and shall be able to transact all sales and purchases of goods by means of them just as well as if they were coins of pure gold. And all the while they are so light that ten bezants' worth does not weigh one golden bezant.

Furthermore all merchants arriving from India or other countries, and bringing with them gold or silver or gems and pearls, are prohibited from selling to any one but the Emperor. He has twelve experts chosen for this business, men of shrewdness and experience in such affairs; these appraise the articles, and the Emperor then pays a liberal price for them in those pieces of paper. The merchants accept his price readily, for in the first place they would not get so good a one from anybody else, and secondly they are paid without any delay. And with this paper-money they can buy what



Marco Polo delivering the Pope's letters to Kublai Khan. In this image, Kublai Khan looks misleadingly European, although the attendant in the back does exhibit more stereotypical Asian features. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.



A portrait of Marco Polo from a German pamphlet.
© 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

they like anywhere over the Empire, whilst it is also vastly lighter to carry about on their journeys. And it is a truth that the merchants will several times in the year bring wares to the amount of 400,000 bezants, and the Grand Sire pays for all in that paper. So he buys such a quantity of those precious things every year that his treasure is endless, whilst all the time the money he pays away costs him nothing at all. Moreover, several times in the year proclamation is made through the city that any one who may have gold or silver or gems or pearls, by taking them to the mint shall get a handsome price for them. And the owners are glad to do this, because they would find no other purchaser give so large a price. Thus the quantity they bring in is marvellous, though those who do not choose to do so may let it alone. Still, in this way, nearly all the valuables in the country come into the Khan's possession.

When any of those pieces of paper are spoilt—not that they are so very flimsy neither—the owner carries them to the mint, and by paying three per cent on the value, he gets new pieces in exchange. And if any baron, or any one else soever, hath need of gold or silver or gems or pearls, in order to make plate, or girdles, or the like, he goes to the mint and buys as much as he list, paying in this paper-money.

Now you have heard the ways and means whereby the Great Khan may have, and in fact has, more treasure than all the Kings in the World; and you know all about it and the reason why.

Source: Polo, Marco, and Rustichello of Pisa. *The Travels of Marco Polo: The Complete Yule-Cordier Edition*. 2nd ed. Edited by Henry Yule and Henri Cordier. New York: Scribner, 1903, pp. 423–26. Slightly modified by Lawrence Morris.

16. Twelfth-Century Bankruptcy

The financial inability to pay bills arose in the Middle Ages just as it does today, and the result was frequently the same: bankruptcy. In the following dialogue, a master instructs a student on the rules that the Exchequer (the accounting office and central bank of medieval England) has put into place for debt collection. The document undoubtedly served as a guide as much for those on the brink of financial ruin as for those officials charged with recovering debts.

Much of the dialogue, indeed, concerns the protection of the debtor from his creditors. To protect the debtor, creditors were allowed to seize only the “movable” assets of the debtor—that is, those belongings that could be easily moved, such as money, precious jewels, wine, cattle, and sheep. Creditors were forbidden to seize those assets that were not movable, primarily, of course, the debtor's house, home, and lands. No debtor, therefore, could be made homeless by his creditors, according to these rules.

The law protected not only the debtor's home but also his food supply. According to the document, creditors could not seize any food supplies intended for the use of the debtor, his wife and children, or his household (i.e., his servants and other dependents). Nor could creditors

seize so many assets that the debtor was unable to purchase such food supplies for himself. This legislation not only prevented the starvation of the debtor and his family but also ensured the well-being of all the household employees. The financial crisis of the debtor was thus in some ways restrained from creating further financial crises among the debtor's employees.

The privileges of rank, in addition to food and housing, were also protected by the bankruptcy legislation. A knight was specifically allowed to keep his horse regardless of how much he owed. The horse, in fact, served as a badge of knighthood; the Latin *eques* ("knight") meant essentially "one who owns a horse." As a result, depriving a knight of his horse would be equivalent to demoting the knight from nobleman to commoner. Knights, moreover, supplied much of the king's military power; active warriors, indeed, were entitled to keep not only their horses but also their weapons and armor, despite their debts, precisely so that they could be of continued service to the king in wartime. Only when a knight refused to serve in war or refused to pay scutage (a fixed sum of money that a knight paid to the king in lieu of coming in person to serve in the army) could his horse and weapons be removed from him. Refusing to fight could thus demote a knight to commoner, whereas simple financial insolvency could not.

Although debtors thus had certain protections, the creditors were not powerless. In addition to seizing most of the debtor's belongings, they could also seize the belongings of anyone who was "bound" to the debtor—that is, anyone who was in a feudal relationship with the debtor. In these relationships, a lord would grant property and possessions to another man in return for certain rents, services, or other benefits; when a lord went bankrupt, the creditors could seize those possessions, rents, and benefits that were owed by the lord's men to that bankrupt lord. As a result, bound men had a financial interest in ensuring that their lord remained financially healthy.

Master. . . . The chattels which are lawfully sold, then, of debtors who do not of their own will pay what is demanded of them are those goods which are movable and which move themselves: such are gold, silver, and vessels composed of the same; also precious stones, and changes of vestments and the like; also both kinds of horses, the ordinary ones, namely, and the untamed ones; herds also of oxen and flocks of sheep, and other things of this kind. The nature of fruits also and of some victuals is movable, so that, namely, they may be freely sold, deducting only the necessary expenses of the debtor for his victuals—so that, namely, he may provide for his needs, not his extravagance, and likewise may satisfy nature, not gluttony. Nor are these necessities furnished to the debtor alone, but to his wife and children and to the household, which he was seen to have had while he was living at his own expense.

Student. Why dost Thou Say "of some" Victuals?

Master. Victuals which are prepared by them for daily use, and which without essential change are suitable for eating—such as bread and drink—may by no means be sold. Of victuals, then, only those are lawfully sold which, aside from necessary uses, had been reserved by the masters themselves that they might be for sale, such as meats laid in salt, cheeses, honey, wines, and the like.

And mark that if that debtor who is not solvent have once obtained the belt of knighthood, though the other things are sold, nevertheless a horse, not any one but the one he uses, shall be reserved for him; lest he who, by rank, has become a knight, may be compelled to go on foot. But if he be a knight who "Delights in the glory of arms, finds pleasure in using his weapons" and who, his merits demanding, ought to be reckoned among the

brave, all the armature of his body, together with the horses necessary to carry it, shall be left entirely free by the sellers; so that, when it is necessary, equipped with arms and horses, he can be called to the service of king and kingdom. If, however, this man whom the law has partially favored, hearing of the need of the king or kingdom, shall conceal and absent himself, or, being summoned for this purpose, does not come—provided he serve not at his own expense, but at the king's—and have not given a plain excuse for his absence, the sellers shall not refrain from those arms, etc., either; but, content with the one single horse left to him on account of the dignity of knighthood, he shall be subject to the general rule.

The sheriff, moreover, shall take care to warn his seller that, with regard to the things to be sold, they observe this order: the movable goods of anyone shall first be sold, but they shall spare, as much as possible, the plough oxen, by which agriculture is wont to be carried on; lest, that failing him, the debtor be still further reduced to want in the future. But if even thus, indeed, the sum required is not raised, the plough oxen are not to be spared. When, therefore, all the saleable things that belong especially to him have been sold, if the amount is still not made up, they shall approach the estates of his bondsmen and lawfully sell their chattels, observing at the same time the aforesaid order and rule; for these are known to belong to the lord, as has been said above. This being done, whether the required sum is thus made up or not, our law orders the sellers to quit; unless, perhaps, it be scutage which is required from a lord. For if the chief lord who is bound to the king for scutage does not pay, not only his own, but all the chattels of his knights and bondsmen everywhere, are sold, for the matter of scutages regards his knights in great part; for thy are not due to the king except by knights and by reason of military service. I myself, indeed, whose memory is not yet hoary, have seen how, for the personal debts of those who did not render satisfaction, not only their own, but also the chattels of their knights and bondsmen were lawfully sold. But the law of the illustrious king has decreed that this is to be observed only in the matter of scutages, the order being regarded that first their own, then the goods of others are to be sold. But if the knights have paid to the lord the produce of their fiefs, and are willing to prove this by offering a pledge, the law forbids that their chattels be sold for those payments which are required from the lords.

Likewise the sheriff is to be warned that he diligently and carefully investigate, as well as he can, if there is anyone in his county in debt to that debtor for the payment of money lent to him or deposited with him. But if it be found that there is, the sum which is required from his creditor, the man bound to the king, shall be exacted from that debtor, and he shall be prevented by authority of the public law from being answerable for it to that creditor.

Source: Attributed to Richard, son of Bishop Nigel of Ely. "Dialogue Concerning the Exchequer." In *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*. Ed. Ernest Henderson. London: Bell, 1905, pp. 117–19.

17. A Religious Trade War

Although trade frequently flourished between countries professing different religions, religious divides could seriously impact a nation's economy. The following extract narrates one such economic squabble prompted by a religious difference near the start of the eighth century. The

Byzantine Empire, referred to as “the Greeks” in the extract, was overwhelmingly Christian, but its lands had shrunk dramatically as Muslim peoples assaulted and conquered its holdings in the Middle East and Turkey. Despite this environment of general animosity and mistrust, the empire traded briskly with its Muslim neighbors in a variety of goods.

One such tradable commodity was papyrus, called *karâtis* in this document (although the term can also refer to packing cloths). Papyrus, of course, is an inexpensive writing material, similar to modern-day paper. Indeed, the word paper comes ultimately from the word papyrus. Papyrus grows only in certain climates, however; the climate of much of North Africa is ideal for papyrus, but Europe in general cannot sustain a substantial papyrus crop. As a result, by the High Middle Ages, Muslim countries had developed a monopoly on the papyrus trade.

In return for papyrus, the Greek Empire gave the Egyptian Muslims, the main producers of papyrus, *dînârs*, a form of currency. The *dînârs* were not valuable in and of themselves—they were not made from particularly precious metal; instead, the *dînârs* were useful because they served precisely as the form of money used in Egypt. Essentially, the Egyptians were using Byzantine coinage. This situation is not unlike some third-world countries in which U.S. dollars or EU euros are preferred to the local currency. In the case of Egypt, however, there was no local currency; the Byzantine money was the local money.

This valuable trade route fell apart, however, when the Egyptian leader ‘Abd-al-Malik insisted that all sheets of papyrus be shipped with a message in praise of Allah written across the very top. The Christian Byzantine emperor and presumably his people were very unhappy with this religious propaganda, considered heresy by them, emblazoned on their writing supplies. In an attempt to force Egypt to remove the religious propaganda, the Byzantine Empire threatened to cut off the supply of *dînârs*.

Unfortunately for Byzantium, Egypt was able to call its bluff. Rather than cave into Byzantine demands, the Egyptians began producing their own currency, thereby destroying the need to rely on Byzantine coinage. Although the author of the following document viewed this action as a triumph, the economic reality must have been somewhat different. Because the Byzantine market for papyrus had been essentially destroyed, demand for Egyptian papyrus must have shrunk considerably. The result was undoubtedly a fall in the price of papyrus, which consequently would have reduced the incomes of all workers in the papyrus industry. A religious victory entailed an economic defeat.

The Muslims were not the only ones to suffer. Western Europe in general, cut off from abundant papyrus supplies, turned to parchment, that is, writing materials made from the skins of animals. Parchment was extremely expensive, and the cost made books hard to afford and made literacy itself a luxury. Religious turmoil caused economic distress and a decline in education.

In the following document, the Copts who are mentioned are a still-existing Egyptian Christian group. Although most Egyptians today speak Arabic, the Coptic language (used mostly in church services) derives from the ancient language of Egyptians—the language of the hieroglyphs.

The Greeks used to get the *karâtis* from Egypt, and the Arabs used to get the *dînârs* from the Greeks. ‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân was the first to inscribe on the upper part of these fabrics such phrases as “Declare: Allah is one!” and others with the name of Allah. One day, he received from the Byzantine king a message saying, “You have recently introduced upon your *karâtis* some inscription that we hate. If you leave that out, well and good; otherwise, you shall see on the *dînârs* the name of your Prophet associated with things you

hate.” This was too much for ‘Abd-al-Malik, who hated to abolish a worthy law that he had established. He thereupon sent for Khâlid ibn-Yâzid ibn-Mu’âwiyah and said to him, “O abu-Hâshim! It is a calamity!” Khâlid replied, “Be free from your fright, Commander of the Believers; declare the use of their *dînârs* illegal; strike new coinage in place of them, and let not these infidels be free from what they hate to see on the fabrics.” “Thou hast eased my mind,” said ‘Abd-al-Malik, “may Allah give thee ease!” He then struck the *dînârs*.

According to ‘Awânah ibn-al-Hakam, the Copts used to inscribe the word “Christ” at the top part of the *karâtis*, and to ascribe divinity to him (may Allah be highly exalted above that!), and they used to put the sign of the cross in place of “In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful.” That is why the Byzantine king was disgusted, and his anger was aroused with the change that ‘Abd-al-Malik introduced.

According to al-Madâ’ini, it was stated by Maslamah ibn-Muhârib that Khâlid ibn-Yazîd advised ‘Abd-al-Malik to declare the use of the Greek *dînârs* illegal, to prohibit their circulation and to stop the sending of the *karâtis* to the Byzantine empire. Accordingly, no *karâtis* were carried there for some time.

Source: al-Baladhuri. *Kitab Futuh al-buldan*. In *The Origins of the Islamic State*. Ed. Philip Hitti. New York: Columbia, 1916, 383–84.

18. Industrial Espionage

Reliance on international trade could greatly complicate the political situation. Economic warfare, as Document 17 also demonstrates, could be an effective tool in political conflict. As a result, reducing dependence on foreign trade could increase a nation’s or region’s political security.

In the following document, the remnant of the Roman Empire in the sixth century A.D. plans to break the Middle East’s and India’s control of the silk trade through industrial espionage. Indian monks go to Emperor Justinian, describe how silk is made, and offer to procure the silkworm eggs necessary to begin a domestic silk industry. In return for promises of generous financial reward (which is probably what the monks were after), the informants travel back to India and return with the silkworm eggs. According to Procopius, the author of this document, the Roman silk industry, based in Byzantium (Constantinople), took off. Industrial espionage benefited the economy of the Roman Empire and limited dependence on potentially hostile foreign nations.

About the same time there came from India certain monks, and when they had satisfied Justinian Augustus that the Romans no longer should buy silk from the Persians, they promised the emperor in an interview that they should provide the materials for making silk so that never should the Romans seek business of this kind from their enemy the Persians, or from any other people whatsoever. They said that they were formerly in Serinda, which they call the region frequented by the people of the Indies, and there they learned perfectly the art of making silk. Moreover, to the emperor who plied them with many questions as to whether he might have the secret, the monks replied that certain worms were manufacturers of silk, nature itself forcing them to keep always at work; the worms could certainly not be brought here alive, but they could be

grown easily and without difficulty; the eggs of single hatchings are innumerable; as soon as they are laid men cover them with dung and keep them warm for as long as it is necessary so that they produce insects. When they had announced these tidings, led on by liberal promises of the emperor to prove the fact, they returned to India. When they had brought the eggs to Byzantium, the method having been learned, as I have said, they changed them by metamorphosis into worms which fed on the leaves of mulberry. Thus began the art of making silk from that time on in the Roman Empire.

Source: Procopius. *Procopii Caesariensis Historiarum Temporis Sui Tetras Altera, De Bello Gótico*. Translated by Claudius Maltretus. Venice: n.p., 1729, bk. 4, ch. 17, p. 212. In Roy Cave and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965, p. 244.

19. Price Fixing

The scientific study of economics did not begin in earnest until the nineteenth century; medieval authorities, as a result, had to do without its benefits. Although most modern economists advocate the free market, medieval authorities frequently attempted to destroy the free market. The economy was undoubtedly hurt as a result, and individuals suffered.

As the following document shows, the weavers and fullers (preparers of cloth) of the English town of Winchester were disadvantaged politically and economically by the city authorities' attempts to control the price of cloth. City regulations from 1209 prohibited cloth manufacturers from selling their goods to anyone not from Winchester. This prohibition limited the demand for cloth and kept the prices down as a result. In an open market, the weaver would have been able to sell his goods to the highest bidder regardless of where that bidder was from. By limiting competition, however, the city authorities kept down the price of cloth and the profits of the weavers and fullers themselves.

Not only did the weavers and fullers suffer economic discrimination, but they also experienced political disenfranchisement. These cloth manufacturers were not considered "free," and as a result they could not participate actively in the governance of the city, nor could they bring lawsuits against free members of the city. Indeed, to become free, a weaver not only had to become wealthy but also had to renounce his trade. As a result, no weavers or fullers would ever become the political leaders of the city; they would never be the ones passing the laws. Indeed, only by preventing weavers from having any political power could such discriminatory laws as the one seen here be enacted.

THIS IS THE LAW OF THE FULLERS AND WEAVERS OF WINCHESTER

Be it known that no weaver or fuller may dry or dye cloth nor go outside the city to sell it. They may sell their cloth to no foreigner, but only to merchants of the city. And if it happens that, in order to enrich himself, one of the weavers or fullers wishes to go outside the city to sell his merchandise, he may be very sure that the honest men of the city will take all his cloth and bring it back to the city, and that he will forfeit it in the presence of the aldermen and honest men of the city. And if any weaver or fuller sell his cloth to a foreigner, the foreigner shall lose his cloth, and the other shall remain at the mercy of the city for as much as he has. Neither the weaver nor the fuller may buy anything except

for his trade but by making agreement with the mayor. No free man can be accused by a weaver or a fuller, nor can a weaver or a fuller bear testimony against a free man. If any of them become rich, and wish to give up his trade, he may forswear it and turn his tools out of the house, and then do as such for the city as he is able in his freedom.

They have this law of the liberty and customs of London, just as they say.

Source: Leach, A. F., ed. *Beverley Town Documents*. London: Selden Society, 1900, pp. 134–35, Appendix II. In Roy Cave and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1965, pp. 242–43.

20. International Trade

No one is able to produce independently everything that he or she needs or wants; as a result, trade with others is necessary. Communities are no different—they must trade with other communities to gain what they themselves cannot produce. This chain of trade can reach extraordinary lengths; Native American products from the Atlantic Coast could reach Native American communities on the Pacific Coast through a series of community exchanges.

Professional merchants could greatly ease this intercommunity and international trade. Merchants provided the smooth and quick delivery of goods to the communities in which those goods were in high demand. The distances that these merchants traveled, and the variety of goods in which they traded, can amaze the modern reader as much as the medieval one. In the following document, city names from across Europe, the Middle East, India, and China piled on top of each other give an idea of the thousands of miles traveled by medieval merchants in the course of earning their living. These merchants brought furs and swords from Europe to the East and brought back spices and perfumes otherwise unobtainable in Europe.

Although the following document, dating from A.D. 847, envisages the same merchants making the whole trip from Europe to China, in reality different merchants generally specialized in different legs of the journey. Some merchants would make the trip across the Arabian Peninsula, and others would carry goods from Middle East ports to the major ports of the European Mediterranean. The document does note, however, the increasing connection between Jews and trade. Deprived of their own homeland, Jews had set up communities throughout Eurasia and as a result were uniquely positioned for international trade. Unlike the Franks, who were largely confined to modern-day France, the Jews lived everywhere. Despite the Jews' economic advantages, however, this lack of a "home" often resulted in discrimination, as Document 19 demonstrates.

These merchants speak Arabic, Persian, Roman (Greek), the language of the Franks, Andalusians, and Slavs. They journey from west to east, from east to west, partly on land, partly by sea. They transport from the west eunuchs, female and male slaves, silk, castor, marten, and other furs, and swords. They take ship in the land of the Franks, on the Western Sea, and steer for Farama (Pelusium). There they load their goods on the backs of camels, and go by land to Kolzum (Suez) in five days' journey over a distance of twenty-five parasangs. They embark in the East Sea (Red Sea) and sail from Kolzum to El-Jar (port of Medina) and Jeddah (port of Mecca); then they go to Sind, India, and China. On their return they carry back musk, aloes, camphor, cinnamon, and other

products of the Eastern countries to Kolzum, and bring them to Farama, where they again embark on the Western Sea. Some make sail for Constantinople to sell their goods to the Romans; others go to the palace of the king of the Franks to place their goods.

Sometimes these Jewish merchants prefer to carry their goods from the land of the Franks in the Western Sea, making for Antioch (at the mouth of the Orontes); thence they go by land to Al-Jabia, where they arrive after three days' march. There they embark on the Euphrates for Bagdad, and then sail down the Tigris to Al-Obolla. From Al-Obolla they sail for Oman, Sind, Hind (Hindustan), and China. All this is connected one with another.

These different journeys can also be made by land. The merchants who start from Spain or France go to Sous al-Akza (Morocco), and then to Tangiers, whence they march to Kairuwan (Tunisia), and the capital of Egypt. Thence they go to Al-Kamla, visit Damascus, Al-Kufa, Bagdad, and Basrah, cross Ahwaz, Fars, Kirman, Sind, Hind, and arrive at China. Sometimes they likewise take the route behind Rome, and passing through the country of the Slavs, arrive at Khamlij, the capital of the Khazars. They embark on the Jordan Sea, arrive at Balkh, betake themselves from there across the Oxus and continue their journey toward Yourts of the Toghosghor, and from there to China.

Source: Jacobs, Joseph. *Jewish Contributions to Civilization*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1919, pp. 194–96. In Roy Cave and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965, pp. 151–52. Slightly modified by Lawrence Morris.

21. Sailing Laws

The complexity of international trade is amply demonstrated in the following laws from Barcelona in 1258. Not only could merchant ships be attacked by pirates, but in addition, sailors could get sick, ship captains and their merchant clients could have serious disagreements, and elected proctors could assume active command of the ship. As this sampling of laws shows, authorities attempted to foresee and forestall as many problems as possible, but maritime commerce remained a risky, if profitable, way to make a living.

Much of the legislation attempted to clarify the business relationship of the ship's captain and the merchant whose goods he was transporting. To render this relationship more transparent, each ship was commanded by provision 2 to have a clerk who would carefully record the agreements made between the parties. Other legislation, such as requiring the ship to go to sea in the event of a severe storm (provision 1), was designed to keep the ship and its precious cargo safe. Another protective measure required that each mariner carry weapons to defend the ship (and themselves) and that the ship itself carry ballistae, a kind of catapult (provisions 5–7).

The merchants were not the only ones legally protected, however; the sailors themselves were granted rights in law. In particular, the heirs of sailors who died were entitled to full wages, and sick sailors were entitled to at least partial wages depending on the circumstances (provision 20). Finally, provision 21 of these Barcelona statutes ensured that two proctors would be elected by the men of each ship. These proctors, under the advice of two men of their own choosing, had the power to veto decisions by the captain and merchant themselves in the best interest of the community of the entire ship. Such power was rarely used.

Be it known to all that we, James, by the grace of God, King of Aragon, of Majorca, and of Valencia, Count of Barcelona and Urgell, and Lord of Montpellier, hearing the ordinances written below, which you, James Gruny, our faithful servant, have made at our wish and command and with our consent, and which you have drawn up with the advice of the honest water-men of Barcelona and based upon the ordinance of the same, having heard, seen, and understood that the said ordinances were to be made in our honor, and for the use and welfare of the water-men of Barcelona and the citizens of Barcelona, having confirmed the document by the authentic application of our seal, we grant, approve, and confirm all and each of the undermentioned ordinances, made by you and the said honest men on our authority. Wishing that the said ordinances may endure and be observed as long as it shall please us and the said honest water-men of Barcelona, by commanding our mayors, and bailiffs, both present future, that they observe each and all of the undermentioned regulations, firmly and strictly, if they hope confidently for our grace and affection, and that they see that they are observed inviolably, so that they do not allow them to be disturbed by any one.

1. In the first place: we ordain, wish, and command, that the captain of a ship or vessel of any kind and the sailors and mariners shall not leave or depart from the ship or vessel in which they arrived, until all the merchandise, which is on the ship or vessel, be discharged on land, and until that same ship or vessel be emptied of ballast and moored. But the captain of that ship or vessel will be able to go on land with his clerk when he begins to discharge the cargo, if the sea be calm; and if perhaps the weather be such that he cannot discharge the cargo the said captain, if he be on land, shall immediately repair to the said ship or vessel, and if he cannot so repair by reason of the weather, his crew shall have full power and permission to depart with the ship or vessel from the place at which it arrived, and to go to the harbor or put out to sea. Nevertheless, if the said captain be unwilling to go to his ship, his merchants shall be able to order and command him firmly, on behalf of the Lord King and the said James Gruny, to repair to the said ship or vessel and to place upon him such penalty as the said James Gruny is empowered to place upon him. Moreover, the said captain of the ship shall not dare to stay on land until all merchandise which came in the ship or vessel be discharged. And if the merchants wish to disembark from the ship or vessel and a storm should arise after their disembarkation, the captain of the ship or vessel, if he be there, or his crew, shall have permission to withdraw from the place in which he was with that ship or vessel and with the merchandise contained therein, and of going to sea or putting into harbor. But if the mariners should not have done this, let each one incur a penalty of ten solidi of the money of Barcelona, and the captain of a ship fifty solidi, and the captain of a vessel thirty solidi; and over and above the said penalty the captains of ships and vessels shall be condemned to repair all the damage which the said merchants suffered through their fault. But of the penalties, both foregoing and those written below, the King will receive half, and the other half will go to the Order of Water-men of Barcelona. Moreover, these penalties and all those written below shall be paid as long as it be the will of the honest water-men of Barcelona.

2. Also: we order that every ship and vessel shall have a sworn clerk on every voyage, which clerk shall not write anything in the contract book of that ship or vessel unless both parties are present, namely the captain and the merchants, or the captain and his mariners; and the said clerk shall be a good and lawful man, and shall make out the expenses truly and lawfully, and all the mariners shall be expected to swear to the captains of the ships and vessels that to the best of their ability they will save, protect, and defend the captain and all his goods, and his ship or vessel, and its rigging and equipment, and all the merchants going with it, and all their goods and merchandise, by sea and land, in good faith and without fraud. Moreover, the said clerk shall be at least of the age of twenty years, and if the captains of the said ships or vessels do not wish to have the said clerk, they shall not leave Barcelona or any other place in which they may be, until they have another clerk, if they can find one.
3. Also: we command that on every ship which loads at sea, so that it is loaded with merchandise worth 2000 solidi (Barcelona money), the mariners must remain one night with their weapons on the ship; and after any vessel has loaded at sea with merchandise worth 1000 solidi (Barcelona money), half the mariners of that vessel with one officer shall be obliged to stay on their vessel for one night with their arms. Also we command that the captain of a ship or vessel shall have food in his ship or vessel sufficient for fifteen days; namely, bread, wine, salt meat, vegetables, oil, water, and two packets of candles. And if the said captain of ship or vessel be unwilling to do this, let him incur a penalty of twenty solidi, and each of the mariners and crew incur a penalty of five solidi. . . .
5. Also: we command that no boat shall load for a voyage nor send away any living merchandise and if it loads with heavy goods, it shall not dare to load except as far as the middle of the deck, and the captain of the boat shall take his boat, manned and with its rigging, just as is understood between the captain and the merchants whose merchandise it is; and if the said merchants fear they will be held as hostages in any place, the captain of the boat shall not enter with his boat nor go into the place suspected of holding them without the consent of the merchants. Moreover every boat shall be expected to carry two *ballistae* with their equipment, and a hundred spears and two shields; and every sailor is expected to bear a lance and a sword or bill. And if the captains of the boats should not observe this rule, they shall incur a penalty of ten solidi.
6. Also: we command that if any ship or vessel or boat be taken with its company to Barbary or other parts, it shall not take a guard except it be understood between the captain of the vessel and the partners of the said company.
7. Also: we command that every ship's mariner who is expected to do the work of a *ballistarius*, shall carry two *ballistae* of two feet, and one scaling ladder, and three hundred spears, and a helmet, and a breast-plate or corselet, and a straight and a curved sword. Likewise, the *ballistarii* of the other vessels shall be expected to carry the same weapons; but the other mariners on ships shall be expected to bear a breast-plate, and an iron helmet, or *cofa maresa*, and a shield, and two lances, and a straight or a curved sword. And if the said mariners do not have the said arms, the captains of the ships or vessels shall not take them; and if they do take them they shall pay as a penalty fifty solidi for each mariner. . . .

20. Also: we command that if any mariner should die in the service of any ship or vessel, from the time when that ship or vessel moved from the quay or river bank, or from any port, the said mariner shall have all his wages, just as was written in the contract book of that ship or vessel. And if any mariner be sick or be injured in his legs from the time when the ship or vessel put to sea, the captain of the ship or vessel shall give to the said mariner his needs in food for the whole voyage, if the mariner make the voyage, and the mariner shall have all his wages. But if the mariner be unwilling to go on the voyage, he shall not have any wages. But if the mariner has accepted such free victuals for doing work on the said ship or vessel, so that he cannot go on the said voyage to the knowledge of two honest men of the society, he shall have only half his wages; and if the captain of the said ship or vessel shall have paid all the wages of the mariner, he shall not be expected to put another mariner in the place of the one who remained ashore. And if the said captain shall have paid half the wages to the mariner who remained, the captain shall be expected to put another mariner in his place, and to give him the remaining half of the wages which he did not pay. And the merchants will be expected to give the other half of the wages to the mariner placed in the position of the other who did not go.
21. Also: we command that on every ship or vessel departing from the quay of Barcelona there shall be appointed and elected by the men in that ship or vessel two proctors distinguished by their knowledge and lawfulness whose commands they will obey, both the captain of the ship or vessel, and the mariners, and the merchants going in the ship, and all shall be expected to stand by and obey the orders of the two proctors. These two proctors shall elect other men of the ship with the advice of whom they will make and order all things which are to be done on that ship; and whatever is ordered by the seven men shall be strictly obeyed by all going in that ship. But in a vessel the two proctors shall elect another two by the advice of whom they shall ordain all things which are to be obeyed on that vessel. And the election of the two proctors shall be made within four days or eight before the departure of the said ship or vessel from the shores of Barcelona, and as many men of Barcelona as they find in other parts, Arab or Christian, shall be expected to stand by and obey the command and advice of the seven or four. And whatever the elected men do or ordain they shall do and ordain in the name of the Lord King and saving his jurisdiction, and in the name of the Council of the honest watermen of Barcelona. But if the two elected men should depart in ships from the place at which they arrived with the said ship, on their departure let them elect another two with the advice of the said five counselors who shall stand in their places, and those two elected on vessels shall elect another two with the advice of the said two counselors; and if the two elected by these two shall depart, let them elect another two, and thus in order; and whatever shall be done or ordered by those elected shall be strictly observed by all others, and this we command in the name of the Lord King and by virtue of an oath. Given at Barcelona on the twenty-sixth of August, in the year 1258.

Seal of James, by the grace of God, King of Aragon, etc.

Source: de Capmany, A. *Memorias Sobre la Marina, Comercio, y Artes de la Antigua Ciudad de Barcelona*. Vol. 2. Madrid: n.p., 1779–1792, pp. 23–30. In Roy Cave and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965, pp. 160–68.

Slavery

Before industrialization, rural economies demanded lots of human laborers: plowers, planters, threshers, herdsmen, and so on. Across the world, this high demand for human workers frequently has been met with slave labor in many different forms. The Aztec empire of Mexico made prisoners of war into slaves, and in China, certain populations were targeted for enslavement. Early medieval Europe had both slaves, who were either born or sold into slavery, and serfs, who had more legal rights even if they were not “free” in the modern sense of the word.

Although slavery was common, it was rarely pretty. Kind and fair masters existed, but the hardships of slavery come out clearly in the historical sources. Document 25 makes note of slaves’ frequent attempts to escape, and Document 24 reports a horrid practice in which female slaves were raped and sold, pregnant, to foreign markets. One particularly evil master, Rauching, even buried two slaves alive when they dared to marry without his permission (Document 26).

The many writings that outline the hardships of slavery demonstrate that intellectuals frequently opposed the damaging effects of this economic system. Po Chu-i, in Document 22, presents a moving story in which the enlightened governor Yang Ch’eng informed the emperor of China that there were no slaves in his province—only people. Po Chu-i was particularly shocked about the damaging effects of slavery on families; he depicts children being taken away from their mothers. As Document 23 shows, having children or a spouse in slavery could effectively ensure that a slave would never seek freedom. Even though local leaders might seek to ameliorate the worst aspects of slavery, most societal institutions were fully integrated into the slavery/serf economy. In Document 27, for example, a religious abbey is given a present of slaves by the king.

22. Philosophical Resistance to Slavery in China

The following poem by the great Tang dynasty poet Po Chu-i (A.D. 772–846) captures the destructive effects of slavery on family life; family members are torn apart from each other in tears, never to meet again. In this particular example, the victims are the dwarfish peoples of a particular Chinese region, but the cruelties of slavery were to be found across the globe in the Middle Ages and well into modern times.

Fortunately for the inhabitants of Tao-Chou, an enlightened governor by the name of Yang Ch’eng ended the practice because of philosophical principles. When the emperor finally demanded to know why the dwarf slaves had not arrived, Yang Ch’eng replied that Tao-Chou had no dwarf slaves, only dwarfish people. Yang Ch’eng was implying that nature produced only people; slaves were produced by cruel tyrants. The emperor was so moved by this philosophical argument that he abolished the custom of enslaving the dwarfs of Tao-Chou. Most slaves around the world had to wait much longer than the ninth century to obtain their freedom.

The People of Tao-Chou

In the land of Tao-chou
Many of the people are dwarfs;

The tallest of them never grow to more than three feet.
They were sold in the market as dwarf slaves and yearly sent to Court;
Described as “an offering of natural products from the land of Tao-chou.”
A strange “offering of natural products”; I never heard of one yet
That parted men from those they loved, never to meet again!
Old men—weeping for their grandsons; mothers for their children!
One day—Yang Ch’eng came to govern the land;
He refused to send up dwarf slaves in spite of incessant mandates.
He replied to the Emperor “Your servant finds in the Six Canonical Books
‘In offering products, one must offer what is there, and not what isn’t there’
On the waters and lands of Tao-chou, among all the things that live
I only find dwarfish people; no dwarfish slaves.”
The Emperor’s heart was deeply moved and he sealed and sent a scroll
“The yearly tribute of dwarfish slaves is henceforth annulled.”
The people of Tao-chou,
Old ones and young ones, how great their joy!
Father with son and brother with brother henceforward kept together;
From that day for ever more they lived as free men.
The people of Tao-chou
Still enjoy this gift.
And even now when they speak of the Governor
Tears start to their eyes.
And lest their children and their children’s children should forget the Governor’s name,
When boys are born the syllable “Yang” is often used in their forename.

Source: *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*. Translated by Arthur Waley. London: Constable, 1918, pp. 123–25.

23. Anglo-Saxon Slaves

Like other early medieval peoples, the Anglo-Saxons of England accepted slavery as a natural part of economic enterprise. Selling oneself or one’s family into slavery could bring a person enough money to escape high debts or, for that matter, to secure sufficient food. The following extracts from the Laws of King Alfred (c. 871) give a sample of the legal issues surrounding slaves.

Alfred the Great’s system distinguishes between the rights of a Christian slave and those of a non-Christian slave. A non-Christian slave in this context would be a Dane or Norseman, pagan Vikings who had seized control of most of northern and eastern England. According to Alfred’s law code, a Christian (i.e., an Anglo-Saxon in practice) had the right to go free after seven years of service. Presumably, a Dane did not have the same opportunity.

Even given the opportunity, a slave might be coerced into remaining a slave, as the document points out. A slave owner had no obligation to free a slave’s wife if she had been a previous slave of the master. Freedom in this case, therefore, would mean that the slave would have to abandon his wife and child; few people were willing to do that. The possibility of freedom, although theoretically present, was, in practice, limited.

Slaves, moreover, were open to abuse. Alfred’s law code makes specific provisions for what should happen if the slave owner’s son slept with a female slave. Such rapes were

probably common; otherwise, legislation against them would not be necessary. According to the law code, the slave must either be set free or be married to the son. Although the woman having to marry the man who violated her does not seem like a positive outcome to many modern readers, such legislation was actively attempting to secure and safeguard the interests of the slave victim—surely a step in the right direction. The word *theow* in this document is the Old English word for slave.

11. These are the laws which you shall set for them. If any one buy a Christian *theow*, let him serve six years; the seventh he shall be free without purchase. With such clothing as he went in, with such goes he out. If he has a wife of his own, she will go out with him. If, however, the lord has given him a wife, she and her child will be the lord's. But if the *theow* should say: "I will not depart from my lord, nor from my wife, nor from my child, nor from my goods," let his lord then bring him to the door of the Temple, and bore his ear through with an awl, in token that he ever after shall be a *theow*.
12. If any one sell his daughter to servitude, let her not be altogether such a *theow* as other female slaves are. He ought not to sell her away among a strange folk. But if he who bought her care not for her, let her go free among a strange folk. If, however, he allows his son to cohabit with her, let him marry her; and let him see that she has clothing, and that which is the worth of her maidenhood, that is, the dowry; let him give her that. If he does unto her none of these things, then let her be free. . . .
43. To all freemen let these days be given, but not to *theow*-men and *esne*-workmen: twelve days at Yule, and the day on which Christ overcame the devil, and the commemoration day of St. Gregory, and seven days before Easter and seven days after, and one day at St. Peter's tide and St. Paul's, and in harvest the whole week before St. Marymass, and one day at the celebration of All-Hallows and the four Wednesdays in the four Ember weeks. To all *theow*-men be given, to those to whom it may be most desirable to give, whatever any man shall give them in God's name, or they at any of their moments may deserve.

Source: Thorpe, Benjamin. *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*. London: Eyre, 1840, pp. 5–9. In Roy Cave and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965, pp. 275–76.

24. A Slave Market

The following document paints one of the bleakest pictures of slavery: females purchased in their homeland, raped repeatedly to make them pregnant, and then sent as slaves to a foreign land. The document, from c. 1066, may perhaps exaggerate the nefarious activities of the Bristol traders (Bristol was a western English port), but it also highlights the truly frightening prospects and injustices that could befall slaves. Denied any realistic legal protection, slaves depended primarily on the goodwill of their masters. All too often, that goodwill was lacking.

There is a maritime town, called Bristol, which is on the direct route to Ireland, and so suitable for trade with that barbarian land. The inhabitants of this place with other Englishmen often sail to Ireland for the sake of trade. Wulfstan banished from among them a very old custom which had so hardened their hearts that neither the love of God nor the love of King William could efface it. For men whom they had purchased from all over England they carried off to Ireland; but first they got the women with child and sent them pregnant to market. You would have seen queues of the wretches of both sexes shackled together and you would have pitied them; those who were beautiful and those who were in the flower of youth were daily prostituted and sold amidst much wailing to the barbarians. Oh, execrable crime, wretched dishonor, men who remind us of beasts, to sell into slavery their nearest relative because of their necessities.

Source: Cunningham, W. *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce during the Early and Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1890, p. 82. In Roy Cave and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965, pp. 298–99.

25. Runaway Slaves

The poor living conditions of slaves naturally encouraged them to run away. This perceived economic problem of runaways became so severe that special legislation controlling the return of runaway slaves was deemed necessary. In the following document, promulgated by Henry, King of the Romans (the son of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II) in 1224, a legal procedure for securing the return of runaway slaves is outlined. Slave owners were allowed to enter the cities of Alsace in search of their runaway slaves. If they located a slave whom they claimed to own, the slave owners needed to prove their case through the use of witnesses. The preferred witnesses were family members, but witnesses from the actual district also sufficed. The family members needed not necessarily know the slave—medieval law often favored the oaths of high-ranking nobility over the evidence of eyewitnesses.

Henry, by the grace of God, King of the Romans and ever Augustus. We make known to all, both present and future, that (since the question has been debated between our cities of Alsace, and the nobles and ministerials of the same province, about those men of theirs who had fled to those cities and who might so flee in the future) this same question may be settled forever; and, that each side may enjoy its proper rights, the following decision has been made by us: That if any person pertaining to any noble or ministerial betake himself to our cities with the idea of staying there, and his lord wish to reclaim him, the lord ought to be allowed to take him, if he has seven relatives on the mother's side, who are commonly called *nagilmage*, who will swear that he belongs to the lord by right of ownership. But if for any reason the lord be unable to obtain the relatives or friends, let him obtain two suitable witnesses from the neighborhood from which the fugitive came, and let him prove that he had that man in his undisturbed possession by right of ownership before he betook himself to our cities, and with his witnesses let him take oath on the relics of the saints, and so let his man be restored to him. We also decree and firmly ordain that all nobles and ministerials, as has been said, being

desirous of obtaining their men, may enter our cities in peace and security and depart without hurt or injury. At their request a safe-conduct will be furnished them by the bailiffs and council of our cities. And in order that there might be enduring evidence of this, we have ordered this present charter to be written, and have confirmed it with our seal. Given at Basle, December sixteenth, 1224.

Source: Weiland, L., ed. *Legum*, M.G.H. Hanover: n.p., 1896, Vol. 2, sec. 4, p. 403. In Roy Cave and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965, pp. 278–79.

26. Egregious Cruelty

The lack of viable legal standing exposed slaves to the capricious whims of their masters. Although some slave owners treated their slaves fairly, others were cruel and violent. In the following extract, the sixth-century author Gregory of Tours recounts the horrific cruelty of one especially diabolical slave owner. Rauching, as the evil lord is named, delights in torturing his servants for any perceived misdeeds. He burns the legs of slaves if they hold a candle in front of him by accident, and he buries alive two lovers who presume to fall in love without his official permission. This outrageous cruelty was fortunately uncommon during Gregory's time; the story is interesting to us, as it was to Gregory's audience, precisely because the story is so unusual.

Although church organizations themselves often owned slaves, they also attempted to alleviate some of the suffering of these most oppressed human beings. In this extract, the slaves flee to a church. By doing so, they are seeking sanctuary—the protection of the church against their enemies. The priest of the church, in conformity with the law codes, refuses to release the slaves to their master until the master agrees to treat the slaves well. In this case, the priest requires Rauching to testify that he will not separate the two and will allow them to remain husband and wife.

Unfortunately, the good intentions of the parish priest are unable to halt the evil cunning of Rauching, who does keep the lovers together—buried alive in a coffin. Although Gregory of Tours clearly disapproves of such actions, the account makes it clear that secular lords often did have more power than their local church leaders.

The widow of Godwin married Rauching, a man of great vanity, swollen with pride, shameless in his arrogance, who acted towards those subject to him as though he were without any spark of human kindness, raging against them beyond the bounds of malice and stupidity and doing unspeakable injuries to them. For if, as was customary, a slave held a burning candle before him at dinner, he caused his shins to be bared, and placed the candle between them until the flame died; and he caused the same thing to be done with a second candle until the shins of the torchbearer were burned. But if the slave tried to cry out, or to move from one place to another, a naked sword threatened him; and he found great enjoyment in the man's tears.

They say that at that time two of his slaves, a man and a girl, fell in love—a thing which often happens—and that when their affection for each other had lasted for a period of two years, they fled together to a church. When Rauching found this out, he went to

the priest of that place and asked him to return the two slaves immediately, saying that he had forgiven them. Then the priest said to him, "You know what veneration is due to the churches of God. You cannot take them unless you take an oath to allow them to remain together permanently, and you must also promise that they will be free from corporal punishment." But he, being in doubt and remaining silent for some time, at length turned to the priest and put his hands upon the altar, saying, "They will never be separated by me, but rather I shall cause them to remain in wedlock; for though I was annoyed that they did such things without my advice, I am perfectly happy to observe that the man did not take the maid of another in wedlock, nor did she take the slave of another."

The simple priest believed him and returned the two slaves who had been ostensibly pardoned. He took them, gave thanks, and returned to his house, and straightway ordered a tree to be cut down. Then he ordered the trunk to be ground to the depth of three or four feet, and the trunk to be placed therein. Then placing the girl as if she were dead, he ordered the slave to be thrown on top of her. And when the cover had been placed upon the trunk he filled the grave and buried them both alive, saying, "I have not broken my oath and I have not separated them."

Source: Migne, J. P. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*. Vol. 71. Paris: n.p., 1849, p. 318. In Roy Cave and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965, pp. 289–90. Translation modified slightly by Lawrence Morris.

27. A Present of Serfs

Although the Church sought to alleviate some of the suffering experienced by slaves and serfs (see Document 26), it also benefited from the slave system. In the following document, from c. 938, Richelinde gives the monastery of Saint Tronde a present of serfs; in return, Richelinde hopes to receive eternal life.

The present itself is certainly not selfless. In addition to gaining eternal life through the present, Richelinde is enriching his son, who is the abbot of the monastery. Richelinde is essentially increasing his son's economic prestige while hoping to gain heaven to boot. Although the serfs are explicitly allowed in the grant to have their own possessions and to work for themselves, Richelinde still compels them to pay a yearly tax. He will continue to receive economic benefits from his gift.

It is unclear whether the serfs themselves will have a better life under monastic control. On the positive side, the families do seem to have remained intact; Richelinde grants the monastery whole families: husbands, wives, and children. Even their new lord is really an "old" lord—they probably knew Richelinde's son Reyner when he was growing up.

Be it known to all the faithful of the Holy Church of God that if we have surrendered something of our fortune to the shrines of the saints, we are confident that we shall undoubtedly receive from God, who rewards all deeds, unfailing reward at the end of this life. Wherefore I, Richelinde, in the name of God, wish as a charitable person to make a perpetual gift to the monastery of Saint-Trond, which is built in the place called Sarcigny, near the river Melterbekk, in the county of Hasbany, where the precious confessor of Christ now rests, and where my son, Reyner, is abbot over a

multitude of monks who live under the regular rule of the Order of Sempringham. And this is what I give: for the good of my soul, that after the course of this earthly life I might be worthy of receiving the gifts of eternal life—I give serfs of these names: Everard and his wife Ricimar, with their children, Wiburch, Betswint, Hanezin with her daughter, Ratsmunt with her daughter, Imma, Wigira with her daughter, Meniza, Iseka with her children, Rikera with her daughter, Hererat, Hildekin, Berenger, Amiza; albeit on the condition that, after my death, each year on the feast of Saint Trond, they take care to pay in taxes, God willing, two denarii, and that they owe service to no one as long as they shall live. Let this hold good for them and for their children. But if they should have anything or be able to acquire anything they shall have those things conceded to them. And those things are in their power for their lifetime to dispose of how they wish. Except that while they live, anything of theirs that is useful to the aforesaid monastery they should give freely and charitably, and they should do this of their own free will. They shall live in dependence upon and under the protection of that same monastery. And if it should happen, which God forbid, that they should be killed, an estimate of their goods shall be given to the monastery.

Source: Piot, C., ed. *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Tond*. Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1870, p. 7. In Roy Cave and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1965, pp. 295–96.

Part IV

INTELLECTUAL LIFE

The Middle Ages and Renaissance witnessed a radical transformation in intellectual life that has left indelible marks on modern society. At the start of the Middle Ages, intellectual life focused on spiritual matters and favored the preservation of traditional knowledge. By the end of the Renaissance, intellectual life focused on materialistic concerns and innovative experimentation. Scholarship had shifted perceptibly from a focus on the heavens to a focus on the earth, and from accepting inherited opinions to subjecting all knowledge to empirical observation. Each of the three following sections, Education, Science and Medicine, and Language and Literature, bears witness to this monumental paradigm shift.

The Middle Ages witnessed the development of large, multifaceted centers of learning: the university. In late antiquity, formal education was provided by loose associations of teachers and students. In the early Middle Ages, monasteries became the centers of serious intellectual work. By the twelfth century, however, large, frequently state sponsored, universities were developing in cities such as Bologna, Paris, and Oxford. These centers for learning differed strikingly from monasteries. While monasteries focused particularly, but not exclusively, on theology, the new universities attracted students much more interested in secular pursuits. Indeed, as the documents in the Education section demonstrate, students seem to have pursued partying as much as they pursued sacred knowledge. Critics of the universities, moreover, criticized the tendency to learn for the sake of curiosity, instead of learning for the sake of serving God and fellow human beings.

The Science and Medicine section reveals that these fields followed the general trends of education. Whereas the universities seemed to abandon a focus on spirituality and theology, scientists in particular turned away from theology to empirical and experimental methodologies. A prime example is Galileo Galilei, whose observations of the planets and the sun led him finally to reject the tenet that the sun moved around the earth; instead he advocated the Copernican theory that the earth moved around the sun. In doing so, he rejected most contemporaneous scientific theory and the literal interpretation of biblical passages that implied that the sun moved around the earth. For Galileo, as for other followers of empiricism or experimental methodologies, what he could see and reason for himself held more weight than what he read in books. This quest for experimental proof

led to many advances; William Harvey, for example, discovered through experiments on live animals how the heart circulates blood. The section examines these thinkers and others as well as traditional approaches to health care and to knowledge.

The Language and Literature section explores some of the most enduring achievements in language. The switch from learned languages to vernacular languages parallels the general shift from traditional thinking to experimental approaches. Throughout the Middle Ages, Latin (the language of ancient Rome) remained the language of education, learning, and government even though the languages of the common people had changed significantly. Italian was very similar to Latin—its parent language—but it was not the same thing. In other countries, such as England, Latin was even further from the vernacular language. In the Renaissance, however, vernacular languages, such as Italian, English, and Arabic began to displace Latin as the medium of learned conversation. As a result, learning became more available to those without the wealth to purchase lessons in Latin. At the same time, the invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century made reading material less expensive and more readily available. While these developments were occurring in Europe, Arab countries rejected Greek—the old language of government in the eastern Mediterranean—in favor of Arabic.

Education

The Middle Ages witnessed the birth of many aspects of the modern educational system. Whereas the classical world relied on private tutors and loose associations of scholars, the Middle Ages saw the rise of formalized institutions of higher learning and the wide spread of collective education for younger ages. The first universities, in the modern sense of the word, developed in the twelfth century, in cities such as Bologna, Paris, and Oxford. Unlike earlier learning communities, such as monastery schools, these institutions were dedicated in practice to the pure search for knowledge, both secular and religious (although the dividing line between these fields was not distinct).

This quest for knowledge for knowledge's sake originally disturbed conservative thinkers. Previously, under monastery schools, knowledge, at least theoretically, served God and the Church; an entirely different perspective reigned in universities by the thirteenth century. According to reactionaries such as Jacques de Vitry (Document 1), the quest for knowledge, when divorced from God's service, led to the sins of curiosity, vanity, simony, and a general disinterest in the salvation of souls.

Songs composed by university students (Document 3) certainly seem to confirm Vitry's skepticism about the moral fiber of the educational system. These songs revel in the physical passions; they glorify drinking and womanizing and generally endorse the unbridled seeking of physical pleasure. The only curb on these vices, according to the songs, was the total poverty that students endured. Poverty, rather than personal restraint, kept students from fully indulging their passions. Fierce hatreds and national divisions also arose among the scholars; according to Vitry, each nationality was stereotyped in derisive ways, and a general sense of animosity filled the classrooms.

Although the picture painted by Vitry and the student songs themselves imply that the students were irresponsible, hateful vagabonds, the students were in reality among

the most privileged and influential social groups. As Document 2 demonstrates, public legislation economically advantaged students by exempting them from a wide range of taxes, curbing their lodging expenses at the expense of other citizens, and granting them substantial legal protections. The recipients of these benefits, moreover, came from the wealthiest families in the kingdom. There was no free, public education in the Middle Ages and *Renaissance*, so only those students with parents wealthy enough to send them to private schools were able to acquire the education necessary to enter a university. In essence, only children from the upper middle classes and aristocracy commonly entered universities. These same students, upon graduation, would assume some of the most important positions in the government of church and state. When Vitry criticizes university students, he is criticizing the future leaders of the nation and the most influential members of society.

Aspects of education changed significantly during the Renaissance, beginning in the fourteenth century. This change is most clear in the realm of language. Whereas the Middle Ages used Latin as a living language in the realms of law, church, government, and international commerce, the Renaissance rejected medieval Latin in favor of the Latin written by the Romans of the first century B.C. As a result, educators such as Roger Ascham (Document 4) advocated that the student not learn to speak Latin until he (formal education was aimed almost exclusively at males) had learned to read and write in the style of Cicero. Although Ascham did intend the students to gain a spoken command of the language eventually, the failure to teach Latin as a spoken language gradually resulted in the decline of the language—at the same time, however, the local spoken vernaculars (e.g., English, French, Italian) gained importance (see the Language and Literature section).

Ascham also radically changed pedagogical approaches (Document 5). Instead of harsh punishments, including beating, Ascham urged the creation of a trusting, peaceful relationship between teacher and student. According to Ascham—and modern educational theory—students learn more when they want to learn, as opposed to when they are afraid not to learn. Education in English (rather than in Latin), the banning of corporal punishment, and a trusting, professional relationship between teacher and student are all modern movements that have their roots in Renaissance ideals.

1. University Life and National Stereotypes

Jacques de Vitry, a thirteenth-century French intellectual most famous for writing a history of the Middle East, severely criticized the lifestyle of students at the University of Paris. According to Vitry, few students were interested in personal edification, which was the aim of Christian education. Instead, they sought knowledge merely for material gain, for a reputation as a learned man, or for simple curiosity, instead of for the salvation of their souls.

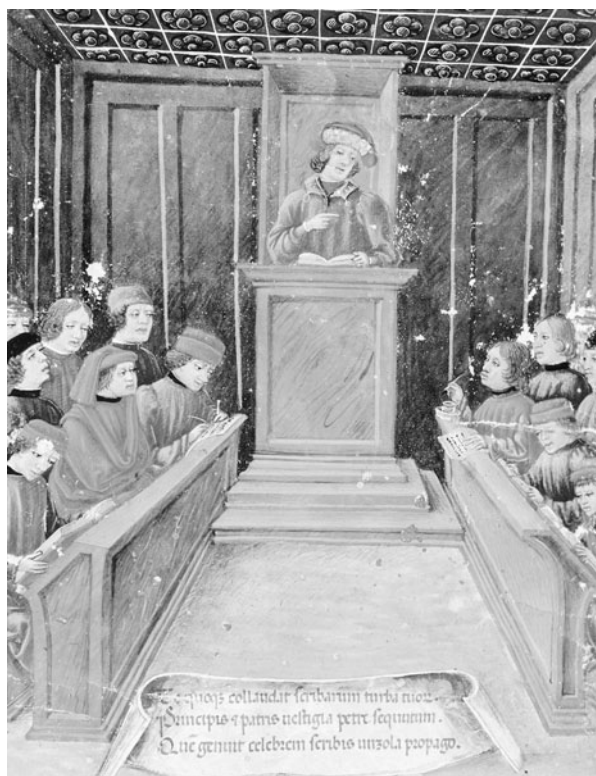
Worse still, ethnic strife created deep divides in the student body. According to the stereotypes, the English drank excessively, the Germans angered easily, the Burgundians (people from central France) lacked intelligence, the Sicilians exhibited cruelty, and so on. Vitry's list in the second of the following paragraphs effectively gives a succinct list of medieval ethnic stereotypes.

Almost all the students at Paris, foreigners and natives, did absolutely nothing except learn or hear something new. Some studied merely to acquire knowledge, which is curiosity; others to acquire fame, which is vanity; others still for the sake of gain, which is cupidity and the vice of simony. Very few studied for their own edification, or that of others. They wrangled and disputed not merely about the various sects or about some discussions; but the differences between the countries also caused dissensions, hatreds and virulent animosities among them and they impudently uttered all kinds of affronts and insults against one another.

They affirmed that the English were drunkards and had tails; the sons of France proud, effeminate and carefully adorned like women. They said that the Germans were furious and obscene at their feasts; the Normans, vain and boastful; the Poitevins, traitors and always adventurers. The Burgundians they considered vulgar and stupid. The Bretons were reputed to be fickle and changeable, and were often reproached for the death of Arthur. The Lombards were called avaricious, vicious and cowardly; the Romans, seditious, turbulent and slanderous; the Sicilians, tyrannical and cruel; the inhabitants of Brabant, men of blood, incendiaries, brigands and ravishers; the Flemish, fickle, prodigal, gluttonous, yielding as butter, and slothful. After such insults from words they often came to blows.

I will not speak of those logicians before whose eyes flitted constantly “the lice of Egypt,” that is to say, all the sophistical subtleties, so that no one could comprehend their eloquent discourses in which, as says Isaiah, “there is no wisdom.” As to the doctors of theology, “seated, in Moses’ seat,” they were swollen with learning, but their charity was not edifying. Teaching and not practicing, they have “become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal,” or like a canal of stone, always dry, which ought to carry water to “the bed of spices.” They not only hated one another, but by their flatteries they enticed away the students of others; each one seeking his own glory, but caring not a whit about the welfare of souls.

Having listened intently to these words of the Apostle, “If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work,” they kept multiplying the prebends, and seeking after the offices; and yet they sought the work decidedly less than the preeminence, and they desired above all to have “the uppermost rooms at feasts and the chief seats in the synagogue, and greetings in the market.” Although the Apostle James said, “My brethren, be not many masters,” they on the contrary were in such haste to become masters that most of them were not able to have any students except by entreaties and payments. Now it is safer to listen than to teach, and a humble listener is better than an ignorant and presumptuous doctor. In short, the Lord had reserved for Himself among them all only a few honorable and timorous men who had not stood “in the way of sinners,” nor had sat down with the others in the envenomed seat.



Teaching law at University of Bologna, Italy, from a fifteenth-century Italian manuscript. Students sit on either side taking notes while the teacher lectures from the podium. The Art Archive/Museo Civico Bologna/Gianni Dagli Orti.

Source: de Vitriaco, Jacobus. *Hist. occid.* Bk. 2, ch. 7. Translated from the Latin in the University of Pennsylvania, Department of History, *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*. Vol. 3. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1907, pp. 19–20.

2. Student Privileges at the University of Heidelberg

Being a university student carried significant prestige during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. By and large, university students (called clerks) came from wealthy families, and their university education marked them out for potentially important roles in the governance of both church and state. Along with this prestige and importance came a variety of legal and economic privileges, as the following Charter of Privileges issued by Rupert I, Count Palatine of the Rhine, to the University of Heidelberg (founded 1386), indicates.

First and foremost, the scholars were not subject to the normal workings of law and order. Instead of the students being answerable to the city magistrates or the representatives of the king, Rupert entrusted the bishop with the responsibility of policing the student community and enforcing the rule of law. In particular, students were free from the immediate payment of fines and were generally entrusted to their schoolmaster instead of being forced to dwell in prison while they awaited trial. Students, however, were not to leave town until the date of their trial. In effect, the clerks benefited from a separate legal system geared just for themselves, whereas the average citizen faced a much more robust and severe judiciary.

The students enjoyed economic benefits as well. To prevent the “extortionate prices of lodgings” charged by the local citizens, one university delegate and one delegate from the city would inspect each rental unit and would determine the price of that unit for one year’s rental. In effect, this form of price-fixing undercut the workings of the free market. The large demand for student housing had the power to drive up prices; through price-fixing, the students were protected from considerable expenses, but the townspeople were denied potentially much larger profits. Such favoritism carried over into taxes. The students were exempted from most forms of sales and import taxes, whereas the ordinary citizen had to pay them. Essentially, students, who were generally from the wealthiest families, paid the fewest taxes. As a result of this double standard, one can see why the students may have needed protection from being “oppressed by the citizens!”

Lest in the new community of the city of Heidelberg, their misdeeds being unpunished, there be an incentive to the scholars of doing wrong, we ordain, with provident counsel, by these presents, that the bishop of Worms, as judge ordinary of the clerks of our institution, shall have and possess, now and hereafter while our institution shall last, prisons, and an office in our town of Heidelberg for the detention of criminal clerks. These things we have seen fit to grant to him and his successors, adding these conditions: that he shall permit no clerk to be arrested unless for a misdemeanor; that he shall restore any one detained for such fault, or for any light offense, to his master, or to the rector if the latter asks for him, a promise having been given that the culprit will appear in court and that the rector or master will answer for him if the injured parties should go to law about the matter. Furthermore, that, on being requested, he will restore a clerk arrested for a crime on slight evidence, upon receiving a sufficient pledge—sponsors if

the prisoner can obtain them, otherwise an oath if he cannot obtain sponsors—to the effect that he will answer in court the charges against him; and in all these things there shall be no pecuniary exactions, except that the clerk shall give satisfaction, reasonably and according to the rule of the aforementioned town, for the expenses which he incurred while in prison. And we desire that he will detain honestly and without serious injury a criminal clerk thus arrested for a crime where the suspicion is grave and strong, until the truth can be found out concerning the deed of which he is suspected. And he shall not for any cause, moreover, take away any clerk from our aforesaid town, or permit him to be taken away, unless the proper observances have been followed, and he has been condemned by judicial sentence to perpetual imprisonment for a crime.

We command our advocate and bailiff and their servants in our aforesaid town, under pain of losing their offices and our favor, not to lay a detaining hand on any master or scholar of our said institution, nor to arrest him or allow him to be arrested, unless the deed be such that that master or scholar ought rightly to be detained. He shall be restored to his rector or master if he is held for a slight cause, provided he will swear and promise to appear in court concerning the matter; and we decree that a slight fault is one for which a layman, if he had committed it, ought to have been condemned to a light pecuniary fine. Likewise, if the master or scholar detained be found gravely or strongly suspected of the crime, we command that he be handed over by our officials to the bishop or to his representative in our said town, to be kept in custody.

By the tenor of these presents we grant to each and all the masters and scholars that, when they come to the said institution, while they remain there, and also when they return from it to their homes, they may freely carry with them both coming and going, throughout all the lands subject to us, all things which they need while pursuing their studies, and all the goods necessary for their support, without any duty, levy, imposts, tolls, excises, or other exactions whatever. And we wish them and each one of them, to be free from the aforesaid imposts when purchasing corn, wines, meat, fish, clothes and all things necessary for their living and for their rank. And we decree that the scholars from their stock in hand of provisions, if there remain over one or two wagonloads of wine without their having practiced deception, may, after the feast of Easter of that year, sell it at wholesale without paying tax. We grant to them, moreover, that each day the scholars, of themselves or through their servants, may be allowed to buy in the town of Heidelberg, at the accustomed hour, freely and without impediment or hurtful delay, any eatables or other necessities of life.

Lest the masters and scholars of our institution of Heidelberg may be oppressed by the citizens, moved by avarice, through extortionate prices of lodgings, we have seen fit to decree that thenceforth each year, after Christmas, one expert from the university on the part of the scholars, and one prudent, pious, and circumspect citizen on the part of the citizens, shall be authorized to determine the price of the students' lodgings. Moreover, we will and decree that the various masters and scholars shall, though our bailiff, our judge and the officials subject to us, be defended and maintained in the quiet possession of the lodgings given to them free or of those for which they pay rent. Moreover, by the tenor of these presents, we grant to the rector and the university, or to those designated by them, entire jurisdiction concerning the payment of rents for the lodgings occupied by the students, concerning the making and buying of books, and the borrowing of money for other

purposes by the scholars of our institution; also concerning the payment of assessments, together with everything that arises from, depends upon, and is connected with these.

Source: Ogg, Frederic Austin. *A Source Book of Mediaeval History*. New York: American, 1908, pp. 348–50. With slight modifications from *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, ed. and trans. Ernest F. Henderson. London, 1896, pp. 262–66.

3. The Scholar's Poverty and Drunkenness

The stereotype of the poor but fun-loving student, still found throughout Western culture, has its origins in the Middle Ages. University students in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries crafted many songs celebrating their love of wine and women and lamenting their lack of financial solvency. This goliardic poetry, as the satirical songs are known, should not be confused with the actualities of student life, just as similar genres today (e.g., National Lampoon's Animal House) depict a faux ideal rather than the reality of college life. Although some medieval students were poor, and some were drunkards, most students in fact came from wealthy families, studied sufficiently hard to receive degrees, and found lucrative employment.

The first of the following songs was intended to ask for alms, that is, gifts of money. The poet emphasizes his poverty by pointing out his poor clothing and argues that this poverty is distracting him from the learning that he loves. As a result, he encourages the inhabitants of X-town (the performer would fill in that name with the town in which he happened to be—e.g., Paris) to follow the example of St. Martin, who famously gave a share of his clothing to a beggar. In return for this charity, the poor scholar prays for the soul of his benefactors.

Whereas the first poem offers up a genuine prayer, the second poem twists religious language ("blest") into a praise of wine. In fact, the poem mimics a hymn to the Blessed Virgin Mary but changes the object of praise from the mother of God to wine. Many found such reinterpretations blasphemous, and church councils throughout the thirteenth century passed provisions aimed at curbing the outrages of the goliards. These approaches had little effect, and the stereotype of the fun-loving college student survives to this day.

The Wandering Scholar

I, a wandering scholar lad,
Born for toil and sadness,
Oftentimes am driven by
Poverty to madness.
Literature and knowledge I
Fain would still be earning,
Were it not that want of pelf
Makes me cease from learning.
These torn clothes that cover me
Are too thin and rotten;
Oft I have to suffer cold,
By the warmth forgotten.
Scarce I can attend at church,
Sing God's praises duly;
Mass and vespers both I miss,

Though I love them truly.
 Oh, you pride of X-town,
 By thy worth I pray thee,
 Give the suppliant help in need,
 Heaven will sure repay thee.
 Take a mind unto thee now
 Like unto St. Martin;
 Clothe the pilgrim's nakedness,
 Wish him well at parting.
 So may God translate your soul
 Into peace eternal,
 And the bliss of saints be yours
 In his realm eternal.

A Sequence in Praise of Wine

Wine the good and bland, though blessing
 of the good, the bad's distressing,
 Sweet of taste by all confessing,
 Hail, thou world's felicity!
 Hail thy hue, life's gloom dispelling;
 Hail thy taste, all tastes excelling;
 By thy power, in this thy dwelling,
 Deign to make us drunk with thee!
 Oh, how blest for bounteous uses
 Is the birth of pure vine-juices!
 Safe's the table which produces
 Wine in goodly quality.
 Oh, in colour how auspicious!
 Oh, in odour how delicious!
 In the mouth how sweet, propitious
 To the tongue enthralled by thee!
 Blest the man who first thee planted,
 Called thee by the name enchanted!
 He whose cups have ne'er been scanted
 Dreads no danger that may be.
 Blest the belly where thou bidest!
 Blest the tongue where thou residest!
 Blest the mouth through which thou glidest,
 And the lips thrice blest by thee!
 Therefore let wine's praise be sounded,
 Healths to toppers all propounded;
 We shall never be counfounded,
 Topping for eternity!
 Pray we: here be thou still flowing,
 Plenty on our board bestowing,
 While with jocund voice we're showing
 How we serve thee—Jubilee!

Sources: Symonds, John Addington. *Wine, Women, and Song: Mediaeval Latin Student's Songs*. London: n.p., 1884, pp. 136–37. In Frederic Austin Ogg. *A Source Book of Mediaeval History*. New York: American, 1908, pp. 354–55. Translation modified slightly by Lawrence Morris.

4. A Renaissance Education

Since the fourteenth century, a cultural movement called the Renaissance had been spreading. The Renaissance, meaning “rebirth,” viewed itself as the rebirth of ancient Greek and Latin learning; as such, it rejected the cultural and literary norms of the Middle Ages. By the 1570s, the Renaissance had gained a firm hold in England, as this excerpt from Roger Ascham’s *Scholemaster* indicates. Ascham rejected the standard educational practices of his day—all of them current during the Middle Ages—that involved learning Latin as a living language. Latin was spoken at all times in school, and the student quickly became familiar with the basics of commercial, ecclesiastical, and governmental Latin. This work-a-day Latin, however, was not acceptable to Ascham. Ascham rejected this living language approach and instead encouraged students to model themselves on “Tully,” as the first-century B.C. Roman orator and author Cicero was known throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Needless to say, the spoken Latin of the late Middle Ages differed considerably from the polished written Latin of the Roman Republic in the first century B.C. In effect, Ascham was rejecting the current Latin entirely, in favor of a long dead language. The result, of course, was ultimately the death of Latin.

The death of Latin was not Ascham’s aim, however. He states explicitly that his goal is to have his students speaking Latin—only a very particular and classical variety of Latin. To achieve this goal, Ascham had the students translate Cicero’s letters repeatedly from Latin into written English and then from English into written Latin again, until they were able to reproduce Cicero’s Latin style flawlessly. Only after they had mastered such technical difficulties did Ascham allow them to move on to expressing themselves orally. Although some scholars following these methods, such as John Milton, did achieve great proficiency in Latin, the higher standards inevitably led to the decay of the language as an everyday medium of communication.

If Ascham’s system of education had unintended detrimental side effects, his understanding of the role of child psychology in education is outstanding. In conformity with many modern pedagogical theories, Ascham noted that praise of good work and gentle criticism of a few flaws resulted in much greater student progress than the repeated lambasting of many faults. The higher student morale effectively encouraged the student to try harder. Ascham likewise pointed out the necessity of building trust in the student–teacher relationship; a lack of trust, Ascham contended, would lead the child to cheat on his (in this time period, female students of Latin were rare) homework to hide his lack of knowledge. In a trusting relationship, however, the student would ask questions instead. Trust clearly led to greater student learning.

After the child hath learned perfectly the eight parts of speech, let him then learn the right joining together of substantives with adjectives, the noun with the verb, the relative with the antecedent. And in learning farther his syntax, by mine advice, he shall not use the common order in common schools, for making of Latins: whereby, the child commonly learneth, first, an evil choice of words (and right choice of words, sayeth Caesar, is the foundation of eloquence), then a wrong placing of words, and lastly, an ill framing of the sentence, with a perverse judgement, both of words and sentences. These faults, taking once root in youth, be never, or hardly, plucked away in age. Moreover, there is no one thing that hath more, either dulled the wits, or taken away the will of children from learning, then the care they have to satisfy their masters in making of Latins.

For the scholar is commonly beat for the making, when the Master were more worthy to be beat for the mending, or rather marring of the same; the master many times, being as ignorant as the child, what to say properly, and fitly to the matter.

Two schoolmasters have set forth in print, either of them a book, of such kind of Latins, Horman and Whittington.

A child shall learn of the better of them, that which another day if he be wise, and come to judgement, he must be fain to unlearn again.

There is a way touched in the first book of Cicero, *De Oratore*, which wisely brought into Schools, truly taught and constantly used, would not only take wholly away this butcherly fear in making of Latins, but would also, with ease and pleasure, and in short time as I know by good experience, work a true choice and placing of words, a right ordering of sentences, an easy understanding of the tongue, a readiness to speak, a facility to wright, a true judgment both of his own and other men's doings, what tongue soever he doth use.

The way is this: after the three concordances learned, as I touched before, let the Master read unto him the Epistles of Cicero, gathered together, and chosen out by Sturmius, for the capacity of children.

First, let him teach the child, cheerfully and plainly, the cause, and matter of the letter. Then, let him construe it into English, so oft, as the child may easily carry away the understanding of it. Lastly parse it over perfectly. This done thus, let the child, by and by, both construe and parse it over again, so, that it may appear, that the child doubteth in nothing, that his master taught him before. After this, the child must take a paper book, and sitting in some place, where no man shall prompt him, by himself, let him translate into English his former lesson. Then, showing it to his master, let the master take from him his Latin book, and pausing an hour, at the least, then let the child translate his own English into Latin again, in another paper book. When the child bringeth it, turned into Latin, the Master must compare it with Tullies book, and lay them both together, and where the child doth well, either in chosing, or true placing of Tully's book, let the master praise him, and say, here you do well. For I assure you, there is no such whetstone to sharpen a good wit and encourage a will to learning, as is praise.

But if the child miss, either in forgetting a word, or in changing a good with a worse, or misordering the sentence, I would not have the master either frown or chide with him, if the child have done his diligence, and used no truantship therein. For I know by good experience, that a child that take more profit of two faults gently warned of, then of four things rightly hit. For then the master shall have good occasion to say unto him: "A, Tullie would have used such a word, not this; Tullie would have placed this word here, not there; would have used this case, this number, this person, this degree, this gender; he would have used this mood, this tense, this simple, rather than this compound; this adverb here not there; he would have ended the sentence with this verb, not with that noun or participle, etc."

In these few lines, I have wrapped up, the most tedious part of Grammar and also the ground of almost all the Rules, that are so busily taught by the Master, and so hardly learned by the Scholar, in all common Schools, which after this sort, the master shall teach without all error, and the scholar shall learn without great pain, the master being led by so sure a guide and the scholar being brought into so plain and easy a way. And

therefore, we do not condemn the Rules, but we gladly teach Rules, more plainly, sensibly, and orderly, than they be commonly taught in common schools. For, when the master shall compare Tullie's book with the scholar's translation, let the master first lead and teach his scholar, to join the Rules of his Grammar book, with the examples of his present lesson, until the Scholar, by himself, be able to fetch out of his Grammar, every rule for every example. So, as the Grammar book be ever in the Scholar's hand, and also used of him, as a Dictionary, for every present use. This is a lively and perfect way of teaching of Rules: where the common way, used in common Schools, to read the Grammar alone by itself, is tedious for the master, hard for the Scholar, cold and uncomfortable for them both.

Let your Scholar be never afraid to ask you any doubt, but use discretely the best allurements ye can to encourage him to the same, lest, his overmuch fearing of you, drive him to seek some disorderly shift, as to seek to be helped by some other book, or to be prompted by some other Scholar, and to go about to beguile you much, and himself more.

With this way of good understanding the matter, plain construing, diligent parsing, daily translating, cheerfull admonishing, and heedfull amending of faults, never leaving behind just praise for well doing, I would have the scholar brought up withal, till he had read and translated over the first book of Epistles chosen out by Sturmius, with a good piece of a Comedy of Terence also.

All this while, by mine advice, the child shall use to speak no Latin. For, as Cicero sayeth in like matter, with like words, "Loquendo, male loqui discunt." And that excellent learned man, G. Budaeus, in his Greek Commentaries, sore complaineth that when he began to learn the Latin tongue, use of speaking Latin at the table, and elsewhere, unadvisedly, did bring him to such an evil choice of words, to such a crooked framing of sentences, that no one thing did hurt or hinder him more, all the days of his life afterward, both for readiness in speaking, and also good judgement in writing.

In very deed, if children were brought up in such an house or such a school, where the Latin tongue were properly and perfectly spoken, as Tib. and Ca. Gracci were brought up, in their mother Cornelia's house, surely, then the daily use of speaking were the best and readiest way to learn the Latin tongue. But now, commonly, in the best Schools in England, for words, right choice is smally regarded, true property wholly neglected, confusion is brought in, barbariousness is bred up so in young wits, as afterward they be not only marred for speaking, but also corrupted in judgment: as with much a do, or never at all, they be brought to right frame again.

Yet all men covet to have their children speak Latin, and so do I very earnestly too. We both, have one purpose: we agree in desire, we wish one end, but we differ somewhat in order and way, that leadeth rightly to that end. Other would have them speak at all adventures: and, so they be speaking, to speak, the Master careth not, the Scholar knoweth not, what. This is, to seem, and not to be; except it be, to be bold without shame, rash without skill, full of words without wit. I wish to have them speak so, as it may well appear, that the brain doth govern the tongue, and that reason leadeth forth the talk. Socrates' doctrine is true in Plato, and well marked, and truly better uttered by Horace in *Arte poetica*, that, wheresoever knowledge doth accompany the

wit, there best utterance doth always await upon the tongue; For, good understanding must first be bred in the child, which being nourished with skill, and use of writing (as I will teach more largely hereafter) is the only way to bring him to judgement and readiness in speaking, and that in far shorter time (if he follow constantly the trade of this little lesson) than he shall do, by common teaching of the common schools of England.

Source: Ascham, Roger. *The Scholemaster or Plaine and Perfite Way of Teaching Children to Understand, Write, and Speake the Latin Tong but Specially Purposed for the Private Bringing Up of Youth in Ientlemen and Noble Mens Houses, and Commodious Also for All Such as Have Forgot the Latin Tonge*. Aldersgate: John Day, 1573, pp. 1–3. Slightly adapted by Lawrence Morris.

5. Corporal Punishment, Quick Wits, and Too Much Math

As the sixteenth-century English scholar Roger Ascham noted in the previous extract (Document 4), he practiced a pedagogical method very different from that of his contemporaries. In particular, Ascham criticized harshly the practice of corporal punishment. As Ascham argues in the next extract, corporal punishment often had little to do with the student's behavior. Rather, beating was often the result of a schoolmaster's simply having a bad day. As Ascham claims, "For when the schoolmaster is angry with some other matter, then will he soonest fall to beat his scholar." Moreover, failing students were frequently beaten even though they were genuinely trying to understand the material. As a result, the schoolmaster was not punishing bad behavior, but rather simply punishing someone for their "nature," or "genes" as we might say today.

Ascham's defense of slow students, moreover, extends to stating that they are often the best individuals later on. According to Ascham, students change over time, so that students who are smart early on become slower as they grow, whereas slow pupils likewise become more intelligent. Finally, Ascham is wary of those who are too quick in mathematics and the sciences then associated with math, such as music. Ascham claims that mathematicians and musicians are "solitary" and "unfit to live with others." As his reference to his previously mentioned book on "shooting" makes clear, Ascham believed strongly in the value of a well-rounded life. In the extract below, "fond" in Renaissance English means "stupid," not "loving."

If your scholar do miss sometimes, in marking rightly these foresaid six things, chide not hastily, for that shall both dull his wit and discourage his diligence, but admonish him gently, which shall make him both willing to amend and glad to go forward in love and hope of learning.

I have now wished, twice or thrice, this gentle nature to be in a Schoolmaster. And that I have done so, neither by chance nor without some reason, I will now declare at large, why in mine opinion, love is fitter than fear, gentleness better than beating, to bring up a child rightly in learning.

With the common use of teaching and beating in common schools of England, I will not greatly contend; which, if I did, it were but a small grammatical controversy, neither belonging to heresy nor treason, nor greatly touching God nor the Prince;

although in very deed, in the end, the good or ill bringing up of children doth as much serve to the good or ill service of God, our Prince, and our whole country, as any one thing doth beside.

I do gladly agree with all good Schoolmasters in these points: to have children brought to good perfectness in learning; to all honesty in manners; to have all faults rightly amended; to have every vice severely corrected; but for the order and way, that leadeth rightly to these points, we somewhat differ. For commonly, many Schoolmasters, some, as I have seen, more, as I have heard tell, be of so crooked a nature, as, when they meet with a hard witted scholar, they rather break him, they bow him, rather mar him, than mend him. For when the schoolmaster is angry with some other matter, then will he soonest fall to beat his scholar, and though he himself should be punished for his folly, yet must he beat some scholar for his pleasure, though there be no cause for him to do so, nor yet fault in the scholar to deserve so. These ye will say, be fond schoolmasters, and few they be, that be found to be such. They be fond in deed, but surely over many such be found everywhere. But this will I say, that even the wisest of your great beaters, do as oft punish nature, as they do correct faults. Yea, many times, the better nature, is sorer punished. For, if one by quickness of wit, take his lesson readily, another by hardness of wit taketh it not so speedily, the first is always commended, the other is commonly punished, when a wise schoolmaster should rather discretely consider the right disposition of both their natures, and not so much weigh what either of them is able to do now, as what either of them is likely to do hereafter. For this I know, not only by reading of books in my study, but also by experience of life, abroad in the world, that those, which be commonly the wisest, the best learned, and best men also, when they be old, were never commonly the quickest of wit, when they were young. The causes why, amongst other, which be many, that move me thus to think, be these few which I will reckon. Quick wits commonly be apt to take, unapt to keep, soon hot and desirous of this and that, as cold, and soon weary of the same again; more quick to enter speedily, than able to persevere; even like our sharp tools, whose edges be very soon turned. Such wits delight themselves in easy and pleasant studies, and never pass far forward in high and hard sciences. And therefore the quickest wits commonly may prove the best poets, but not the wisest Orators, ready of tongue to speak boldly, not deep of judgment, either for good counsel or wise writing. Also, for manners and life, quick wits commonly be in desire newfangled, in purpose unconstant, light to promise any thing, ready to forget every thing, both benefit and injury, and thereby neither fast to friend nor fearful to foe; inquisitive of every trifle, not secret in greatest affairs; bold with any person, busy in every matter; soothing such as be present, nipping any that is absent; of nature also, always flattering their betters, envying their equals, despising their inferiours, and by quickness of wit, very quick and ready to like none so well as themselves. . . .

Some wits, moderate enough by nature, be many times marred by overmuch study and use of some sciences, namely Music, Arithmetic, and Geometry. These sciences, as they sharpen men's wits overmuch, so they change men's manners over sore, if they be not moderately mingled, and wisely applied to some good use of life. Mark all Mathematical heads, which be only and wholly bent to those sciences, how solitary they be themselves, how unfit to live with others, and how unapt to serve in the

world. This is not only known now by common experience, but uttered long before by wise men's judgment and sentence. Galen sayeth: Much Music marreth mens' manners, and Plato hath a notable place of the same thing in his books *de Rep.* well marked also, and excellently translated by Tullie himself. Of this matter I wrote once more at large twenty year ago, in my book of shooting; now I thought but to touch it, to prove that overmuch quickness of wit, either given by nature, or sharpened by study, doth not commonly bring forth either greatest learning, best manners, or happiest life in the end.

Source: Ascham, Roger. *The Scholemaster or Plaine and Perfite Way of Teaching Children to Understand, Write, and Speake the Latin Tong but Specially Purposed for the Private Bringing Up of Youth in Ientlemen and Noble Mens Houses, and Commodious Also for All Such as Have Forgot the Latin Tonge.* Aldersgate: John Day, 1573, pp. 4–6. Spelling modified by Lawrence Morris.

Science and Medicine

Some of the most dramatic changes between the *Renaissance* and the modern world have taken place in the realm of science and medicine. The documents in this section give witness to these changes. In *Genji Monogatari* (Document 6), for example, a gravely ill, wealthy woman's health care consists of monks chanting hymns and burning incense at her bedside, whereas a modern Japanese woman would seek care in a hospital. By and large, spiritual causes of disease have yielded almost completely to physical explanations of the disease process.

This change in the theory and management of disease resulted from the scientific empirical method. In the empirical method, conclusions are drawn only from observable phenomena, not from tradition or previous authors. William Harvey, for example, as Document 7 shows, refused to accept the unsubstantiated theories that he found in books about the circulation of blood; instead, he himself performed operations on animals so that he could witness firsthand the operations of the heart.

Such innovation caused controversy. Harvey had fierce critics who refused to believe his conclusions. Galileo Galilei (Document 8), whose direct observation of the stars caused him to reject the standard theories that the earth did not move, suffered more than simple criticism. As a result of poor political judgment and his own self-belief, Galileo ran afoul of Pope Urban VIII, a former friend, and lived the remainder of his life in house arrest, although he was still able to research and publish on less controversial subjects. Then as now, science raised ethical and religious issues.

Although doctors of the Middle Ages and Renaissance did not understand the role of microorganisms in disease, they nevertheless devised many pharmaceutical remedies (Documents 9, 10, and 12). Although many of these medicines did not attack the underlying causes of disease, some of them, such as camphor and traditional Chinese medicine, are still widely used as supplements to antibiotics and other modern Western treatments, whereas other treatments, such as the burning of herbs against plague, encouraged the development of more sanitary conditions overall.

The scientific area that has changed least is perhaps mathematics. As Document 11 shows, the learned Indian thinker Brahmagupta had already formalized many key mathematical principles, still in use today, before the year A.D. 650.

6. Death by Possession

Genji Monogatari, or *Tale of Genji*, written shortly after 1000, allegedly by the Lady Murasaki Shikibu, is sometimes considered the world's first novel. The novel explores Japanese imperial politics through the lives of fictional characters. Although the work is entirely fictional, it gives insight into the stereotypes or fantasies of Japanese court life and is widely considered one of the most important works of Japanese literature.

In the following extract, Genji (the illegitimate but prestigious son of the Japanese emperor) is reconciled with his wife, Aoi, who is giving birth while very ill. The passage gives insight into the contemporary medical treatment of such difficult deliveries. In this case, the medical treatment is entirely spiritual, not physical. The healers, monks from the monastery of Tendai, treat Aoi by chanting and performing healing rituals. When a male child is born alive, these monks take credit for having achieved the successful outcome. Although Genji is skeptical about the spiritual world, he is converted when Lady Rokujo, a jealous mistress, speaks through the mouth of his own wife. As the passage makes clear, though, Lady Rokujo is not even consciously aware that her spirit is possessing and destroying Aoi; Rokujo is confused as to why her own clothes smell of incense (we are to understand that she smells of the incense being used to cure Aoi). In the end, Lady Aoi dies from spiritual possession. The doctors—that is, the monks—are able to help her, but they cannot cure her completely.

At last the priests arrived to fetch the girl away. They took a grave view of the mother's condition and gave her the benefit of their presence by offering up many prayers and incantations. But week after week she remained in the same condition, showing no symptom which seemed actually dangerous, yet all the time (in some vague and indefinite way) obviously very ill. Genji sent constantly to enquire after her, but she saw clearly that his attention was occupied by quite other matters. Aoi's delivery was not yet due and no preparations for it had been made, when suddenly there were signs that it was close at hand. She was in great distress, but though the healers recited prayer upon prayer their utmost efforts could not shift by one jot the spiteful power which possessed her. All the greatest miracle-workers of the land were there; the utter failure of their ministrations irritated and perplexed them. At last, daunted by the potency of their incantations, the spirit that possessed her found voice and, weeping bitterly, she was heard to say: "Give me a little respite; there is a matter of which Prince Genji and I must speak." The healers nodded at one another as though to say, "Now we shall learn something worth knowing," for they were convinced that the "possession" was speaking through the mouth of the possessed, and they hurried Genji to her bedside. Her parents thinking that, her end being near, she desired to give some last secret injunction to Genji, retired to the back of the room. The priests too ceased their incantations and began to recite the *Hokkeyo* in low impressive tones. He raised the bed-curtain. She looked lovely as ever as she lay there, very big with child, and any man who saw her even now would have found himself strangely troubled by her beauty. How much the more then Prince Genji, whose heart was already overflowing with tenderness and remorse! The plaited tresses of her long hair stood out in sharp contrast to her white jacket. Even to this loose, sick-room garb her natural grace imparted the air of a fashionable gown! He took her hand. "It is terrible," he began, "to see you looking so

unhappy!" He could say no more. Still she gazed at him, but through his tears he saw that there was no longer in her eyes the wounded scorn that he had come to know so well, but a look of forbearance and tender concern; and while she watched him weep her own eyes brimmed with tears. It would not do for him to go on crying like this. Her father and mother would be alarmed; besides, it was upsetting Aoi herself, and meaning to cheer her he said: "Come, things are not so bad as that! You will soon be much better. But even if anything should happen, it is certain that we shall meet again in worlds to come. Your father and mother too, and many others, love you so dearly that between your fate and theirs must be some sure bond that will bring you back to them in many, many lives that are to be." Suddenly she interrupted him: "No, no. That is not it. But stop these prayers awhile. They do me great harm," and drawing nearer to him she went on, "I did not think that you would come. I have waited for you till all my soul is burnt with longing." She spoke wistfully, tenderly; and still in the same tone recited the verse "Bind thou, as the seam of a skirt is braided, this shred, that from my soul despair and loneliness have sundered." The voice in which these words were said was not Aoi's, nor was the manner hers. He knew someone whose voice was very like that. Who was it? Why, yes; surely only she—the Lady Rokujo. Once or twice he had heard people suggest that something of this kind might be happening; but he had always rejected the ideas as hideous and unthinkable, believing it to be the malicious invention of some unprincipled scandalmonger, and had even denied that such "possession" ever took place. Now he had seen one with his own eyes. Ghastly, unbelievable as they were, such things did happen in real life. Controlling himself at last he said in a low voice: "I am not sure who is speaking to me. Do not leave me in doubt." Her answer proved only too conclusively that he had guessed aright. To his horror her parents now came back to the bed, but she had ceased to speak, and seeing her now lying quietly her mother thought the attack was over, and was coming towards the bed carrying a basin of hot water when Aoi suddenly started up and bore a child. For the moment all was gladness and rejoicing; but it seemed only too likely that the spirit which possessed her had but been temporarily dislodged; for a fierce fit of terror was soon upon her, as though the thing (whatever it was) were angry at having been put to the trouble of shifting, so that there was still grave anxiety about the future. The Abbot of Tendai and the other great ecclesiastics who were gathered together in the room attributed her easy delivery to the persistency of their own incantations and prayers, and as they hastily withdrew to seek refreshment and repose they wiped the sweat from their brows with an expression of considerable self-satisfaction. Her friends who had for days been plunged in the deepest gloom now began to take heart a little, believing that although there was no apparent improvement yet now that the child was safely born she could not fail to mend. The prayers and incantations began once more, but throughout the house there was a new feeling of confidence; for the amusement of looking after the baby at least gave them some relief from the strain under which they had been living for so many days. Handsome presents were sent by the ex-Emperor, the Royal Princes and all the Court, forming an array which grew more dazzling each night. The fact that the child was a boy made the celebrations connected with his birth all the more sumptuous and elaborate.

The news of this event took Lady Rokujo somewhat aback. The last report she had heard from the Great Hall was that the confinement was bound to be very dangerous.

And now they said that there had not been the slightest difficulty. She thought this very peculiar. She had herself for a long while been suffering from the most disconcerting sensations. Often she felt as though her whole personality had in some way suddenly altered. It was as though she were a stranger to herself. Recently she had noticed that a smell of mustard-seed incense for which she was at a loss to account was pervading her clothes and hair. She took a hot bath and put on other clothes; but still the same odour of incense pursued her. It was bad enough even in private to have this sensation of being as it were estranged from oneself. But now her body was playing tricks upon her which her attendants must have noticed and were no doubt discussing behind her back. Yet there was not one person among those about her with whom she could bring herself to discuss such things and all this pent-up misery seemed only to increase the strange process of dissolution which had begun to attack her mind.

Now that Genji was somewhat less anxious about Aoi's condition, the recollection of his extraordinary conversation with her at the crisis of her attack kept on recurring in his mind, and it made so painful an impression upon him that though it was now a long time since he had communicated with Rokujo and he knew that she must be deeply offended, he felt that no kind of intimacy with her would ever again be possible. Yet in the end pity prevailed and he sent her a letter. It seemed indeed that it would at present be heartless to absent himself at all from one who had just passed through days of such terrible suffering and from her friends who were still in a state of the gravest anxiety, and all his secret excursions were abandoned. Aoi still remained in a condition so serious that he was not allowed to see her. The child was as handsome an infant as you could wish to see. The great interest which Genji took in it and the zest with which he entered into all the arrangements which were made for its welfare delighted Aoi's father, inasmuch as they seemed signs of a better understanding between his daughter and Genji; and though her slow recovery caused him great anxiety, he realized that an illness such as that through which she had just passed must inevitably leave considerable traces behind it and he persuaded himself that her condition was less dangerous than one might have supposed. The child reminded Genji of the Heir Apparent and made him long to see Fujitsubo's little son again. The desire took such strong hold upon him that at last he sent Aoi a message in which he said: "It is a very long time since I have been to the Palace or indeed have paid any visits at all. I am beginning to feel the need of a little distraction, so today I am going out for a short while and should like to see you before I go. I do not want to feel that we are completely cut off from one another." So he pleaded, and he was supported by her ladies who told her that Prince Genji was her own dear Lord and that she ought not to be so proud and stiff with him. She feared that her illness had told upon her looks and was for speaking to him with a curtain between, but this too her gentlewomen would not allow. He brought a stool close to where she was lying and began speaking to her of one thing or another. Occasionally she put in a word or two, but it was evident that she was still very weak. Nevertheless it was difficult to believe that she had so recently seemed almost at the point of death. They were talking quietly together about those worst days of her illness and how they now seemed like an evil dream when suddenly he recollected the extraordinary conversation he had had with her when she was lying apparently at her last gasp and filled with a sudden bitterness, he said to her: "There are many other things that I must one day talk to you about.

But you seem very tired and perhaps I had better leave you.” So saying he arranged her pillows, brought her warm water to wash in and in fact played the sick-nurse so well that those about her wondered where he had acquired the art. Still peerlessly beautiful but weak and listless she seemed as she lay motionless on the bed at times almost to fade out of existence. He gazed at her with fond concern. Her hair, every ringlet still in its right place, was spread out over the pillow. Never before had her marvelous beauty so strangely impressed him. Was it conceivable that year after year he should have allowed such a woman to continue in estrangement from him? Still he stood gazing at her. “I must start for the Palace,” he said at last; “but I shall not be away long. Now that you are better you must try to make you mother feel less anxious about you when she comes presently; for though she tries hard not to show it, she is still terribly distressed about you. You must begin now to make an effort and sit up for a little while each day. I think it is partly because she spoils you so much that you are taking so long to get well.” As he left the room, robed in all the magnificence of his court attire she followed him with her eyes more fixedly than ever in her life before. The attendance of the officers who took part in the autumn session was required, and Aoi’s father accompanied Genji to the Palace, as did also her brother who needed the Minister’s assistance in making their arrangements for the coming political year. Many of their servants went too and the Great Hall wore a deserted and melancholy aspect. Suddenly Aoi was seized with the same choking-fit as before and was soon in a desperate condition. This news was brought to Genji in the Palace and breaking off his Audience he at once made for home. The rest followed in hot haste and though it was Appointment Evening they gave up all thought of attending the proceedings, knowing that the tragic turn of affairs at the Great Hall would be considered a sufficient excuse. It was too late to get hold of the abbot from Mount Tendai or any of the dignitaries who had given their assistance before. It was appalling that just when she seemed to have taken a turn for the better she should so suddenly again be at the point of death, and the people at the Great Hall felt utterly helpless and bewildered. Soon the house was full of lackeys who were arriving from every side with messages of sympathy and enquiry; but from the inhabitants of that stricken house they could obtain no information, for they seemed to do nothing but rush about from one room to another in a state of frenzy which it was terrifying to behold.

Remembering that several times already her “possession” had reduced her to a trance-like state, they did not for some time attempt to lay out the body or even touch her pillows, but left her lying just as she was. After two or three days however it became clear that life was extinct.

Source: *Tale of Genji*. Translated by Arthur Waley. Boston: Houghton, 1926.

7. William Harvey on the Circulation of Blood

The seventeenth-century Englishman William Harvey is credited with discovering the circulation of blood. Although Harvey was, of course, building on the work of other scientists, his Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus (1628) established the basic principles of the heart’s role in moving blood through the circulatory system.

What enabled this discovery, and similar discoveries, was the empirical method, by which scientific conclusions are based on observable phenomena. Although the empirical method is the major method of learning and scholarship in the present era, it was still a relative newcomer in the seventeenth century. Medieval and Renaissance medicine generally followed the precepts of classical authorities and their interpreters. The writings of the second-century A.D. physician Galen of Pergamum, for example, remained the essential textbook throughout this time period. Only by rejecting this tradition, however, could scientists hope to advance knowledge. As Harvey puts it in his first chapter, which follows, he “sought to discover these from actual inspection, and not from the writings of others.”

The particular method Harvey employed is controversial even today: vivisection. To examine the workings of the heart, Harvey restrained animals of many different species and then cut into their chest cavities, pulled away the bone and muscle, and looked at the beating heart. No pain medicine was administered. The pain suffered by the vertebrates must have been intense, and the operation was, as a rule, fatal. In fact, as Harvey notes in the second chapter, the motions of the dying heart were particularly informative. Without these experiments, however, the medical understanding of the heart—which has ultimately led to important and common operations such as heart bypass surgery—would have remained primitive. Although controversial today, Harvey’s methodology did not cause significant moral dilemmas at the time. Harvey notes that he had critics, but these critics did not object to his methods; rather, they simply did not believe his results. Animal experimentation was accepted throughout this time period, though dissection of human corpses was frowned upon and often forbidden by law. The ethics of scientific research was as controversial then as it is now, though the areas of concern have changed.

CHAPTER 1. THE AUTHOR’S MOTIVES FOR WRITING

When I first gave my mind to vivisections, as a means of discovering the motions and uses of the heart, and sought to discover these from actual inspection, and not from the writings of others, I found the task so truly arduous, so full of difficulties, that I was almost tempted to think with Fracastorius, that the motion of the heart was only to be comprehended by God. For I could neither rightly perceive at first when the systole and when the diastole took place, nor when and where dilatation and contraction occurred, by reason of the rapidity of the motion, which in many animals is accomplished in the twinkling of an eye, coming and going like a flash of lightning; so that the systole presented itself to me now from this point, now from that; the diastole the same; and then everything was reversed, the motions occurring, as it seemed, variously and confusedly together. My mind was therefore greatly unsettled, nor did I know what I should myself conclude, nor what believe from others; I was not surprised that Andreas Laurentius should have said that the motion of the heart was as perplexing as the flux and reflux of Euripus had appeared to Aristotle.

At length, and by using greater and daily diligence, having frequent recourse to vivisections, employing a variety of animals for the purpose, and collating numerous observations, I thought that I had discovered what I so much desired, both the motion and the use of the heart and arteries; since which time I have not hesitated to expose my views upon these subjects, not only in private to my friends, but also in public, in my anatomical lectures, after the manner of the Academy of old. These views, as usual,

please some more, others less; some chid and calumniated me, and laid it to me as a crime that I had dared to depart from the precepts and opinion of all anatomists; others desired further explanations of the novelties, which they said were both worthy of consideration, and might perchance be found of signal use. At length, yielding to the requests of my friends, that all might be made participators in my labours, and partly moved by the envy of others, who, receiving my views with uncandid minds and understanding them indifferently, have essayed to traduce me publicly, I have been moved to commit these things to the press, in order that all may be enabled to form an opinion both of me and my labours. This step I take all the more willingly, seeing that Hieronymus Fabricius of Aquapendente, although he has accurately and learnedly delineated almost every one of the several parts of animals in a special work, has left the heart alone untouched. Finally, if any use or benefit to this department of the republic of letters should accrue from my labours, it will, perhaps, be allowed that I have not lived idly, and, as the old man in the comedy says:

For never yet hath any one attained
To such perfection, but that time, and place,
And use, have brought addition to his knowledge;
Or made correction, or admonished him,
That he was ignorant of much which he
Had thought he knew; or led him to reject
What he had once esteemed of higher price.

So will it, perchance, be found with reference to the heart at this time; or others, at least, starting from hence, the way pointed out to them, advancing under the guidance of a happier genius, may make occasion to proceed more fortunately, and to inquire more accurately.

CHAPTER 2. OF THE MOTIONS OF THE HEART, AS SEEN IN THE DISSECTION OF LIVING ANIMALS

In the first place, then, when the chest of a living animal is laid open and the capsule that immediately surrounds the heart is slit up or removed, the organ is seen now to move, now to be at rest; there is a time when it moves, and a time when it is motionless.

These things are more obvious in the colder animals, such as toads, frogs, serpents, small fishes, crabs, shrimps, snails, and shell-fish. They also become more distinct in warm-blooded animals, such as the dog and the hog, if they be attentively noted when the heart begins to flag, to move more slowly, and, as it were, to die: the movements then become slower and rarer, the pauses longer, by which it is made much more easy to perceive and unravel what the motions really are, and how they are performed. In the pause, as in death, the heart is soft, flaccid, exhausted, lying as it were at rest.

In the motion, and interval in which this is accomplished, three principal circumstances are to be noted:

1. That the heart is erected, and rises upwards to a point, so that at this time it strikes against the breast and the pulse is felt externally.



William Harvey. The open book showing a diagram of the heart makes reference to Harvey's most important discovery: the circulation of blood. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

2. That it is everywhere contracted, but more especially towards the sides, so that it looks narrower, relatively longer, more drawn together. The heart of an eel taken out of the body of the animal and placed upon the table or the hand, shows these particulars; but the same things are manifest in the heart of small fishes and of those colder animals where the organ is more conical or elongated.
3. The heart being grasped in the hand, it is felt to become harder during its action. Now this hardness proceeds from tension, precisely as when the forearm is grasped, its tendons are perceived to become tense and resilient when the fingers are moved.
4. It may further be observed in fishes, and the colder blooded animals, such as frogs, serpents, etc., that the heart, when it moves, becomes of a paler colour, when quiescent of a deeper blood-red color.

From these particulars it appeared evident to me that the motion of the heart consists in a certain universal tension—both contraction in the line of its fibres, and constriction in every sense. It becomes erect, hard, and of diminished size during its action; the motion is plainly of the same nature as that of the muscles when they contract in the line of their sinews and fibres; for the muscles, when in action, acquire vigour and tenseness, and from soft become hard, prominent and thickened: in the same manner the heart.

We are therefore authorized to conclude that the heart, at the moment of its action, is at once constricted on all sides, rendered thicker in its parietes and smaller in its ventricles, and so made apt to project or expel its charge of blood. This, indeed, is made sufficiently manifest by the fourth observation preceding, in which we have seen that the heart, by squeezing out the blood it contains becomes paler, and then when it sinks into repose and the ventricle is filled anew with blood, that the deeper crimson colour returns. But no one need remain in doubt of the fact, for if the ventricle be pierced the blood will be seen to be forcibly projected outwards upon each motion or pulsation when the heart is tense.

These things, therefore, happen together or at the same instant: the tension of the heart, the pulse of its apex, which is felt externally by the striking against the chest, the thickening of the parietes, and the forcible expulsion of the blood it contains by the constriction of its ventricles.

Hence the very opposite of the opinions commonly received appears to be true: inasmuch as it is generally believed that when the heart strikes the breast and the pulse is felt without, the heart is dilated in its ventricles and is filled with blood; but the contrary of this is the fact, and the heart, when it contracts, is emptied. Whence the motion which is generally regarded as the diastole of the heart, is in truth its systole. And in like manner the intrinsic motion of the heart is not the diastole but the systole; neither is it in the diastole that the heart grows firm and tense, but in the systole, for then only, when tense is it moved and made vigorous.

Neither is it by any means to be allowed that the heart only moves in the line of its straight fibres, although the great Vesalius, giving this notion countenance, quotes a bundle of osiers bound into a pyramidal heap in illustration; meaning, that as the apex is approached to the base, so are the sides made to bulge out in the fashion of arches, the cavities to dilate, the ventricles to acquire the form of a cupping glass and so to suck in the blood. But the true effect of every one of its fibres is to constringe the heart at the same time that they render it tense; and this rather with the effect of thickening and amplifying the walls and substance of the organ than enlarging its ventricles. And, again, as the fibres run from the apex to the base, and draw the apex towards the base, they do not tend to make the walls of the heart bulge out in circles, but rather the contrary; inasmuch as every fibre that is circularly disposed, tends to become straight when it contracts; and is distended laterally and thickened, as in the case of muscular fibres in general, when they contract, that is, when they are shortened longitudinally, as we see them in the bellies of the muscles of the body at large. To all this let it be added that not only are the ventricles contracted in virtue of the direction and condensation of their walls, but further, that those fibres, or bands, styled *nerves* by Aristotle, which are so conspicuous in the ventricles of the larger animals, and contain all the straight fibres (the parietes of the heart containing only circular ones), when they contract simultaneously, by an admirable adjustment all the internal surfaces are drawn together, as if with cords, and so is the charge of blood expelled with force.

Neither is it true, as vulgarly believed, that the heart by any dilatation or motion of its own, has the power of drawing the blood into the ventricles; for when it acts and becomes tense, the blood is expelled; when it relaxes and sinks together it receives the blood in the manner and wise which will by and by be explained.

Source: Harvey, William. *On the Motion of the Heart and Blood in Animals*. Translated by Robert Willis. New York: Collier, 1909–1914. In *Great Books of the Western World*. Vol. 26. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1990, 273–75.

8. Galileo Galilei on the Earth and Sun

Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) was one of the most brilliant mathematicians and physicists of his day. Although Galileo made significant discoveries in numerous areas, including navigation and gravity, his espousal of Nicolaus Copernicus's theory of heliocentrism and his resulting disputes with the Roman Inquisition have made him famous.

Galileo, like many scientists of his generation (see Document 7), determined that the observable world, rather than the received opinions found in books, was the ultimate authority in scientific matters. As a result, he was willing to argue, based on his observations with telescopes that he developed, that the sun (and not Earth) was indeed the center of the universe, even though several Biblical passages in passing implied that the sun moved around Earth. Holding these opinions caused controversy—many physicists of the time disagreed with Galileo for academic reasons. Some theologians also were worried about this apparent disregard for the Bible. Cardinal Bellarmine ordered Galileo not to hold or defend publicly the Copernican theory in 1615; when Galileo's friend Maffeo Cardinal Barberini

was elected Pope Urban VIII, however, Galileo received permission to publish his ideas. Pope Urban, however, asked Galileo to discuss heliocentrism from a hypothetical perspective and to include other methods of explaining the observable phenomena.

The book Galileo published, however, angered the pope. The following extract makes the reasons for this anger apparent. Rather than viewing heliocentrism as a hypothesis, Galileo suggested that the Copernican theory was the only legitimate view. In fact, he named the opponent of heliocentrism "Simplicius," which basically means "very uneducated one" in Latin. Rather than producing an impartial textbook of theories of the universe, Galileo published an outright and inflammatory attack on the pope's own personal opinions.

Galileo did not perhaps anticipate the swift and angry reaction. Brought before the Roman Inquisition in 1633, Galileo was punished by house arrest and was forbidden to publish more on the subject. Although Galileo's university career was officially over, he continued to research and to publish until the time of his death. In the following extract, a careful reader with some experience in astronomy will be able to prove the heliocentrism of the solar system by following the instructions of the character Salviatus.

SIMPLICIUS. I do not as yet very well apprehend this structure, but it may be that with a drawing one may better and more easily discourse concerning the same.

SALVIATUS. Good; and, indeed, for your greater satisfaction and astonishment, I want you to draw it yourself and to see that, although you think you do not apprehend it, yet you understand it very perfectly; and only by answering to my interrogations you shall design it exactly. Take therefore a sheet of paper and compasses. Let this white paper be the immense expanse of the Universe, in which you are to distribute and dispose its parts in order, according as reason shall direct you. And, first, since without my instruction you verily believe that the Earth is placed in this Universe, therefore note a point at pleasure, about which you intend it to be placed, and mark it with some characters.

SIMP. Let this mark A be the place of the terrestrial globe.

SALV. Very well. I know, secondly, that you understand perfectly that the Earth is not within the body of the Sun, nor so much as contiguous to it, but distant some space from the same; therefore, assign to the Sun what other place you like, as remote from the Earth as you please, and mark this in like manner.

SIMP. Here it is; let the place of the solar body be O.

SALV. These two being constituted, we should think of placing Venus in such manner that its site and motion may agree with what the experience of the senses shows us and therefore recall to mind that which, either by the past discourses or your own observations, you have learnt to befall that star and afterwards assign to it that state which you think agrees with the same.

SIMP. Supposing those appearances expressed by you, and which I have likewise read in the little treatise of Conclusions, to be true, namely, that that star never recedes from the Sun beyond a certain interval of 40 degrees or thereabouts, so that it never comes either to opposition with the Sun, or so much as to quadrature, or yet to the sextile aspect; and, more than that, supposing that it appears at one time almost forty times greater than at another, namely, very great, when being retrograde it goes to the verspertine conjunction of the Sun, and very small when, with a motion straight forwards, it goes to the matutine conjunction; and moreover, it being true that, when it appears big, it shows with

a corniculate or horned figure, and, when it appears little, it seems perfectly round—these appearances, I say, being true, I do not see how one can choose but affirm the said star to revolve in a circle about the Sun, for that the said circle cannot in any wise be said to encompass or to contain the Earth within it, nor to be inferior to the Sun, that is, between it and the Earth, nor yet superior to the Sun. That circle cannot encompass the Earth, because Venus would then sometimes come to opposition with the Sun; it cannot be inferior, for then Venus in both its conjunctions with the Sun would seem horned; nor can it be superior, for then it would always appear round and never cornicular; and therefore I will draw for Venus the circle *CH* about the Sun, without encompassing the Earth.

SALV. Having placed Venus, it is requisite that you think of Mercury, which, as you know, always keeping about the Sun, does recede less distance from it than Venus; therefore, consider with yourself what place is most convenient to assign it.

SIMP. It is not to be questioned but that, this planet imitating Venus, the most proper place for it will be a lesser circle within this of Venus, in like manner about the Sun; we may therefore upon these considerations draw its circle, marking it with the characters *BG*.

SALV. But Mars, where shall we place it?

SIMP. Mars, because it comes to an opposition with the Sun, its circle must of necessity encompass the Earth; but I see that it must necessarily encompass the Sun also, for coming to conjunction with the Sun, if it did not move over it but were below it, it would appear horned, as Venus and the Moon; but it shews always round, and therefore it is necessary that it should no less include the Sun within its circle than the Earth. And because I remember that you did say that when it is in opposition with the Sun it seems sixty times bigger than when it is in the conjunction, I think that a circle about the centre of the Sun that takes in the Earth will very well agree with these phenomena; which I note and mark *DI*, where Mars in the point *D* is near to the Earth and opposite to the Sun; but, when it is in the point *I*, it is at conjunction with the Sun but very far from the Earth. And because the same appearances are observed in Jupiter and Saturn, although with much lesser difference in Jupiter than in Mars, and with yet less in Saturn than in Jupiter, I understand that we should very aptly save all the phenomena of these two planets, with two circles in like manner drawn about the Sun, and this first for Jupiter, marking it *EL*, and another above that for Saturn marked *FM*.

SALV. You have behaved yourself bravely hitherto. And because (as you see) the measure of the approach and recession of the three superior planets is given by double the distance between the Earth and the Sun, this makes greater difference in Mars than in Jupiter, the circle *DI* of Mars being lesser than the circle *EL* of Jupiter; and likewise because this *EL* is less than this circle *FM* of Saturn, the said difference is also yet lesser in Saturn than in Jupiter, and that exactly answers the phenomena. It remains now that you assign a place to the Moon.



Girl with an armillary. The armillary mapped the constellations in relation to the earth, and symbolized understanding and education, c. 1520. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

SIMP. Following the same method (which seems to me very conclusive), since we see that the Moon comes to conjunction and opposition with the Sun, it is necessary to say that its circle encompasses the Earth, but yet it does not follow that it must environ the Sun, for then at the time of its conjunction it would not seem it could ever eclipse the Sun, as it often does; it is necessary therefore to assign it a circle about the Earth, which should be this *NP*, so that, being placed in *P*, it will appear from the Earth *A* to be in conjunction with the Sun, and, placed in *N*, it appears opposite to the Sun, and in that position it may fall under the Earth's shadow and be obscured.

SALV. Now, Simplicius, what shall we do with the fixed stars? Shall we suppose them scattered through the immense abuses of the Universe, at different distances from one determinate point; or else placed in a surface spherically distended about a centre of its own, so that each of them may be equidistant from the said centre?

SIMP. I would rather take a middle way and would assign them a circle described about a determinate centre and comprised with two spherical surfaces, to wit, one very high and concave, and the other lower, and convex, betwixt which I would constitute the innumerable multitude of stars, but yet at diverse altitudes, and this might be called the sphere of the Universe, containing within it the circles of the planets already by us described.

SALV. But now we have all this while, Simplicius, disposed the mundane bodies exactly according to the order of Copernicus, and we have done it with your hand; and moreover to each of them you have assigned peculiar motions of their own, except to the Sun, the Earth, and starry sphere; and to Mercury with Venus you have ascribed the circular motion about the Sun, without encompassing the Earth; about the same Sun you make the three superior planets, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, to move, comprehending the Earth within their circles. The Moon in the next place can move in no other manner than about the Earth, without taking in the Sun, and in all these motions you agree also with Copernicus. There remain now three things to be decided between the Sun, the Earth, and fixed stars, namely *rest*, which seems to belong to the Earth; the *annual motion* under the zodiac, which appears to pertain to the Sun; and the *diurnal motion*, which seems to belong to the starry sphere and to be imparted by it to all the rest of the Universe, the Earth excepted. And it being true that all the circles of the planets, I mean Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, do move about the Sun as their centre, rest seems with so much more reason to belong to the said Sun than to the Earth, inasmuch as in a movable sphere it is more reasonable that the centre stand still than any other place remote from the centre; to the Earth, therefore, which is constituted in the midst of movable parts of the Universe, I mean between Venus and Mars, one of which makes its revolution in nine months and the other in two years, the motion of a year may very aptly be assigned, leaving rest to the Sun. And, if that be so, it follows of necessary consequence that, likewise, the diurnal motion belongs to the Earth; for if, the Sun standing still, the Earth should not revolve about itself but have only the annual motion about the Sun, our year would be no other than one day and one night, that is, six months of day and six months of night, as has already been said. You may consider withal how aptly the precipitate motion of twenty-four hours is taken away from the Universe, and the fixed stars, that are so many Suns, are made in conformity to our Sun to enjoy a perpetual rest. You see, moreover, what facility one meets with in this rough drawing to render the reason of so great appearances in the celestial bodies.

SAGREDUS. I very well perceive that facility, but, as you collect, from this simplicity, great probabilities for the truth of that system, others haply could make thence contrary deductions: wondering, not without reason, why being the ancient system of the Pythagoreans, and so well corresponding to the phenomena, it has in the succession of so many thousand years had so few followers and has been refuted even by Aristotle himself, and why later Copernicus himself has had no better fortune.

SALV. My dear Sagredus, if it has ever been your fate, as it has been mine, many and many a time, to hear what kind of idiocies are enough to make the vulgar contumacious and refractory, I will not say to agreeing but even to listening to these new ideas, I believe that your wonder at the paucity of those who are followers of that opinion would be much diminished. But small regard, in my judgment, ought to be had of such thick souls as think it a most convincing proof to confirm and steadfastly settle them in the belief of the Earth's immobility to see that in the same day they cannot dine at Constantinople and sup in Japan, and that the Earth, as being a most grave body, cannot clamber above the Sun and then slide headlong down again. Of such as these, whose number is infinite, we need not make any reckoning, nor need we record their fooleries or strive to gain to our side, as partakers in subtle and difficult opinions, individuals in whose definition the kind only is concerned and the difference

is wanting. Moreover, what ground do you think you could be able to gain, with all the demonstrations of the world, upon brains so stupid as are not able of themselves to know their utter follies? But my wondering, Sagredus, is very different from yours. You wonder that so few are followers of the Pythagorean opinion; and I am amazed how there could be any yet left till now that do embrace and follow it. Nor can I sufficiently admire the eminence of those men's intelligence who have received and held it to be true, and with the sprightliness of their judgments offered such violence to their own senses that they have been able to prefer that which their reason dictated to them to what sensible appearances represented most manifestly on the contrary. That the reasons against the diurnal vertiginous revolution of the earth, by you already examined, do carry great probability with them, we have already seen; as, also, that the Ptolemaics and Aristotelians with all their spectators did receive them for true is indeed a very great argument of their efficacy; but those experiences which overtly contradict the annual motion have yet so much more of an appearance of convincingness that (I say it again) I cannot find any bounds for my admiration how reason was able in Aristarchus and Copernicus to commit such a rape upon their senses as, in despite thereof, to make herself mistress of their belief.

Source: Galileo Galilei. *Salusbury, The Systeme of the World: In Four Dialogues, Wherein the Two Grand Systemes of Ptolomy and Copernicus Are Largely Discoursed Of*. Translated by Thomas Salusbury. 1661; Galileo Galilei. *Dialogue on the Great World Systems in the Salusbury Translation*. Revised, annotated, and introduced by Giorgio de Santillana. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 336–41.



Galileo Galilei: This quiet portrait depicts one of the most controversial thinkers of his time. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

9. A Muslim Doctor

Usamah ibn-Munqidh, who died in 1188, was an influential Syrian writer from a powerful family. One particular physician, ibn-Butlan, in the service of his great grandfather, made a lasting impression on the author. In the following extract, Usamah ibn-Munqidh describes how ibn-Butlan cured a particularly bad head cold: the doctor piled camphor onto the woman's head. Camphor does have antimicrobial properties and is used today, with menthol, in topical cold-alleviation products, such as Vicks VapoRub. By curing the lady's cold, the doctor not only alleviated her symptoms but also enabled her to return to mainstream society; the woman had been wrapping her head in many scarves in an attempt to keep her head warm, but once cured, she was able to return to wearing a single veil. Ultimately, this account from ibn-Munqidh's *Kitab al-i'tibar* is probably meant to be humorous.

There lived in Aleppo a woman, one of the notable women of the city, named Bar-rah. She was afflicted with a bad cold in the head. She would wrap her head up with old cotton, a hood, a piece of velvet and some napkins until she looked as though she wore a huge turban on her head, and she would still appeal for relief against the cold. She called ibn-Butlan and complained to him about her malady. He said to her, "Procure for me early tomorrow fifty *mithqals* of camphor with a strong smell, which thou canst either borrow or rent from some perfumer with the understanding that it will be returned intact." She procured the camphor for him. In the morning, the physician removed all that she had on her head and stuffed her hair with the camphor. Then he put back the wraps she had on her head. All that while she was appealing for relief against the cold. After sleeping for a short time, she woke up complaining of the heat and the tiresome weight on her head. The physician began to remove one piece at a time from her head until nothing was left but one veil. Then he shook off the camphor from her hair and all her cold disappeared. After that, she was contented with one veil for her head.

Source: Usamah ibn-Munqidh. *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munqidh*. Translated by Philip Hitti. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929, pp. 216–17.



Anatomy of the eye, from Arabian manuscript dated 592 of the Hegira (A.D. 1214) by Al-Mutadibih. The Arab countries excelled in science and mathematics during the Middle Ages. The Art Archive / Egyptian Museum Cairo / Gianni Dagli Orti.

10. Chinese Medical Recipes

The Ben Cao Gang Mu, from which the following extract derives, is even today the major textbook of traditional Chinese medicine, even though its main author, Li Shizhen (Li Shi-chen) wrote in the late sixteenth century. Although many of these cures seem unlikely to Westerners (for example, the dropping of turtle urine in the ears to cure deafness), traditional Chinese medicine remains

popular in the Orient and has gathered an increasingly large following in Europe and North America.

199 e TERRAPIN URINE

According to *Sun Kuang-hsien's Pei Men So Yen* the tortoise is a licentious animal and copulates with snakes. So take a tortoise put it in an earthenware basin and hold up a mirror. When the animal sees its reflection it will have desire and urinate, a utensil should be quickly held out to receive it. A slower method is to hold a lighted paper under the sacrum. In *Li Shi-chen's* day people obtained quicker results by pricking the nose of the animal with a pine needle or a pig's bristle.

Uses. *Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i*. Dropped in the ear for deafness. *Li Shi-chen*. Placed under the tongue for slurred speech in the adult after a seizure. For children dumb from fright. Applied to the back and chest for hunchback and pidgeon breast. A hair dye used with leeches.

208 c TURTLE FAT

Uses. On the last day of the year pull out any white hairs and run turtle fat into the holes and they will not grow again. If it is desirable to grow the hair again and it does not do so, apply the milk from a white bitch.

225 b CLAM SHELL POWDER

Li Shih-chen says that this is a mixture of all kinds of sea shells from clams and oysters as distinct from fresh water products and powdered mussel shells. There is a kind of drug of threadlike appearance which disintegrates in water called *hai fen*, which on account of its name is bought by mistake. Being collected from the sea beaches it is good for removing phlegm and is demulcent.

PROPERTIES. SALINE, COOLING AND NONPOISONOUS

Directions. According to *Chu chen-hung*, because clam shells have been calcined they cannot be put into decoctions. *Wu Ch'in* said that only purple edged shells should be used. Others mistook powdered pumice for this article, the names being confused with *hai shi*.

Uses. To remove all types of phlegm, for hernia, gonorrhoea, leucorrhoea. Taken with cypress and ginger juice for pain in the stomach, *Chu Chen-heng*, *Pen-t'sao Pu-yi*. For water retention, to dissolve phlegm, for asthmatic cough, nausea, edema. A diuretic. For spermatorrhoea, painful indigestion, constipation. A carminative expelling gas, for swollen neck glands, and all toxic swellings, and all women's blood diseases. Mixed with oil it is applied to burns, *Li Shi-chen*.

The powder mixed with oil and wax to form a pill the size of a soap bean (nearly an inch), tied in a pig's kidney and steamed, is given once daily for night blindness, *Chang Tze-ho's Ju Men Shih-ch'in* (Yuan).

Source: *Chinese Materia Medica: Turtle and Shellfish Drugs*. Translated by Bernard E. Read. Beijing: Peking Natural History Bulletin, 1937, pp. 11-12, 27, 57-58.

11. Brahmagupta on Algebra

Brahmagupta, who flourished in the early seventh century in India, was a profound mathematician and astronomer whose discoveries influenced scientists not only in India but also in Arabia and, through the Muslim world, in Europe. His most famous work, Brahmesphuta-siddhanta (A.D. 628), from which the following extract comes, outlines the basic principles of mathematics and astronomy.

1. He, who distinctly and severally knows addition and the rest of the twenty logistics, and the eight determinations including measurement by shadow, is a mathematician.
2. Quantities, as well numerators as denominators, being multiplied by the opposite denominator, are reduced to a common denomination. In addition, the numerators are to be united. In subtraction, their difference is to be taken.
3. Integers are multiplied by the denominators and have the numerators added. The product of the numerators, divided by the product of the denominators, is multiplication of two or of many terms.
4. Both terms being rendered homogenous, the denominator and numerator of the divisor are transposed: and then the denominator of the dividend is multiplied by the [new] denominator; and its numerator, by the [new] numerator. Thus division [is performed].
5. The quantity being made homogenous, the square of the numerator, divided by the square of the denominator, is the square. The root of the homogenous numerator, divided by the root of the denominator, is the square-root.
6. The cube of the last term is to be set down; and, at the first remove from it, thrice the square of the last multiplied by the preceding; then thrice the square of this preceding term taken into that last one; and finally the cube of the preceding term. The sum is the cube.
7. The divisor for the second non-cubic [digit] is thrice the square of the cubic-root. The square of the quotient, multiplied by three and by the preceding, must be subtracted from the next [non-cubic]; and the cube from the cubic [digit]: the root [is found].

Source: *Algebra, with Arithmetic and Mensuration, from the Sanscrit of Brahmagupta and Bhascara*. Translated by Henry Thomas Colebrooke. London: John Murray, 1817, pp. 277–80.

12. Treating the Plague

The plague, be it the bubonic plague or another more localized endemic, posed serious health risks throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Before the discovery of microorganisms, medical theory believed that bad odors spread disease. Because of this theory, the prevention of plague centered on creating a sweet-smelling environment through burning herbs, such as rosemary. Although scientifically inaccurate, these prescriptions may have done some good, given that offensive-smelling rubbish was removed from the dwelling, thereby increasing public sanitation.

The following extract is a good example of Renaissance medicine. Designed as a self-help book for those too poor to afford a university-trained physician but wealthy enough to read, the book gives medicinal recipes for the prevention and curing of plague. Just like other cookbooks of the period, the quantity of each ingredient to be used is very vague. The writer backs up his recommendations with the testimony of a man from Andover, who apparently has succeeded in containing the disease.

PLAGUE AND PESTILENCE

Herein are contained diverse and sundry good rules and easy Medicines, which are made with little charge, for the poorer sort of people, as well for the preservation of all people from the Plague before infection, as for the curing and ordering of them after such time as they shall be infected.

A PRESERVATIVE BY CORRECTING THE AIR IN ALL HOUSES

Take *Rosemary* dried, *Juniper*, *Bay-leaves*, or *Frankincense*, and cast the same upon the coals in a chafing-dish, and receive the fume or smoke thereof into your head. If you will, put a little *Lavender* or *Sage* that is dried, into the fire with the rest; it will do much good.

Also to make your fires in earthen pans (rather to remove about your Chambers, then in Chimneys) shall be better to correct the airs in your houses, then otherwise.

A PRESERVATIVE AGAINST THE PLAGUE

Take a handfull of *Herb-grace*, otherwise called *Rue*, a handfull of *Elder-leaves*, a handfull of red *Sage*, and a handfull of red *Bramble-leaves*, and stamp them well together, and strain them through a fine linen cloth, with a quart of white *Wine*, then take a quantity of *Case Ginger*, and mingle it with them, and drink a good draught thereof both morning and evening for the space of nine days together, and by God's grace it will preserve you.

AN EXCELLENT GOOD DRINK TO BE TAKEN EVERY MORNING FOR A PRESERVATIVE AGAINST THE PLAGUE, AND FOR TO AVOID INFECTION

Take a handfull of *Winter-Savery*, and boil the same in a quart of good *wine-Vinegar*, with a spoonful of *Grains* being very fine beaten, and put into the same, then put into it a quantity of fine *Sugar*, and so drink a good draught thereof every morning fasting.

When you must of necessity come into any place where any infectious persons are, it is good for you to smell to the root of *Angelica*, *Gentian*, or *Valerian*, and to chew any of these in your mouth.

A SPECIALL PRESERVATIVE AGAINST THE PLAGUE

Take five spoonfuls of *wine-Vinegar*, three spoonfuls of fair *running-Water*, half a spoonful of *Treacle of Jene*, and of *Bole armeniac* as much as a small nut, being beaten to powder, and drink this every morning and every evening. *Proved by M. Knight of Andover.*



Escaping the Black Death. These fourteenth-century flagellants seek to escape the plague by repentance, self-mortification, and faith in God. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

Take vi leaves of *Sorrel*, and wash them with *Water* and *Vinegar*, and let them lie to steep in the said *Water* and *Vinegar* a good while, then eat them fasting and keep in your mouth and chew now or then either *Stewall*, or the root of *Angelica*, or a little *Cinnamon*, for any of these is marvellous good.

MEDICINES TO BE USED AFTER INFECTION TAKEN

Forasmuch as the greatest cause of the Plague doth stand rather in poison, than in any putrefaction of humors, as other Agues do, the chieftest way is to move much sweating, and to defend the hart by some cordial thing.

Source: A. T. *A Rich Storehouse or Treasury for the Diseased*. London: Thomas Purfoot and Ralph Blower, 1596.

Language and Literature

As the linguist Noam Chomsky has argued, human beings develop language instinctively. All human societies across the globe have a well-developed verbal language, and these verbal languages often have surprising grammatical similarities. Although language is essential to the smooth operation of every realm of daily life—complicated work simply cannot be done efficiently without language—language comes to artistic perfection in the realm of literature. Whereas language is a means or a tool in other branches of life, the beauty of language is frequently the end and goal of literature.

Because literature is so thoroughly tied up with language, only fluent speakers of that language can fully relish a work of high literature. The beauty of the images in the poetry of Li Po (Document 15) will strike any reader in translation, but only a speaker of Chinese can appreciate the beauty of the words themselves. Likewise, Dante's *Divine Comedy* in English translation can strike readers as a treatise, but the original Italian *Divina Commedia* remains completely and utterly poetry. Dante himself outlines his love for his native tongue and discusses why others are less keen in Document 14.

The close ties between a language and the people who speak that language can also be used to create political statements. When the Islamic kingdoms switched from Greek (a foreign language in central Arabia) to Arabic, they were asserting a nationalistic self-confidence in themselves (Document 16). The Arab kingdoms were ready to throw off the trappings of the *Byzantine Empire* and to assert their own Arab identity—non-Arabs may have been much less pleased with these developments. Likewise, when Petrarch advocated a return to the Latin of Cicero (see Document 13), he was not making a merely linguistic point; instead, he was in reality urging a return to a whole series of cultural values that Petrarch associated with ancient Rome, including rational discussion, rule of law, and a vigorous Italian empire. Language politics mirror personal and national political positions.

Politics can pervade more than just language, of course; literature often contains direct and obvious political statements. Document 17, by the renowned Persian epic author Firdawsi, contains a clear political and moral lesson: tyrannical kings should be overthrown by the divinely inspired people. The villain in the episode is a magic-wielding king, and the hero is an honest and family-loving blacksmith. Right overcomes injustice.

Although literature allows us insight into the life and times of the past, we must remember that the window offered by literature is narrow—most authors were from the upper, educated classes and were male. The illiterate poor, by definition, had little access to written forms of communication, and women were often viewed in the Middle Ages and Renaissance as not fit for serious writing. As a result, the Japanese *Genji Monogatari* (Document 18) by Murasaki Shikibu, along with European works by authors such as Margery Kempe and *Christine de Pisan*, is a refreshing change of perspective. Murasaki Shikibu herself was intimately familiar with Japanese court life, and her classic novel is sensitive to the emotions, insights, and position of women in upper-class Japanese society.

13. Petrarch to Cicero

Petrarch (1304–1374), or Francesco Petrarca as he is known in Italian, is often viewed as the father of the European Renaissance and certainly was the most influential scholar of his day. Through his essays and scholarship, Petrarch urged Europe to rediscover fully the thought and ideals of ancient Rome and, to a lesser extent, ancient Greece. As the following document shows, Petrarch idolized in particular the Latin writings of Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.), the Roman philosopher, orator, and politician. Although Latin remained the linguistic medium of all serious communication in the Middle Ages, the Latin used had developed considerably from Cicero's day. The Latin of the medieval

courts, governments, schools, and traders would have been virtually unintelligible to the Latin-speakers of first-century B.C. Rome. Petrarch urged a return to the cultural standards of classical antiquity in language, culture, and thought.

Although Europe widely embraced this return to the classical aesthetics of Greece and Rome, Cicero represented more than just a great thinker and writer to Petrarch—he was also an Italian patriot. Toward the close of the letter that Petrarch wrote to his dead predecessor, Cicero, Petrarch laments that the Roman Empire has collapsed. Not only does Rome not control as far as the Danube (i.e., modern-day Germany and Hungary) and Ganges (India), but furthermore, she does not even control the whole of the Italian peninsula. The peninsula, in fact, had broken up into small city-states that squabbled interminably among themselves. Petrarch's longing for Ciceronian language and thought, therefore, cannot be separated from his longing for an Italian empire.

In English-speaking countries, Petrarch has suffered the fate that he laments in Cicero: although he is widely spoken of, he is little read. The following selection helps remedy that problem slightly.

If my earlier letter gave you offence,—for, as you often have remarked, the saying of your contemporary in the *Andria* is a faithful one, that compliance begets friends, truth only hatred,—you shall listen now to words that will soothe your wounded feelings and prove that the truth need not always be hateful. For, if censure that is true angers us, true praise, on the other hand, gives us delight.

You lived then, Cicero, if I may be permitted to say it, like a mere man, but spoke like an orator, wrote like a philosopher. It was your life that I criticised; not your mind, nor your tongue; for the one fills me with admiration, the other with amazement. And even in your life I feel the lack of nothing but stability, and the love of quiet that should go with your philosophic professions, and abstention from civil war, when liberty had been extinguished and the republic buried and its dirge sung.

See how different my treatment of you is from yours of Epicurus, in your works at large, and especially in the *De Finibus*. You are continually praising his life, but his talents you ridicule. I ridicule in you nothing at all. Your life does awaken my pity, as I have said; but your talents and your eloquence call for nothing but congratulation. O great father of Roman eloquence! not I alone but all who deck themselves with the flowers of Latin speech render thanks unto you. It is from your well-springs that we draw the streams that water our meads. You, we freely acknowledge, are the leader who marshals us; yours are the words of encouragement that sustain us; yours is the light that illumines the path before us. In a word, it is under your auspices that we have attained to such little skill in this art of writing as we may possess. . . .

You have heard what I think of your life and your genius. Are you hoping to hear of your books also; what fate has befallen them, how they are esteemed by the masses and among scholars? They still are in existence, glorious volumes, but we of today are too feeble a folk to read them, or even to be acquainted with their mere titles. Your fame extends far and wide; your name is mighty, and fills the ears of men; and yet those who really know you are very few, be it because the times are unfavourable, or because men's minds are slow and dull, or, as I am the more inclined to believe, because the love of money forces our thoughts in other directions. Consequently right in our own day, unless I am much mistaken, some of your books have disappeared, I fear beyond recovery.

It is a great grief to me, a great disgrace to this generation, a great wrong done to posterity. The shame of failing to cultivate our own talents, thereby depriving the future of the fruits that they might have yielded, is not enough for us; we must waste and spoil, through our cruel and insufferable neglect, the fruits of your labours too, and of those of your fellows as well, for the fate that I lament in the case of your own books has befallen the works of many another illustrious man.

It is of yours alone, though, that I would speak now. Here are the names of those among them whose loss is most to be deplored: the *Republic*, the *Praise of Philosophy*, the treatises on the *Care of Property*, on the *Art of War*, on *Consolation*, on *Glory*,—although in the case of this last my feeling is rather one of hopeful uncertainty than of certain despair. And then there are huge gaps in the volumes that have survived. It is as if indolence and oblivion had been worsted, in a great battle, but we had to mourn noble leaders slain, and others lost or maimed. This last indignity very many of your books have suffered, but more particularly the *Orator*, the *Academics*, and the *Laws*. They have come forth from the fray so mutilated and disfigured that it would have been better if they had perished outright.

Now, in conclusion, you will wish me to tell you something about the condition of Rome and the Roman republic: the present appearance of the city and whole country, the degree of harmony that prevails, what classes of citizens possess political power, by whose hands and with what wisdom the reins of empire are swayed, and whether the Danube, the Ganges, the Ebro, the Nile, the Don, are our boundaries now, or in very truth the man has arisen who “bounds our empire by the ocean-stream, our fame by the stars of heaven,” or “extends our rule beyond Garama and Ind,” as your friend the Mantuan has said. Of these and other matters of like nature I doubt not you would very gladly hear. Your filial piety tells me so, your well-known love of country, which you cherished even to your own destruction. But indeed it were better that I refrained. Trust me, Cicero, if you were to hear of our condition to-day you would be moved to tears, in whatever circle of heaven above, or Erebus below, you may be dwelling. Farewell, forever.

Written in the world of the living; on the left bank of the Rhone, in Transalpine Gaul; in the same year, but in the month of December, the 19th day.

Source: Petrarch. *Petrarch: The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters*. Edited and translated by James Harvey Robinson. New York: G.P. Putnam, 1898, pp. 249–52.

14. Dante on the Italian Language

Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) is the Italian writer whose work has had the greatest influence on later Italian and world literature. His most famous work is *La Divina Commedia* (*The Divine Comedy*), in which the narrator journeys through hell, purgatory, and heaven. An extract from this famous work can be found in Document 17 in Part VIII: Religious Life.

Although Dante’s poetry has become famous, his decision to write in the Italian language was controversial. Throughout the Middle Ages, Latin (the language of the ancient Romans) was the prestige language—all serious literature and business were conducted in Latin. The vernacular (i.e., the language of the common people), however, had already

carved out a niche in entertainment literature, especially love poetry. Beyond providing simple entertainment, however, such poetry could also explore philosophical positions. Petrarch, for example, explored the triviality of mortal life in comparison with the heavenly reward in his Canzoniere. Dante's Divina Commedia, however, has an even more serious tone. His choice of the Italian vernacular for his work rather than the "serious" Latin therefore remains a courageous choice.

Not only did Italian literature face the challenge of Latin literature, but it also faced the challenge of Provençal literature. Provençal was the language spoken in southern France (i.e., Provence) and northeastern Spain. It had developed an active literary and poetical tradition by the eleventh century and became celebrated across western Europe. Because of its influence, many Italian (and Spanish) writers, such as Alberto Malaspina, wrote in Provençal instead of their own native language. In choosing Italian, Dante was staking a claim to the intrinsic capacity of the Italian language to convey meaning as precisely and as meaningfully as Latin and Provençal.

Because of the contested position of Italian, Dante felt the need to defend its merits in several places. His treatise De vulgari eloquentia (On the Eloquence of the Vernacular) deals explicitly with the value of Italian. The following extract, from Il Convivio, likewise outlines why some authors have chosen to ignore Italian and why Dante holds the language so dear.

To the perpetual infamy and suppression of the evil men of Italy who prize the vernacular of another and disprize their own, I declare that their impulse arises from five detestable causes. The first, blindness in discernment; the second, disingenuous excusing; the third, desire of vainglory; the fourth, the prompting of envy; the fifth and last, abjectness of mind or pusillanimity. And each one of these guilty tendencies has so great a following that there be few exempt from them.

Of the first one may thus discourse: like as the sensitive part of the mind hath its eyes whereby it apprehendeth the difference of things in so far as they are coloured externally, even so hath the rational part its eye whereby it apprehendeth the difference of things in so far as they be ordained to some certain end; and this same eye is discernment. And like as he who is blind with the eyes of sense must ever judge of evil or good according to others, so he who is blind of the light of discernment must ever follow in his judgment after mere report, true or false. And so, whensoever the leader is blind, he himself, and also the one, blind likewise, who leaneth upon him, must needs come to an evil end. Wherefore it is written, that the blind shall lead the blind and so shall they both fall into the ditch. Now this same report hath long been counter to our vernacular, for reasons which will be discoursed below. Following the which, the blind ones spoken of above, who are almost without number, with their hands upon the shoulders of these liars, have fallen into the ditch of the false opinion from which they know not how to escape. To the habit of this light of discernment the populace are specially blinded, because they are occupied from the beginning of their lives with some trade, and so direct their minds to it, by force of necessity, that they give heed to nought else. And because the habit of a virtue, whether moral or intellectual, may not be had of a sudden, but must needs be acquired by practice, and they devote their practice to some art, and are not careful to discern other things, it is impossible for them to have discernment. Wherefore it comes to pass that they often cry long live their death and death to their life, if only someone raise the cry. And this is the most perilous defect involved in their blindness. Wherefore

Boethius considers popular glory an empty thing, because he sees that it has no discernment. Such are to be regarded as sheep and not men; for if one sheep were to fling itself over a precipice of a thousand paces all the others would go after it; and if one sheep leap for any reason as it passes a street all the others leap, although they see nothing to leap over. And ere now I myself have seen one after another leap into a well because one leapt into it (thinking, I suppose, that it was leaping over a wall), although the shepherd, wailing and shouting, set himself with arms and breast before them.

The second sect who oppose our vernacular is made up by disingenuous excusings. There are many who love to be thought masters rather than to be such; and to avoid the opposite (to wit, not being thought such) they ever find fault with the material of their art that is furnished them, or else the instrument; for example, a bad smith finds fault with the iron furnished him, and a bad harper finds fault with the harp, thinking to throw the blame of the bad knife or the bad music upon the iron and upon the harp, and to remove it from himself. And in like manner there be some, and they are not few, who would have men think them poets; and to excuse themselves for not poetizing, or for poetizing badly, they accuse and blame the material, to wit their own vernacular, and praise that of others, which they are not required to forge. And if anyone would see how far this iron is really to be blamed, let him look upon the works which the good artificers make from it, and he will recognize the disingenuousness of those who by blaming it think to excuse themselves. Against such as these Tully cries out in the beginning of a book of his, which is called the book *Concerning the Goal of Good*; because in his time



Dante Alighieri. Although Dante lived much of his life in exile, he nevertheless became Italy's most treasured poet. Dover Pictorial Archives

they found fault with the Latin of the Romans and commended the Grammar of the Greeks, for the like reasons for which these others now make the Italian speech cheap and that of Provence precious.

The third sect against our vernacular is made up by desire of vainglory. There are many who by handling things composed in some tongue not their own, and by commending the said tongue, look to be more admired than by handling things in their own tongue; but it is blameworthy to commend it beyond the truth, in order to vaunt oneself for such acquirement.

The fourth is made up the prompting of envy. As was said above, there is envy wherever there is similarity. Amongst men of one tongue there is similarity in vernacular; and because one cannot handle it as another can, envy springs up. So the envious man goes subtly to work and doth not find with him who poetises the fault of not knowing how to write, but finds fault with that which is the material of his work, so that by slighting the work on that side he may deprive the poet of honour and fame; as one should find fault with the steel of a sword for the sake of discrediting not the steel, but the whole work of the master.

The fifth and last sect is impelled by abjectness of mind. The large-souled man ever exalts himself in his heart, and so counterwise the small-souled man ever holds himself less than he really is. And because magnifying and minifying always have regard to something in comparison to which the large-souled man makes himself great and the small-souled man makes himself little, it comes to pass that the large-souled man always makes others of less account than they are, and the small-souled man of more. And because with the same measure wherewith a man measures himself he measures the things that are his, which are as it were a part of himself, it comes to pass that the large-souled man's things always seem to him better than they are, and the things of others worse; and the small-souled man always thinks his things of little worth, and the things of others of much. Wherefore many, by reason of his abjectness, depreciate their own vernacular and praise that of others.

And all these together make up the detestable wretches of Italy who hold cheap that costly vernacular, if which be vile in ought it is only in so far as it sounds upon the prostitute lips of these adulterers, by whose guidance the blind men go of whom I made mention under the head of the first cause. . . .

And all these causes have been at work begetting and strengthening the love which I bear to my vernacular, as I will briefly show. A thing is near in proportion as of all the things of its kind it is most closely united to a man; wherefore a son is nearest to his father; and of all arts medicine is nearest to the doctor, and music to the musician, because they are more closely united to them than are the rest; of all lands that is nearest to a man wherein he maintains himself, because it is more closely united to him. And thus a man's proper vernacular is nearest to him, inasmuch as it is most closely united to him; for it is singly and alone in his mind before any other; and not only is it united to him essentially, in itself, but also incidentally, inasmuch as it is conjoined with the persons closest to him, as his relatives, his fellow-citizens, and his own people. Such, then, is a man's own vernacular, which we will not call near, but most nearest to him. Wherefore, if nearness be the seed of friendship, as was said above, it is clear that it is amongst the causes of the love which I bear to my tongue, which is most near to

me above the others. It was the abovesaid cause, namely that that is most closely untied which at first has sole possession of the mind, that gave rise to the custom which makes first-born sons succeed alone, as the closer, and because closer, more loved.

Again its excellence makes me its friend. And here you are to know that every excellence proper to a thing is to be loved in that thing; as in masculinity to be well bearded, and in femininity to be well smooth of beard over all the face. As in a setter, good scent, and in a boarhound, good speed. And the more proper is the excellence the better is it to be loved; wherefore, though every virtue is to be loved in man, that is most to be loved in him which is most human; and that is justice, which abides only in the rational or intellectual part, to wit in the will. This is so much to be loved that, as the Philosopher says in the fifth of the *Ethics*, they who are its foes, as are robbers and plunderers, love it; and therefore we see that its contrary, to wit injustice, is most hated; as treachery, ingratitude, forgery, theft, rapine, cheating, and their likes. Which be such inhuman sins that, to shield himself from the infamy thereof, long usage alloweth that man may speak of himself, as was said above, and that he have leave to declare himself faithful and loyal. Of this virtue I shall hereafter speak more at length in the fourteenth treatise, and here leaving it I return to the matter at hand. That has been shown, then, to be the most proper excellence of a thing which is most loved and praised in it; and we must see in each case what that excellence is. Now we see that in all matters of speech rightly to manifest the conception is the most loved and commended. This, then, is its prime excellence. And inasmuch as this excellence abideth in our vernacular, as hath been shown above, in another chapter, it is clear that it is of the causes of the love which I bear to the said vernacular; because, as already said, excellence is a cause that generates love.

Source: Dante Alighieri. *The Convivio of Dante Alighieri*. Translated by Philip Wicksteed. London: Dent, 1924, pp. 48–56.

15. The Poetry of Li Po

Li Po (A.D. 701–62) is the most famous poet of the Tang dynasty and is considered one of the best Chinese poets of all time. He led a life of dissolution, addicted in particular to drinking, but he became a favorite of the emperor and the emperor's household. He allegedly crafted some of his best poetry while under the influence of alcohol, though we may doubt the accuracy of this tradition: Li Po undoubtedly attempted to become a "character" by highlighting his inebriation when considerable sober forethought probably went into most of his poems. According to legend, his alcoholism led directly to his death; in a drunken stupor he attempted to embrace the reflection of the moon in a river while he drifted alone in a boat. The legend encapsulates two of the major themes in Li Po's poetry, the beauty of nature and lonesome solitude, as the proceeding selections will demonstrate.

A Tortoise

A tortoise I see
on a lotus-flower resting:
A bird amid the reeds

and the rushes is nesting;
A light skiff propelled
by some boatman's fair daughter,
Whose song dies away
over the fast-flowing water.

In the Mountains on a Summer Day

Gently I stir a white feather fan,
With open shirt sitting in a green wood.
I take off my cap and hang it on a jutting stone;
A wind from the pine-tree trickles on my bare head.

Clearing at Dawn

The fields are chill; the sparse rain has stopped;
The colours of Spring teem on every side.
With leaping fish the blue pond is full;
With singing thrushes the green boughs droop.
The flowers of the field have dabbled their powdered cheeks;
The mountain grasses are bent level at the waist.
By the bamboo stream the last fragment of cloud
Blown by the wind slowly scatters away.

To Tan Ch'iu

My friend is lodging high in the Eastern Range,
Dearly loving the beauty of valleys and hills.
At green Spring he lies in the empty woods,
And is still asleep when the sun shines on high.
A pine-tree wind dusts his sleeves and coat;
A pebbly stream cleans his heart and ears.
I envy you, who far from strife and talk
Are high-propped on a pillow of blue cloud.

Self-Abandonment

I sat drinking and did not notice the dusk,
Till falling petals filled the folds of my dress.
Drunken I rose and walked to the moonlit stream;
The birds were gone, and men also few.

Drinking Alone by Moonlight: Three Poems

1

A cup of wine under the flowering trees;
I drink alone, for no friend is near.
Raising my cup I beckon the bright moon,
For he, with my shadow, will make three men.
The moon, alas! is no drinker of wine;

Listless, my shadow creeps about at my side.
 Yet with the moon as friend and the shadow as slave
 I must make merry before the Spring is spent.
 To the songs I sing the moon flickers her beams;
 In the dance I weave my shadow tangles and breaks.
 While we were sober, three shared the fun;
 Now we are drunk, each goes his way.
 May we long share our odd, inanimate feast,
 And meet at last on the Cloudy River of the Sky.

2

Is thick-spread with a carpet of fallen flowers.
 Who in Spring can bear to grieve alone?
 Who, sober, look on sights like these?
 Riches and Poverty, long or short life,
 By the Maker of Things are portioned and disposed;
 But a cup of wine levels life and death
 And a thousand things obstinately hard to prove.
 When I am drunk, I lose Heaven and Earth.
 Motionless—I cleave to my lonely bed.
 At last I forget that I exist at all,
 And at that moment my joy is great indeed.

3

If High Heaven had no love for wine,
 There would not be a Wine Star in the sky.
 If Earth herself had no love for wine,
 There would not be a city called Wine Springs.
 Since Heaven and Earth both love wine,
 I can love wine, without shame before God.
 Clear wine was once called a Saint
 Thick wine was once called a Sage.
 Of Saint and Sage I have long quaffed deep,
 What need for me to study spirits and *hsien*?
 At the third cup I penetrate the Great Way;
 A full gallon—Nature and I are one.
 But the things I feel when wine possesses my soul
 I will never tell to those who are not drunk.

Sources: First poem: Giles, Herbert. *A History of Chinese Literature*. New York: Appleton, 1901, p. 156.
 Others: *More Translations from the Chinese*. Translated by Arthur Waley. London: George Allen, 1919,
 pp. 20–23.

16. Arabic Replaces Greek in the Islamic World

Al-Baladhuri was an influential ninth-century Muslim intellectual who spent most of his life in Baghdad and in Syria. He is most known for his history of the rise of the Arab

kingdoms in the Middle East, an extract of which is printed here. As the Arab, and specifically Islamic, kingdoms grew in power and confidence, they became more independent and nationalistic, devising at various points, for example, their own currency and dating system (based on the date of Muhammad's flight to Medina). In the following document, for example, the year 81 equals A.D. 703.

Part of Arabic independence can be seen in the switch from Greek to Arabic as the language of official record keeping. The Islamic world had inherited the well-run bureaucratic system of the Byzantine Empire, which was predominantly Greek speaking. To aid in the transition, the new Arab kingdoms largely kept the Greek system for their own record keeping. The changeover in language, thus, reflects a new level of nationalistic self-confidence in the Arab world's ability to manage complex domestic and international issues. The document, however, presents a colorful story describing the cause of the linguistic shift: a Greek scribe urinated in an inkwell. Whether or not such an incident ever occurred, the clear growth of nationalistic pride remains evident.

AL-BALADHURI'S KITÂB FUTÛH AL-BULDÂN

Greek remained the language of the state registers until the reign of 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân, who in the year 81 ordered it changed. The reason was that a Greek clerk desiring to write something and finding no ink urinated in the inkstand. Hearing this, 'Abd-al-Malik punished the man and gave orders to Sulaimân ibn Sa'd to change the language of the registers. Sulaimân requested 'Abd-al-Malik to give him as subsidy the *kharâj* of the Jordan province for one year. 'Abd-al-Malik granted his request and assigned him to the governorship of the Jordan. No sooner had the year ended, than the change of the language was finished and Sulaimân brought the registers to 'Abd-al-Malik. The latter called Sarjûn and presented to him the new plan. Sarjûn was greatly chagrined and left 'Abd-al-Malik sorrowful. Meeting certain Greek clerks, he said to them, "Seek your livelihood in any other profession than this, for God has cut it off from you."

The total tax of the Jordan which was thus assigned as subsidy was 180,000 *dînârs*, that of Palestine was 350,000; that of Damascus 400,000; that of Hims with Kinnasrîn and the regions called today al-'Awâsim, 800,000, and according to others 700,000.

Source: al-Baladhuri, Abbas Ahmad ibn-Jabir. *The Origins of the Islamic State*. Translated by Philip Kuri Hitti. Vol. 1. New York: Columbia University Press, 1916, p. 301.

17. Firdawsi, "Poet of Paradise"

Firdawsi, whose name means "poet of paradise," produced the most famous epic in the Persian language. His work, *Shâh Námeh* (Book of Kings), completed in 1010, chronicles the legendary careers of Persia's ancient rulers. The Persian language has changed so little that modern Persian speakers are still able to understand the work when it is read aloud. Although sometimes considered tedious by Western audiences, the *Shâh Námeh* holds the same place in Iran as Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad* do in Greece, Europe, and North America.

The next extract describes the defeat of the tyrant-king Zohák by a young boy, Feridûn, and his blacksmith ally, Kavah. Zohák is a magical tyrant who demands the sacrifice of

young children every year, until Kavah refuses to send his own children and joins forces with Feridún. Kavah's leather apron becomes the flag for the rebellion and an object of worship for later generations. As in Homer's works, which feature capricious divine intervention, magic plays a large role in the fighting depicted in Sháh Námeḥ. Zohák commands the allegiance of demons and peris (fallen angels who try to do good), and Feridún is able to slay such foes with his mace.

Although Sháh Námeḥ functions as entertainment and was treated in former times as a kind of history, it also functioned as a didactic manual of good kingship and responsible citizenship. Zohák, though a king, loses the respect of his people by unnecessarily wasting their lives; faced with such circumstances, the people, just like Kavah, have the right and the responsibility to overthrow the government. It is perhaps no surprise that Firdawsi himself, according to legend, was forced to flee from King Mahmud, who controlled Iran during much of Firdawsi's lifetime and who was unfriendly to the Shi'ite Muslim majority in Iran.

KAVAH, THE BLACKSMITH

Zohák having one day summoned together all the nobles and philosophers of the kingdom, he said to them: "I find that a young enemy has risen up against me; but notwithstanding his tender years, there is no safety even with an apparently insignificant foe. I hear, too, that though young, he is distinguished for his prowess and wisdom; yet I fear not him, but the change of fortune. I wish therefore to assemble a large army, consisting of Men, Demons, and Peris, that this enemy may be surrounded, and conquered. And, further, since a great enterprise is on the eve of being undertaken, it will be proper in future to keep a register or muster-roll of all the people of every age in my dominions, and have it revised annually." The register, including both old and young, was accordingly prepared.

At that period there lived a man named Kavah, a black-smith, remarkably strong and brave, and who had a large family. Upon the day on which it fell to the lot of two of his children to be killed to feed the serpents, he rose up with indignation in presence of the king, and said:

"Thou art the king, but wherefore on my head
Cast fire and ashes? If thou has the form
Of hissing dragon, why to me be cruel?
Why give the brains of my beloved children
As serpent-food, and talk of doing justice?"
At this bold speech the monarch was dismayed,
And scarcely knowing what he did, released
The blacksmith's sons. How leapt the father's heart,
How warmly he embraced his darling boys!
But now Zohák directs that Kavah's name
Shall be inscribed upon the register.
Soon as the blacksmith sees it written there,
Wrathful he turns towards the chiefs assembled,
Exclaiming loud: "Are ye then men, or what,
Leagued with a Demon!" All astonished heard,
And saw him tear the hated register,
And cast it under foot with rage and scorn.

Kavah having thus reviled the king bitterly, and destroyed the register of blood, departed from the court, and took his children along with him. After he had gone away, the nobles said to the king:

“Why should reproaches, sovereign of the world,
Be thus permitted? Why the royal scroll
Torn in thy presence, with a look and voice
Of proud defiance, by the rebel blacksmith?
So fierce his bearing, that he seems to be a bold confederate of this Feridún.”
Zohák replied: “I know not what o’ercame me,
But when I saw him with such vehemence
Of grief and wild distraction, strike his forehead,
Lamenting o’er his children, doomed to death,
Amazement seized my heart, and chained my will.
What may become of this, Heaven only knows,
For none can pierce the veil of destiny.”
Kavah, meanwhile, with warning voice set forth
What wrongs the nation suffered, and there came
Multitudes round him, who called out aloud
For justice! justice! On his javelin’s point
He fixed his leathern apron for a banner,
And lifting it on high, he went abroad
To call the people to a task of vengeance.
Wherever it was seen crowds followed fast,
Tired of the cruel tyranny they suffered.
“Let us unite with Feridún,” he cried,
And from Zohák’s oppression we are free!”
And still he called aloud, and all obeyed
Who heard him, high and low. Anxious he sought
For Feridún, not knowing his retreat:
But still he hoped success would crown his search.
The hour arrived, and when he saw the youth,
Instinctively he knew him, and thanked Heaven
For that good fortune. Then the leathern banner
Was splendidly adorned with gold and jewels,
And called the flag of Kavah. From that time
It was a sacred symbol; every king
In future, on succeeding to the throne,
Did honor to that banner, the true sign
Of royalty, in veneration held.

Feridún, aided by the directions and advice of the blacksmith now proceeded against Zohák. His mother wept to see him depart, and continually implored the blessing of God upon him. He had two elder brothers, whom he took along with him.

Desirous of having a mace formed like the head of a cow, he requested Kavah to make one of iron, and it was accordingly made in the shape he described. In his progress, he visited a shrine or place of pilgrimage frequented by the worshippers of God, where he besought inspiration and aid, and where he was taught by a radiant personage the mysteries of the magic art, receiving from him a key to every secret.

Bright beamed his eye, with firmer step he strode,
His smiling cheek with warmer crimson glowed.

When his two brothers saw his altered mien, the pomp and splendor of his appearance, they grew envious of his good fortune, and privately meditated his fall. One day they found him asleep at the foot of a mountain, and they immediately went to the top and rolled down a heavy fragment of rock upon him with the intention of crushing him to death; but the clattering noise of the stone awoke him, and, instantly employing the knowledge of sorcery which had been communicated to him, the stone was suddenly arrested by him in its course. The brothers beheld this with astonishment, and hastening down the mountain, cried aloud: "We know not how the stone was loosened from its place: God forbid that it should have done any injury to Feridún." Feridún, however, was well aware of this being the evil work of his brothers, but he took no notice of the conspiracy, and instead of punishing them, raised them to higher dignity and consequence.

They saw that Kavah directed the route of Feridún over the mountainous tracts and plains which lie contiguous to the banks of the Dijleh, or Tigris, close to the city of Bagdád. Upon reaching that river, they called for boats, but got no answer from the ferryman; at which Feridún was enraged, and immediately plunged, on horseback, into the foaming stream. All his army followed without delay, and with the blessing of God arrived on the other side in safety. He then turned toward the Bait-el-Mukaddus, built by Zohák. In the Pahlavi language it was called Kunuk-duz-mokt. The tower of this edifice was so lofty that it might be seen at the distance of many leagues, and within that tower Zohák had formed a talisman of miraculous virtues. Feridún soon overthrew this talisman, and destroyed or vanquished successively with his mace all the enchanted monsters and hideous shapes which appeared before him. He captured the whole building, and released all the black-eyed damsels who were secluded there, and among them Shahrnáz and Arnawáz, the two sisters of Jemshíd before alluded to. He then ascended the empty throne of Zohák, which had been guarded by the talisman, and the Demons under his command; and when he heard that the tyrant had gone with an immense army toward Ind, in quest of his new enemy, and had left his treasury with only a small force at the seat of his government, he rejoiced, and appropriated the throne and the treasure to himself.

From their dark solitudes the Youth brought forth
The black-haired damsels, lovely as the sun,
And Jemshíd's sisters, long imprisoned there;
And gladly did the inmates of that harem
Pour over their gratitude on being freed
From that terrific monster; thanks to Heaven
Devoutly they expressed, and ardent joy.

Feridún inquired of Arnawáz why Zohák had chosen the route towards Ind; and she replied, "For two reasons: the first is, he expects to encounter thee in that quarter; and if he fails, he will subdue the whole country, which is the seat of sorcery, and thus obtain possession of a renowned magician who can charm thee into his power.

He wishes to secure within his grasp
That region of enchantment, Hindústan,
And then obtain relief from what he feels;
For night and day the terror of thy name
Oppresses him, his heart is all on fire,
And life is torture to him.”

Source: Firdawsi. *Sháh Námeḥ*. In *Persian Literature, Comprising the Sháh Námeḥ, the Rubáiyát, the Divan and the Gulistan*, trans. James Atkinson. Rev. ed., vol. 1. World's Great Classics series. New York: Colonial, 1900, pp. 31–34.

18. Genji Monogatari, a Masterpiece of Japanese Literature

The Genji Monogatari, or Tale of Genji, is considered one of the great masterpieces of Japanese literature. Written by the female courtier Murasaki Shikibu (c. 978–c. 1014), the novel documents the refinement of tenth-century court life by examining the life and relationships of Prince Genji. The following extract follows the early career of a courtly woman who becomes one of the emperor's lovers. Her success in attracting the emperor earns her the envy and distrust of other courtesans, who attempt to lock her out and abuse her serving women. Nevertheless, she bears a son to the emperor and is moved to an apartment close to the emperor's own quarters, thus preserving her from the worst of the ill treatment. The young boy born to this woman and the emperor becomes the main character of the story.

Japanese court culture featured a very formal and technical etiquette and language. This translation keeps many of the Japanese titles. Niogo and kioyi, for example, are titles for ladies of the court, a Dainagon is a court official, and Hakamagi is a ceremony in which boys wear trousers for the first time (they wear looser garments in their first years of life). Yokihi, mentioned in the story, was a beautiful woman who so distracted the Emperor Hsuan Tsung in the eighth century that a rebellion broke out.

CHAPTER 1: THE CHAMBER OF KIRI

In the reign of a certain Emperor, whose name is unknown to us, there was, among the Niogo and Kôyi of the Imperial Court, one who, though she was not of high birth, enjoyed the full tide of Royal favor. Hence her superiors, each one of whom had always been thinking—“I shall be the one,” gazed upon her disdainfully with malignant eyes, and her equals and inferiors were more indignant still.

Such being the state of affairs, the anxiety which she had to endure was great and constant, and this was probably the reason why her health was at last so much affected, that she was often compelled to absent herself from Court, and to retire to the residence of her mother.

Her father, who was a Dainagon, was dead; but her mother, being a woman of good sense, gave her every possible guidance in the due performance of Court ceremony, so that in this respect she seemed but little different from those whose fathers and mothers were still alive to bring them before public notice, yet, nevertheless, her friendliness made her oftentimes feel very diffident from the want of any patron of influence.

These circumstances, however, only tended to make the favor shown to her by the Emperor wax warmer and warmer, and it was even shown to such an extent as to become a warning to after-generations. There had been instances in China in which favoritism such as this had caused national disturbance and disaster; and thus the matter became a subject of public animadversion, and it seemed not improbable that people would begin to allude even to the example of Yô-ki-hi.

In due course, and in consequence, we may suppose, of the Divine blessing on the sincerity of their affection, a jewel of a little prince was born to her. The first prince who had been born to the Emperor was the child of Koki-den-Niogo, the daughter of the Udaijin (a great officer of State). Not only was he first in point of age, but his influence on his mother's side was so great that public opinion had almost unanimously fixed upon him as heir-apparent. Of this the Emperor was fully conscious, and he only regarded the new-born child with that affection which one lavishes on a domestic favorite. Nevertheless, the mother of the first prince had, not unnaturally, a foreboding that unless matters were managed adroitly her child might be superseded by the younger one. She, we may observe, had been established at Court before any other lady, and had more children than one. The Emperor, therefore, was obliged to treat her with due respect, and reproaches from her always affected him more keenly than those of any others.

To return to her rival. Her constitution was extremely delicate, as we have seen already, and she was surrounded by those who would fain lay bare, so to say, her hidden scars. Her apartments in the palace were Kiri-Tsubo (the chamber of Kiri); so called from the trees that were planted around. In visiting her there the Emperor had to pass before several other chambers, whose occupants universally chafed when they saw it. And again, when it was her turn to attend upon the Emperor, it often happened that they played off mischievous pranks upon her, at different points in the corridor, which leads to the Imperial quarters. Sometimes they would soil the skirts of her attendants, sometimes they would shut against her the door of the covered portico, where no other passage existed; and thus, in every possible way, they one and all combined to annoy her.

The Emperor at length became aware of this, and gave her, for her special chamber, another apartment, which was in the Kôrô-Den, and which was quite close to those in which he himself resided. It had been originally occupied by another lady who was now removed, and thus fresh resentment was aroused.

When the young Prince was three years old the Hakamagi took place. It was celebrated with pomp scarcely inferior to that which adorned the investiture of the first Prince. In fact, all available treasures were exhausted on the occasion. And again the public manifested its disapprobation. In the summer of the same year the Kiri-Tsubo-Kôyi became ill, and wished to retire from the palace. The Emperor, however, who was accustomed to see her indisposed, strove to induce her to remain. But her illness increased day by day; and she had drooped and pined away until she was now but a shadow of her former self. She made scarcely any response to the affectionate words and expressions of tenderness which her Royal lover caressingly bestowed upon her. Her eyes were half-closed: she lay like a fading flower in the last stage of exhaustion, and she became so much enfeebled that her mother appeared before the Emperor and entreated with tears that she might be allowed to leave. Distracted by his vain endeavors to devise

means to aid her, the Emperor at length ordered a Te-gruma to be in readiness to convey her to her own home, but even then he went to her apartment and cried despairingly: "Did not we vow that we would neither of us be either before or after the other even in traveling the last long journey of life? And can you find it in your heart to leave me now?" Sadly and tenderly looking up, she thus replied, with almost failing breath:

"Since my departure for this dark journey,
Makes you so sad and lonely,
Fain would I stay though weak and weary,
And live for your sake only!"
"Had I but known this before—"

She appeared to have much more to say, but was too weak to continue. Overpowered with grief, the Emperor at one moment would fain accompany her himself, and at another moment would have her remain to the end where she then was.

At the last, her departure was hurried, because the exorcism for the sick had been appointed to take place that evening at her home, and she went. The child Prince, however, had been left in the Palace, as his mother wished, even at that time, to make her withdrawal as privately as possible, so as to avoid any invidious observations on the part of her rivals. To the Emperor the night now became black with gloom. He sent messenger after messenger to make inquiries, and could not await their return with patience. Midnight came, and with it the sound of lamentation. The messenger, who could do nothing else, hurried back with the sad tidings of the truth. From that moment the mind of the Emperor was darkened, and he confined himself to his private apartments.

Source: Murasaki Shikibu. *Genji Monogatari*. In *Japanese Literature*, trans. Suyematz Kenchio. Rev. ed. World's Great Classics series. New York: Colonial, 1900, pp. 11–14.

Part V

MATERIAL LIFE

Material Life theoretically covers all the physical objects that we encounter in day-to-day life. This volume focuses on three key aspects of our material existence in the Food and Drink, Housing and Furniture, and Clothing and Personal Appearance sections. These categories cover some of humankind's most basic needs.

Although food, shelter, and clothing are necessary for human existence, they also play an important symbolic role in society. Indeed, the symbolic meanings of material goods are often as important as the needs that those material objects fill. The Clothing and Personal Appearance section, for example, offers many examples of how clothing reveals socioeconomic status or internal virtues. The guidelines on women's clothing in the Koran, for example, aim to encourage modesty. In a similar vein, the English author Brathwaite argues that luxurious clothing makes people soft and decadent.

Food also carries symbolic meanings, as the Food and Drink section demonstrates. The ambassador Thomas Roe, for example, praises the Muslims for their simple diet; in Roe's opinion, this simple diet consisting of meat stews and hearty breads demonstrates an honesty that is missing from the fancy European cuisine then in favor in England. Boetius similarly links Scotland's change in diet with a decline in manliness! Like clothing, food and eating rituals could also demark status. The Aztec emperor Moctezuma, for example, ate before anyone else in his court. The order of eating in society reinforces the sociopolitical hierarchy. Authors in the Middle Ages and Renaissance also understood that diet had an important role in maintaining good health, although modern nutritionists might not agree with Stanihurst's praise of Irish whiskey as a powerful curative medicine.

Just like a culture's culinary traditions, housing can reveal a lot about a society. Large, expensive houses with lavish furnishings obviously display wealth and economic power. Houses can also reflect the physical environment, however. Many of the houses discussed in the Housing and Furniture section were clearly adapted to their environments; thus, houses in warm countries frequently featured terraces and large double-doors in an effort to entice a breeze indoors. The objects of material life

are necessary for survival, but they are also necessary to express ourselves and our role in the world.

Food and Drink

Fortunately, most people today eat several times a day. Famine, of course, still wreaks tragedy across the globe, but the provision of a stable food supply to a large percentage of the earth's population remains one of the major achievements of the twentieth century and has confounded the pessimistic predictions of people such as Thomas Malthus, who suggested that the earth's population would outstrip its food supply by the mid-eighteenth century. The opposite, in fact, has occurred, though grave problems in distributing the global harvest remain.

The common threat of famine in the Middle Ages and *Renaissance*, however, placed an importance on food that a supermarket shopper will find hard to appreciate. In almost all the passages in this section, however, food plays a symbolic role that far exceeds its more literal role of sustaining human physical existence. In Document 1, for example, Boetius uses a description of the ancient Scottish to suggest that contemporaneous Scottish society has become “soft” and is too dependent on unnecessary luxuries. In fact, many discussions of food stress the benefits of temperance and self-restraint. The English ambassador Thomas Roe (Document 6), for example, praises the Muslim population of India for their simple diet of meat stews and inexpensive breads, and Yoshida Kenko (Document 4) argues against the excessive consumption by the Japanese of the alcoholic drink sake. Perhaps the greatest champion of simplicity was Po Chu-i. This *Tang* dynasty poet succeeds in painting a beautiful and enticing picture of an inexpensive food: bamboo shoots (Document 3). Unlike Thomas Roe, not only does Po Chu-i not only praise simple foods—he makes us want to eat them.

According to these authors, temperance encouraged good health. Boetius suggested that overindulgence in spices, for example, could result in death. Other foods, however, were credited with healthful properties. In the sixteenth century, Richard Stanihurst (Document 2) claimed that Irish whiskey cured a variety of illnesses, including excessive gas and even skin diseases. Although modern nutritionists may not agree with Stanihurst's conclusions, the link between food and good health, seen in these medieval and Renaissance sources, certainly continues to this day.

Food, especially formal dining, also helped to reinforce societal structures. By eating by himself, separated from his retainers by a movable screen, the Aztec ruler Moctezuma emphasized that he was different, indeed, that he was better than the others present during the meal (Document 5). Likewise, the variety of dishes served by Moctezuma, as by the Muslim leaders discussed by Roe, emphasized the wealth and luxury of the hosts. Food, then, indicated not only the political standing but also the economic power of the host. When authors such as Bernal Díaz del Castillo described a meal, therefore, they gave insight not only into the foods and diet of a nation but also into the societal structures that organized the population. Frequently, the authors then used these observations about foreign cultures to criticize and correct aspects of the authors' own societies. Writing about food was writing about life.

1. The Scottish Diet: Past and Present

Like many history writers, Hector Boetius, the author of the passage reproduced here, reveals more about the customs of his own time period—the sixteenth century—than about the remote past. In Boetius’s eyes, contemporary Scotland had become a much worse place. Using the metaphor of food, Boetius contrasts the straightforward, temperate diners of the past with the gluttonous population of his own time. Boetius uses the image of ancient Scotland to criticize both the frequency and the preciosity of the modern Scottish diet. According to Boetius, his contemporary Scots ate three meals a day, whereas their ancestors were happy with two meals a day. In fact, Boetius even claims that some eat so much that they are forced to vomit (“depart”) the surplus. The second character defect that Boetius outlines is a delight in gourmet foods. In the ancient past, the Scots were satisfied with simple food—they made simple breads and ate fish, beef, and game. His own generation, however, has become obsessed with obtaining foreign spices and “drugs” with which to make their food tastier. Boetius even goes so far as to suggest that such foreign products are actually “poison” and pictures their devourers as dying from sudden convulsions. The author took a strong position in favor of foods “made in Scotland.” Increased global trade, however, ensured that a strong supply of spice reached all of the British Isles despite the objections of xenophobic, moralizing historians.

In sleep they were competent, in meat and drink sober, and contented with such food as was ready at hand and prepared with little cost. Their bread consisted of such stuff as grew most readily on the ground, without all manner of sifting and boldting, whereby to please the palate; but baked up as it came from the mill without any curiosity, which is a great abasing of the force thereof unto our daily nourishment. The flesh whereon they chiefly fed, was either such as they got by hunting, wherein they took great delight, and which increased not a little their strength and nimbleness, or else cattle as they bred at home, whereof beef was accounted the principal, as it is yet in our days, though after another manner and far discrepant from the use and custom of other countries. The “stirkes” or young beefets ungelded, we either kill young for veal, or geld, to the end that they may serve afterward for tillage in earing of the ground, but the cow calves and heifers are never killed till they be with calf, for then are they fattest and most delicious to the mouth. The common meat of our elders was fish, howbeit not only or so much for the plentie thereof, as for that our lands lay often waste and untilld, because of the great warres which they commonly had in hand. They brake also their fast early in the morning with some slander repast, and so continued without any other diet until supertime, in which they had but one dish, whereby it came to pass, that their stomachs were never overcharged, nor their bones desirous of rest through the fullness of their bellies. At such time as they determined of set purpose to be merry, they used a kind of Aquavite void of spices and only consisting of such herbs & roots as grew in their own gardens, otherwise the common drink was ale; but in time of war, when they were forced to lie in camp, they contented themselves with water as readiest for their turns. Each soldier also had so much meal as might serve him for a day which he made up in cakes, and baked on the coals, as the Romans sometimes used to do, and the emperor Caracalla himself (as Herodian hath remembered). Seldom did they eat any flesh in their tents, except they got it from their adversaries; such as they had likewise was eaten half raw,

because they supposed the juice thereof so used to nourish very abundantly. But fish was much more plentiful amongst them, especially when they wanted their usual preys, or could not attain unto them.

They brought furthermore from their houses to the field with them, a vessel of butter, cheese, meal, milk, and vinegar tempered together as a shoot-anchor against extreme hunger, which they would feed and suck out the moisture, when other provision could not be gotten. . . .

But how far we in these present days are swerved from the virtues and temperance of our elders, I believe there is no man so eloquent, nor indued with such utterance, as that he is able sufficiently to express. For whereas they gave their minds to doughtiness, we apply our selues to drunkenness; they had plenty with sufficiency, we have inordinate excess with superfluity; they were temperate, we effeminate; and so is the case now altered with us, that he which can devour and drink most, is the noblest man and most honest companion, and thereto hath no peer if he can once find the vein, though with his great travel to purvey himself of the plentifullest number of new fine and delicate dishes, and best provoke his stomach to receive the greatest quantity of them, though he never make due digestion of it.

Being thus drowned in our delicate gluttony, it is a world to see how we stuff ourselves both day and night, never ceasing to engorge and pour in, till our bellies be so full that we must needs depart. Certes it is not supposed meet that we should now content ourselves with breakfast and supper only, as our elders have done before, nor enough that we have added our dinners unto their aforesaid meals, but we must have thereto our beverages and rare suppers, so that small time is spared wherein to occupy ourselves in any godly exercise, sith almost the whole day and night do scarcely suffice for the filling of our paunches. We have also our merchants, whose charge is not to look out and bring home such things as necessarily pertain to the maintenance of our lives, but unto the furniture of our kitchen, and these search all the secret corners of our forests for venison, of the air for fowls, and of the sea for fish, for wine also they travel not only into France, whose wines do now grow into contempt, but also into Spain, Italy and Greece; nay Africa is not void of our factors, no, nor Asia, and only for fine and delicate wines if they might be had for money.

In like sort they gad over all the world for sweet and pleasant spices, and drugs (provokers unto all lust and licentiousness of behaviour) as men that adventure their own lives to bring home poison and destruction unto their countrymen, as if the mind were not already sufficiently bereft of her image of the divinity, but must yet more be clogged and overladen with such a franked case, therewithall to be extinguished outright, which already dwelleth or is buried rather in such an ugly sepulchre. The body likewise being oppressed with such a heap of superfluous food, although otherwise it be indued with an excellent nature, cannot be able to execute his office, nor keep himself upright, but must needs yield as overcome, and to be torn in pieces and rent with sundry maladies.

Hereof also it commeth to pass, that our countrymen travelling into the colder regions are nowadays, contrary to their former usage, taken sometime with fevers, whereby their inward parts do burn and parch as it were with continual fire, the only cause whereof we may ascribe unto those hot spices and drugs which are brought unto us from the hot countries. Others of them are so swollen and grown full of humors that they are often

taken suddenly, and die of vehement apoplexies, and although here and there one or two recover for a little while, yet are they but dead people, reviving again, leading the rest of their lives like shadows, and walking about as if they were buried already.

Source: Boetius, Hector. *The Description of Scotland*. In *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, trans. Raphael Holinshed. Vol. 5. London: Johnson, 1808, pp. 22–26.

2. Irish Whiskey

English sources have frequently used whiskey as a symbol of Ireland. Whiskey did appear to be a unique drink to the English, who preferred beer and imported wine throughout most of the Middle Ages and Renaissance; whiskey remained the preserve of Ireland and Scotland and symbolized the difference between England and its Gaelic neighbors. As a symbol of difference, however, whiskey, being an alcoholic drink, frequently served as a negative stereotype suggesting that the Irish and Scots were alcoholics incapable of leading sober and rational lives. This negative association, for example, dominated the cartoons of “apelike” Irishmen that appeared in the popular British periodical *Punch* in the nineteenth century. In the sixteenth century, however, whiskey could still be presented as an actually healthful drink. In the following description of Ireland provided by the Anglo-Irish writer Richard Stanihurst (1547–1618), whiskey is presented as the true fulfillment of its Latin name: *aqua vitae*, “water of life.”

Stanihurst paints whiskey ultimately as a healthy dietary supplement rather than as an intoxicating beverage. According to Stanihurst, whiskey could cure a wide range of diseases, including colds, gas pains, stomach ills, and skin diseases (if applied topically). Stanihurst suggests that the water of life can even help cardiovascular disease. The alcoholic content of the product that Stanihurst recommends was clearly high—the best whiskey could be set afire. This high alcoholic content would indeed have some antimicrobial effects, just as rubbing alcohol has, but whiskey surely is not, and never was, a cure-all and is certainly not considered a medicine in the modern era.

The soil is low and waterish, including diverse little Islands, environed with lakes and marsh. Highest hills have standing pools on their tops. Inhabitants especially new come, are subject to distillations, rheums, and fluxes. For remedie whereof, they use an ordinary drink of *Aqua vitae*, being so qualified in the making, that it drieth more, and also inflameth less than other hot confections do. One Theoricus wrote a proper treatise of *Aqua vitae*, wherein he praiseth it unto the ninth degree. He distinguisheth three sorts thereof, *Simplex*, *Composita*, and *Perfectissima*. He declareth the simples and ingredients thereto belonging. He wisheth it to be taken as well before meat as after. It drieth up the breaking out of hands, and killeth the flesh worms, if you wash your hands therewith. It scoureth all scurf and scalds from the head, being therewith daily washed before meals. Being moderately taken (sayeth he) it sloweth age, in strengtheneth youth, it helpeth digestion, it cutteth phlegm, it abandoneth melancholie, it relisheth the heart, it lighteneth the mind, it quickeneth the spirits, it cureth the hydropsie, it healeth the strangurie, it pounceth the stone, it expelleth gravel, it puffeth away ventositie, it keepeth and preserveth the head from whirling, the eyes from dazling, the tongue from lipping, the mouth from maffling, the teeth from chattering, and the throat

from rattling; it keepeth the weasan from stifling, the stomach from wambling, and the heart from swelling, the belly from wirtching, the guts from rumbling, the hands from shivering, and the sinews from shrinking, the veins from crumpling, the bones from aching, and the marrow from soaking. Ulstadius also ascribeth thereto a singular praise, and would have it to burn being kindled, which he taketh to be a token to know the goodness thereof. And truly it is a sovereign liquor, if it be orderly taken.

Source: Stanihurst, Richard. *A Treatise Conteyning a Plaine and Perfect Description of Ireland*, in Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. Vol. 6. London: Johnson, 1808, p. 8.

3. Bamboo Shoots: A Chinese Delicacy

Po Chu-i (772–846), the famous Tang dynasty poet, who served for several years as a governor in remote provinces, focused on noticing and expressing the beauty of everyday life. In the following poem, Po Chu-i relates how a posting in a rural province has enabled him to indulge his love of boiled bamboo shoots. In the poem, Po Chu-i recognizes one of the central facts of economics—supply and demand determine price. When Po Chu-i was stationed at Lo-yang, the eastern capital of the Tang dynasty, he could barely find bamboo shoots. Now stationed in the mountains, he is able to buy the delicacies for a pittance.

The cheapness of bamboo shoots, however, does not decrease Po Chu-i's delight in eating them. Instead, he celebrates the bamboo by describing the process of cooking them in beautiful detail. His celebration of the common things in life is not, however, a simple culinary poem. Instead, his valuation of the simple, of the everyday, continues a political commitment, expressed by Po Chu-i in other poems, to support the poor and downtrodden population in his contemporary society. Within the context of Po Chu-i's corpus, the praise of bamboo becomes a praise of the workingman and woman.

Eating Bamboo-Shoots

My new province is a land of bamboo-groves:
Their shoots in spring fill the valleys and hills.
The mountain woodman cuts an armful of them
And brings them down to sell at the early market.
Things are cheap in proportion as they are common;
For two farthings, I buy a whole bundle.
I put the shoots in a great earthen pot
And heat them up along with boiling rice.
The purple nodules broken, like an old brocade;
The white skin opened, like new pearls.
Now every day I eat them recklessly;
For a long time I have not touched meat.
All the time I was living at Lo-yang
They could not give me enough to suit my taste,
Now I can have as many shoots as I please;
For each breath of the south-wind makes a new bamboo!

Source: *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*. Translated by Arthur Waley. London: Constable, 1918, p. 149.

4. Japanese Sake

The Tsurezuregusa, written by Yoshida Kenko (c. 1282–c. 1350), in the zuihitsu, or “stream-of-consciousness,” style has become a classic in Japan. The Tsurezuregusa (Essays in Idleness) discusses contemporary Japanese customs and generally laments the disappearance of the older ways. At the same time, Yoshida Kenko associates beauty with impermanence; true beauty cannot last forever.

In the following extract, the author laments a widespread overindulgence in sake, an alcoholic beverage made from fermented rice. In elaborate depth, Yoshida describes the stupidities that those drunk on sake perform. In every case, the drunkard violates both good taste and reason. Nevertheless, Yoshida does list some situations in which he believes the imbibing of sake is justified. In most instances, Yoshida pictures the drinker having a small amount of liquor in a quiet, intimate, or natural setting, such as in a flowery field or with a small group of close friends. These distinctions indicate that sake is not, in fact, disliked by Yoshida—rather, he merely detests shameless and outrageous displays of public drunkenness. Drinking should be done in moderation and in private.

There are many things in this world that I do not understand. For example, you give other people sake to drink, and you think this is enjoyable. I can't understand why. The drinker grimaces, he frowns, he watches for an opportunity to throw away the sake or to escape, but the host traps him, holds him back, and forces him to drink. Next, intelligent men become all at once fools and do stupid things. Healthy people fall ill under our very eyes, and lie down, dead to the world. What an absurd way to celebrate a festival! The next day they have a headache, they can't eat anything, they let out long sighs, they can no longer remember the things of the night and say that they were in another life. They neglect both private and public business, no matter how important, and become ill. To make people go through this is neither hospitable nor decent. How can one who has seen such harsh things not view them with distaste and irritation? If we heard that a similar custom existed in some foreign country, we would undoubtedly find it bizarre and outrageous.

Seeing these things happen shocks the heart. Some thoughtful people, who are important, foolishly hold themselves proudly and start gabbing. They tilt their hat, they unknot their belts, they roll up their sleeves; they have such a stunned look that they become almost unrecognizable. Women push back their hair, shamelessly showing their forehead. They throw back their heads and seize the hand of the man to whom they are offering the drink. Some rude fellow, taking a bit of fish, raises it to someone else's lips and then eats the rest himself—a disgusting sight! Everyone sings at the top of their lungs and dances. An old monk, urged to dance, uncovers a dark black shoulder and performs a strange unwatchable dance. The people who look at this in enjoyment repulse and detest me. Next, the drunkard boasts greatly of his skills and qualities (which the others find hideously tiresome), and he cries out in his drunkenness. Commoners quarrel and argue, generating fear and anxiety. The intoxicated crowd behaves like ruffians; they grab things that you do not want to give them. They fall off the veranda, or from a horse, or out of the carriage, and end up injured. Those who can't use a vehicle teeter in the street, they lean against the walls or against the gates, and perform all sorts of stupidities. An old monk, wearing the priestly sash, stops a young boy and tells him

about some foolishness—what a pitiful sight. Would that, either in this life or in the life to come, sake offered something actually interesting!

In this world, sake brings with it a host of wrongs—the victim loses his money and his health. Although one calls the man of a hundred cures, ten thousand diseases come to him. Although it's said that sake makes you forget sadness, in fact drunk people remember past miseries and bemoan them. With regard to the future life, sake destroys the wisdom of men, it burns like fire the roots of goodness, increases one's faults, encourages one to violate all the commandments and to fall into hell. "He who gives other people drink will be born without hands for five hundred lives." That is what Buddha said about the matter.

Although sake is indeed detestable, there are some occasions when one cannot justly refuse it. Sake increases pleasure if offered on a bright moonlit night, on a snowy morning, or amongst the flowers when you are at peace. If, on a tedious day, a friend suddenly arrives, then it is enjoyable to receive him with a bit of sake. If in the palace, one sees a bit of sake pleasantly offered, along with some cakes and other things, it is very agreeable. In a small room, during the winter, cooking something—then it is pleasant to drink some sake with a few close friends. In a temporary hut on a voyage, or in some remote place, it is pleasant to drink a bit of the herb. Occasionally, someone who doesn't like to drink should have a bit anyway, especially if a superior urges it. Likewise, it is fine for someone to have sake when someone with whom they want to network loves sake, and, while drinking, they strike up a friendship. In every case, we are always strangely indulgent of the faults of a drinking partner.

Source: *Anthologie de la littérature japonaise des origines au xxe siècle*. Ed. Michel Revon. Paris: Delagrave, 1919, pp. 297–99. Translated from the French by Lawrence Morris.

5. Moctezuma's Feasts

The author of the following extract, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, traveled with Hernán Cortés to Mexico in 1519 in the ultimately successful Spanish attempt to subjugate the much-hated Aztec empire. As an eyewitness to much of the Spanish campaign, Castillo provides valuable insight into how the Spanish viewed and understood the Native American cultures of early sixteenth-century America.

In the following extract elaborating the dining customs of the Aztec ruler Moctezuma (called "Montezuma" in this translation), Bernal Díaz del Castillo highlights those customs that emphasize the royalty and difference of Moctezuma. For example, Díaz claims that, according to rumor, Moctezuma ate the flesh of young children. Although the Aztecs did occasionally practice ritual cannibalism, the flesh of young children never played a staple role in the Native American diet. By deciding to report the rumor, however, Díaz paints Moctezuma as very different from the Spanish leaders, indeed as vaguely monstrous. Díaz's claim that Moctezuma stopped this practice as a result of Cortés's intervention likewise suggests that the Spanish conquistadors were "civilizing" influences on the native population.

At the same time, Díaz mentions details of the Aztec ruler's feast that would not be out of place in any European royal court during the high Middle Ages. Moctezuma, like any king,

eats a wide variety of foods—the variety proving the wealth and luxury of the court. Similarly, the king watches entertainment provided by jesters while he eats, and just like a European monarch, he gives morsels of particularly delicious food to favored guests and counselors.

Unlike most European potentates, however, Moctezuma generally eats by himself. Although he has counselors present and female servants, Moctezuma eats first. The servants even place a screen in front of Moctezuma to shield him from the view of others. Only after Moctezuma has finished his meal does his vast retinue of administrators, guards, and servants eat. Such rituals ultimately serve to reinforce the social and political hierarchies. Meals do not just satisfy hunger—they also remind everyone who is in charge.

Montezuma's cooks had upwards of thirty different ways of dressing meats, and they had earthen vessels so contrived as to keep them always hot. For the table of Montezuma himself, above three hundred dishes were dressed, and for his guards, above a thousand. Before dinner, Montezuma would sometimes go out and inspect their preparations, and his officers would point out to him which were the best, and explained of what birds and flesh they were composed; and of those he would eat. But this was more for amusement than any thing else. It is said that at times the flesh of young children was dressed for him; but the ordinary meats were domestic fowls, pheasants, geese, partridges, quails, venison, Indian hogs, pigeons, hares, and rabbits, with many other animals and birds peculiar to the country. This is certain; that after Cortes had spoken to him relative to the dressing of human flesh, it was not practiced in the palace. At his meals, in the cold weather, a number of torches of bark of a wood which makes no smoke and has an aromatic smell, were lighted, and that they should not throw too much heat, screens, ornamented with gold, and painted with figures of idols, were placed before them. Montezuma was seated on a low throne, or chair, at a table proportioned to the height of his seat. The table was covered with white cloths and napkins, and four beautiful women presented him with water for his hands, in vessels which they called Xicales, with other vessels under them like plates, to catch the water; they also presented him with towels. Then, two other women brought small cakes of bread, and when the king began to eat, a large screen of wood, gilt, was placed before him, so that people should not during that time see him. The women having retired to a little distance, four ancient lords stood by the throne, to whom Montezuma from time to time spoke or addressed questions, and as a mark of particular favor, gave to each of them a plate of that which he was eating. I was told that these old lords, who were his near relations, were also counselors and judges. The plates which Montezuma presented to them, they received with high respect, eating what was in them without taking their eyes off the ground. He was served on earthenware of Cholua, red and black. While the king was at table, no one of his guards, or in the vicinity of his apartment, dared for their lives make any noise. Fruit of all the kinds that the country produced was laid before him; he ate very little, but from time to time, a drink prepared from cocoa, and of a stimulative, or corroborative quality, as we were told, was presented to him in golden cups. We could not at that time see if he drank it or not, but I observed a number of jars, above fifty, brought in, filled with foaming chocolate, of which he took some, which the women presented to him. At different intervals during the time of the dinner, there entered certain Indians, hump-backed, very deformed, and ugly, who played tricks of buffoonery, and others who they said



Moctezuma. Facsimile of the copper plate in the Venice edition of Solis' *Conquista* (1715), based on earlier images. Although this portrait is somewhat fanciful, it does depict some genuine Aztec clothing and equipment, such as their elaborate feather shield. Chaibis.

were jesters. There was also a company of singers and dancers, who afforded Montezuma much entertainment. To these he ordered the vases of chocolate to be distributed. The four female attendants then took away the cloths, and again with much respect presented him with water to wash his hands, during which time Montezuma conversed with the four old noblemen formerly mentioned, after which they took their leave with many ceremonies. One thing I forgot, and no wonder, to mention in its place, and that is, that during the time Montezuma was at dinner, two very beautiful women were busily employed making small cakes with eggs and other things mixed therein. These were delicately white, and when made they presented them to him on plates covered with napkins. Also another kind of bread was brought to him in long loaves, and plates of cakes resembling wafers. After he had dined, they presented to him three little canes highly ornamented, containing liquid amber, mixed with an herb they call tobacco; and when he had sufficiently viewed and heard the singers, dancers, and buffoons, he took a little of the smoke of one of these canes, and then laid himself down to sleep; and thus his principal meal concluded. After this was over, all his guards and domestics sat down to dinner, and as near as I could judge, above a thousand plates of those eatables that I have mentioned were laid before them, with vessels of foaming chocolate, and fruit in an immense quantity. For his women and various inferior servants, his establishment was of a prodigious expense; and we were astonished, amidst such a profusion, at the vast regularity that prevailed.

Source: Díaz, Bernal del Castillo. *The True History of the Conquest of Mexico*. Translated by Maurice Keatinge. London: Harrap, 1927, pp. 171–73. Translation slightly modified by Lawrence Morris.

6. Muslim Indian Cuisine

The Englishman Sir Thomas Roe was an influential political agent, served as an ambassador to the Mughal dynasty emperor and to Constantinople during the early seventeenth century, and wrote copiously about his experiences. Unlike some of his contemporaries, Roe frequently praised the customs of the foreign peoples among whom he traveled. In the following extract, Roe describes the diet of Muslims (called “Mahometans” in the extract) in what is today northern India. According to Roe, their diet consisted chiefly of a spicy meat stew, and those too poor to afford this dish survived on a simple flat bread served with a small amount of butter. Roe’s description of the delicious dishes served during a formal dinner in a perfumed tent shows how willingly Roe noted the good points of the cultures he visited. The great variety of dishes served at the dinner—upwards of 50—resembles the royal dinners of the Aztec ruler Moctezuma described in Document 5. Roe also notes that almonds formed the basis of many sweet dishes. Most of all, Roe approved of the Muslims’ refusal to overindulge in food—they scrupulously avoided gluttony. According to Roe, their abstemiousness was rewarded with long lives and freedom from disease.

SECTION X. OF THEIR DIET, THEIR COOKERY IN DRESSING IT, &C.

And though this Country affords very much variety of excellent good Provisions, yet the Mahometans feed not freely on any flesh, but on that which is strange, and forbidden (of the Hindoos Diet I shall speak afterwards): but for the Mahometans they are a people, as I conceive, not much given to their Palate; but are very careful of, and temperate in their Diet, as having learn'd by experience, that full bellies do more oppress, than strengthen the body, that too much of the Creature doth not comfort but destroy Nature; It being a tried truth, that Gluttony reacheth, and kills those whom swords cannot touch. All Diseases of the body for the most part being contracted to it by Surfeits, in one kind or other; and therefore they keep themselves to a thin Diet, and eat not to pamper and please their Appetite, but to satisfy and support nature, which is contented with a little every where, but with less in hot Countries, where men's digestion of food is not so quick and good; this being further a tried truth, that those bodies are most strong, active, and healthy, which are most temperate.

Therefore though they have abundance of flesh and fowl, and have fish too, yet are they temperate in all of them. For Swine's flesh, it is an abomination unto the Mahometans; and therefore they touch it not. And for other kind of flesh, they eat very little of them alone, to make their full meals of them, for they dress no kind of flesh in great pieces, or whole joynts, nor scarce any of their fowls whole.

For boiling of flesh in water, or baking or roasting any flesh, are pieces of Cookery (if I observed well) they know not; but they stew all their flesh as their Kid and other Venison, &c. out into sippets, or slices, or little parts, to which they put Onions, and Herbs, and Roots, and Ginger, (which they take there green out of the earth) and other Spices, with some butter, which ingredients when as they are well proportioned, make a Food that is exceedingly pleasing to all Palates, at their first tasting thereof most savoury Meat, haply that very dish which Jacob made for his Father Isaac, when he got the blessing, Gen. 27.

With their flesh and herbs, etc., they sometimes stew Hens and other Fowl cut in pieces, which is like that the Spaniards call an Oleo, but more toothsome.

But their great common standing dish there is Rice, which they boil with more Art than we: for they boil the grain so as that it is full, and plump, and tender, but not broken in boiling; they put to it a little green Ginger, and Pepper, and Butter, and this is the ordinary way of their dressing it, and so 'tis very good.

Sometimes they boil pieces of flesh, or Hens, and other Fowl cut in pieces in their Rice, which dish they call Pillau; as they order it, they make it a very excellent, and a very well-tasted Food.

Once my Lord Ambassadour had an Entertainment there by Asaph Chan, who invited him to dinner (and this was the only respect in that kind he ever had, while he was in East India). That Asaph Chan was a Man made by his great Alliances, the greatest Subject and Favourite in all that Empire; for his Sister was the Mogol's most beloved Wife, and his Daughter was married unto Sultan Caroon the Prince, and very much beloved by him, but of all these, more afterward. This Asaph Chan entertained my Lord Ambassador in a very spacious and a very beautiful Tent, where none of his followers besides my self, saw, or tasted of that Entertainment.

That Tent was kept full of a very pleasant Perfume; in which tents the King and Grandees there take very much delight. The floor of the Tent was first covered all over with very rich and large Carpets, which were covered again in the places where our dinner stood, with other good Carpets, made of stitched Leather, to preserve them which were richer; and these were covered again with pure white and fine Callico Clothes, and all these covered with very many dishes of Silver, but for the greater part of those Silver dishes they were not larger than our largest trencher-plates, the brims of all of them gilt.

We sat in that large Room as it were in a Triangle; The Ambassadors on Asaph Chan's right hand a good distance from him, and my self below; all of us on the ground, as they there all do when as they eat, with our Faces looking each to the other, and every one of us had his several mess. The Ambassador had more dishes by ten, and I less by ten, than our entertainer had, yet for my part I had fifty dishes. They were all set before us at once, and little paths left betwixt them, that our entertainer's servants (for only they waited) might come and reach them to us one after another, and so they did. So that I tasted of all set before me, and of most did but taste, though all of them tasted very well.

Now of the provision itself, for our larger dishes, they were filled with Rice, dressed (as before described.) And this Rice was presented to us, some of it white, in its own proper colour, some of it made yellow with Saffron, and some of it was made green, and some of it put into a purple colour, but by what Ingredient I know not, but this I am sure, that it all tasted very well; And with Rice thus ordered, several of our dishes were furnished, and very many more of them with flesh of several kinds, and with Hens, and with other sort of Fowl cut in pieces, as before I observed in their Indian Cookery.

To these we had many Jellies, and Culices; Rice ground to flower, and then boyled, and after sweetned with Sugar-Candy and Rose-Water to be eaten cold. The flower of Rice mingled with sweet Almonds, made as small as they could, and with some of the most fleshy parts of Hens stewed with it, and after the flesh so beaten into pieces, that it could not be discerned, all made sweet with Rose-Water and Sugar-Candy, and scented with Amber-Grease; this was another of our dishes, and a most luscious one, which the Portugals call Mangee Real, Food for a King. Many other dishes we had, made up in Cakes of several forms, of the finest of the wheat-flower, mingled with Almonds and Sugar-Candy, whereof some were scented, and some not. To these Potatoes excellently well dressed, and to them divers Sallads, and the curious fruits of that Country, some preserved in Sugar, and others raw, and to these many Roots candied, Almonds blanched, Raisons of the Sun, Prunellas, and I know not what, of all enough to make up that number of dishes before named; and with these quelque chose, was that entertainment made up.

And it was better a great deal, than if it had consisted of full and heaped up dishes, such as are sometimes amongst us provided, for great and profuse entertainments. Our Bread was of very good and excellent Wheat, made up very white and light, in round Cakes; and for our Drink, some of it was brewed for ought I know, ever since Noah his Flood, that good innocent water, being all the Drink there commonly used (as before) and in those hot Climates (it being better digested there than in any other parts) it is very sweet, and allays thirst better than any other Liquor can, and therefore better pleaseth, and agreeth better with every Man that comes and lives there, than any other Drink.

At this entertainment we sat long, and much longer than we could with ease cross-legged, but all considered, our Feast in that place was better than Apicius, that famous

Epicure of Rome, with all his witty Gluttony (for so Paterculus calls it, ingeniosa Gula,) could have made with all provisions had from the Earth, and Air, and Sea.

My Lord Ambassadour observed not that uneasy way of sitting at his meat, but as in his own House had Tables and Chairs, etc. Served he was altogether in Plate, and had an English, and Indian Cook to dress his diet, which was very plentiful, and cheap likewise; so that by reason of the great variety of provisions there, his weekly account for his House-keeping came but to little.

The meaner sort of people there eat Rice boiled with their green-Ginger and a little Pepper, after which they put Butter into it, which is their principal dish, and but seldom eaten by them: But their ordinary Food is made (not of the flour of Wheat) but of a coarse well tasted Grain, made up in round broad and thick Cakes, which they bake upon their thin iron plates (before spoken of) which they carry with them, when as they travel from place to place; when they have baked those Cakes, they put a little Butter on them: And doubtless the poor people find this a very hearty Food, for they who live most upon it, are as strong as they could be, if they had their diet out of the King's Kitchen. I shall here say no more of this, but proceed to speak.

Source: Roe, Thomas. *A Voyage into the East Indies*. In Pietro della Valle, *The Travels of Sig. Pietro della Valle, a Noble Roman, into East-India and Arabia Deserta in Which, the Several Countries, Together with the Customs, Manners, Traffique, and Rites Both Religious and Civil, of Those Oriental Princes and Nations, Are Faithfully Described*. London: Macock, 1665, pp. 406–09.

Housing and Furniture

Food and shelter are the basic necessities of life. Being necessary, however, is not the same as being simple. Indeed, the necessities of life also offer some of the greatest scope for conspicuous consumption. In the extract from *Gawain and the Green Knight* (Document 9), the anonymous author highlights how expensive and luxurious every aspect of Bertilak's castle is. Every detail—towers, high walls, silk carpets, and ermine-lined robes—creates the impression of immense wealth and privilege. In this case, the wealth highlights the nobility and generosity of the host and serves as an ideal to be striven for, but never attained, by the audience.

The reality of medieval estates could be very different from the ideal. The accounting of one of *Charlemagne's* royal estates (Document 7) shows that rural estates were valued primarily for their agricultural wealth, not for the luxuriousness of the buildings themselves. According to the document, this royal estate, for example, had 1,800 measures of barley, but only one set of bed sheets. The luxurious silk tapestries and carpets that Gawain encounters in the deep woods of medieval England would rarely appear in such a location in reality. People generally brought their own supplies.

Forms of shelter are by no means universal across the globe. Local climactic and cultural conditions affect what form and construction of buildings best serve the inhabitants. In Thomas Roe's account of the buildings he saw in the empire of the *Mughal dynasty* of northern India in the seventeenth century (Document 8), the hot climate and nomadic lifestyle of the inhabitants had a clear impact on the kind of buildings they constructed and how they used those buildings. In the cities, for example, the Indians built large terraces and large double doors to pull the cooling breeze inside. The houses,

moreover, were largely unornamented because the inhabitants would frequently follow their traditional nomadic lifestyle for part of the year and therefore did not waste money on fixed furnishings and also because the noblemen held their houses only at the king's pleasure and could lose those houses at any time. The temporary nature of these houses thus inhibited any large expense on complex ornamentation or bulky furnishings. Instead, the Indians relied on carpets and blankets for their beds and decorations.

The Indian rainy season lay behind yet another aspect of Indian architecture that Roe found fascinating: the large wells and water tanks, some of which were over one mile wide. These cleverly constructed tanks collected water during the rainy season and then kept that water for communal use throughout the long dry season. Necessity bred ingenuity.

7. One of Charlemagne's Estates

The accounting that follows offers a clear picture of a royal estate in the countryside belonging to the Frankish king Charlemagne (c. 742–814). As the description indicates, although the estate belonged to the king, it was by no means outrageously luxurious. The main house had 3 main rooms and 11 smaller chambers for female inhabitants, plus one cellar. Moreover, there were bedclothes for just one bed, plus one tablecloth and one towel. One hopes that 11 people did not show up at the same time on a whim! Of course, servants would equip the house fully before any scheduled royal visits, which were undoubtedly infrequent. Many of the functions we associate with a house, moreover, were performed in separate buildings. Thus, outside but still within the central courtyard was the kitchen, plus various work buildings such as a mill, granary, and barn.

The most important aspect of the estate, however, was not the house, but rather the agricultural business that took place on the estate. Most of the account describes in precise detail the quantities of agricultural goods that the rich farmlands had produced. In an era before the ready transportation of goods, the agricultural products were suitably diverse, including both livestock and wheat, barley, peas, and so on. The combined nature of the report—a description of the house and the agricultural business together—indicates that such rural houses served primarily as organizational centers rather than as residences for the king. The number of barley measures was ultimately much more important than the number of bedsheets.

We found in the imperial estate of Asnapium a royal house built of stone in the very best manner, having 3 rooms. The entire house was surrounded with balconies and it had 11 apartments for women. Underneath was 1 cellar. There were 2 porticoes. There were 17 other houses built of wood within the courtyard, with a similar number of rooms and fixtures, all well constructed. There was 1 stable, 1 kitchen, 1 mill, 1 granary, and 3 barns.

The yard was enclosed with a hedge and a stone gateway, and above was a balcony from which distributions can be made. There was also an inner yard, surrounded by a hedge, well arranged, and planted with various kinds of trees.

Of vestments: coverings for 1 bed, 1 table-cloth, and 1 towel.

Of utensils: 2 brass kettles, 2 drinking cups, 2 brass cauldrons, 1 iron cauldron, 1 frying pan, 1 grammalin, 1 pair of andirons, 1 lamp, 2 hatchets, 1 chisel, 2 augers, 1 axe,

1 knife, 1 large plane, 1 small plane, 2 scythes, 2 sickles, 2 spades edged with iron, and a sufficient supply of utensils of wood.

Of farm produce: old spelt from last year, 90 baskets which can be made into 450 weight of flour, and 100 measures of barley. From the present year, 110 baskets of spelt, of which 60 baskets had been planted, but the rest we found, 100 measures of wheat, 60 sown, the rest we found, 98 measures of rye all sown, 1,800 measures of barley, 1,100 sown, the rest we found; 430 measures of oats; 1 measure of beans; 12 measures of peas. At 5 mills were found 800 measures of small size. At 4 breweries, 650 measures of small size, 240 given to clergymen, the rest we found. At 2 bridges, 60 measures of salt and 2 shillings. At 4 gardens, 11 shillings. Also honey, 3 measures; about 1 measure of butter; lard, from last year 10 sides; new sides, 200, with fragments and fats; cheese from the present year, 43 weights.

Of cattle: 51 head of larger cattle; 5 three-year-olds; 7 two-year-olds; 7 yearlings; 10 two-year old colts; 8 yearlings; 3 stallions; 16 cows; 2 asses; 50 cows with calves; 20 young bulls; 38 yearling calves; 3 bulls; 260 hogs; 100 pigs; 5 boars; 150 sheep with lambs; 200 yearling lambs; 120 rams; 30 goats with kids; 30 yearling kids; 3 male goats; 30 geese; 80 chickens; 22 peacocks.

Also concerning the manors which belong to the above mansion: in the villa of Grisio we found domain buildings where there are 3 barns and a yard enclosed by a hedge. There were, besides, 1 garden with trees, 10 geese, 8 ducks, 30 chickens.

In another villa we found domain buildings and a yard surrounded by a hedge, and within 3 barns; 1 arpent of vines; 1 garden with trees; 15 geese; 20 chickens.

In a third villa, domain buildings, with 2 barns; 1 granary; 1 garden and 1 yard well enclosed by a hedge.

We found all the dry and liquid measures just as in the palace. We did not find any goldsmiths, silversmiths, blacksmiths, huntsmen, or persons engaged in other services.

The garden herbs which we found were lily, putchuck, mint, parsley, rue, celery, libesticum, sage, savory, juniper, leeks, garlic, tansy, wild mint, coriander, scullions, onions, cabbage, kohlrabi, betony. Trees: pears, apples, medlars, peaches, filberts, walnuts, mulberries, quinces.

Source: Oggs, Frederic Austin. *A Source Book of Mediaeval History*. New York: American, 1908, pp. 127–29.



The Coronation of Charlemagne by Pope Leo II (A.D. 800).
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8. Indian Houses, Furnishings, and Wells

Sir Thomas Roe, the great seventeenth-century English diplomat, traveled extensively in the Middle East and India. In the extract reproduced here, he records the details of the buildings

and houses that he saw during his stay in the realm of the Mughal dynasty of northern India. Throughout his description, Roe notes how the hot climate of India, with its seasonal rains, and the Indians' way of life affected the architecture. For example, he notes that even the wealthiest inhabitants rarely built deluxe and luxurious abodes because they spent part of the year leading the traditional nomadic lifestyle of their ancestors. Given that a large part of their year was spent living in tents, the aristocrats decided not to waste money decorating only part-time homes. Moreover, according to Roe, all the houses were granted to the wealthy by the Mughal ruler himself, so the inhabitants could not count on living in the same house forever. The temporary nature of their abode made permanent investment in the houses unwise.

The hot climate, moreover, encouraged an architecture that sought to alleviate the heat. The houses featured large terraces, for example, so that the inhabitants could spend much of the time in the cooling breeze, and the upper stories also featured double doors that could be opened wide to encourage the breeze inside. The houses did not feature chimneys because fires for heat were unnecessary, and fires for cooking were generally located as far from the living quarters as possible to avoid the excess heat.

Houses in the city were built of sturdy stone and timber, but the poor villages in the countryside featured less expensive materials. According to Roe, the village huts were built immediately next to each other, sharing the same walls, and were constructed out of mud and sticks—a kind of wattle and daub construction, undoubtedly. The timing of construction was important; the houses were built immediately after the rainy season so that the walls would have cured hard by the time the rains came again.

Neither city houses nor rural houses featured furniture to any great degree. The inhabitants of northern India, according to Roe, would lie down on soft blankets and carpets, or at most in a cot or hammock, when they went to bed. Similarly, they would sit on the floor. The ease with which carpets, as opposed to chairs, can be moved obviously suited the nomadic lifestyle. Roe believed that this simple life could have significant health benefits. He attributes the good posture and absence of physical deformities to the Indian habit of sleeping on the back without pillows.

The climatic conditions likewise encouraged a great ingenuity in the construction of vast wells and water tanks. These stone and earth structures would be cleaned just before the rainy season to maintain the purity of the water and would then collect water during the entire rainy season. This water would then last throughout the dry season until the next rainy season came. Special access points and stairs were provided so that anyone from the neighboring cities could descend into the well on foot to collect water.

The natural landscape also clearly impressed Roe. His account frequently mentions the lions that would enter the Englishmen's camps at night and devour domestic animals, including a pet dog in one case. The roaring of lions around his camp seemed to still reverberate in Roe's ears, given the vividness of the description.

Roe's depiction of India shows how very different the habitations of the Mughal dynasty were from the elaborately furnished homes of Europe. India, however, does not appear inferior as a result. Rather, the roaring of lions outside nomadic tents seems fundamentally romantic, swashbuckling, and exciting.

SECTION IX. OF THEIR BUILDINGS IN VILLAGES, TOWNS, AND CITIES; HOW THEIR HOUSES ARE FURNISHED; OF THEIR SARRA'S OR HOUSES FOR THE ENTERTAINMENT OF PASSENGERS; OF THEIR TENTS, WELLS, AND OF THEIR PLACES OF PLEASURE, &C.

I Observed before the richness of their Soil, and how those Provinces are watered by many goodly Rivers, fed with abundance of Springs; and how their Fields are clothed

with very much plenty of Corn of divers kind, sold there at such low rates that every one may there eat bread without scarceness.

Now I come to take notice of their Buildings; and here I must tell my Reader, that this People are not much taken or infected with that plague of Building (as the Italians call it) wishing the love of it as a Curse to possess the thoughts of them they most hate; and therefore, as the stones in India are not all precious, so the Houses there are not at all Palaces; the poor there cannot erect for their dwellings fair Piles, and the Grandees do not cover their heads under such curious Roofs, as many of the Europeans do. The reason, first, because all the great men there live a great part of the year, (in which their Months are more temperate, as from the middle of September, to the midst of April) in Tents, Pavilions, or moveable habitations, which, according to their fancies, changing they remove from place to place, changing their air as often as they please. And secondly, because all the great men there have their Pensions and whole subsistence from the King, which they hold upon very fickle and uncertain terms; for as they are settled upon, and continued unto them by the King's favour, so are they forfeited and lost by his frown. Of which more afterward.

Yet though they make not much use of them, they have in plenty excellent good materials for building, as Timber, Bricks, stone and marble of divers kinds and colours, of which I have seen some very good Vaults and Arches well wrought, as in their Mosquits or Churches, so in some of their high-erected Tombs, (of which more afterward) and so in some other places likewise.

For their buildings in Cities and Towns, there are some of them handsome, others fair, such as are inhabited by Merchants, and none of them very despicable. They build their houses low, not above two stories, and many of their tops flat and thick, which keep off the violence of the heat; and those flat tops, supported with strong Timber, and coated over with a plaster (like that we call plaster of Paris) keep them dry in the time of the Rains.

Those broad Terraces, or flat Roofs, some of them lofty, are places where many people may stand (and so they often do) early in the morning, and in the evening late, like Chameleons, to draw, and drink in fresh air; and they are made after this fashion, for prospect, as well as pleasure. Those houses of two stories have many of them very large upper rooms, which have many double doors in the sides of them, like those in our Balconies, to open and let in fresh air, which is likewise conveyed in unto them, by many lesser lights made in the walls of those rooms, which are always free and open; The use of glass windows, or any other shuttings, being not known there, nor in any other very hot Countries. Neither have they any Chimneys in their buildings, because they never make any use of fire but to dress their food, which fire they make against firm wall, or without their Tents against some bank of Earth, as remote as may be from the places where they use to keep, that they may receive no annoyance from the heat thereof.

It is their manner in many places, to plant about, and amongst their buildings, trees which grow high and broad, the shadow whereof keeps their houses by far more cool; this I observ'd in a special manner when we were ready to enter Amadavar; for it appeared to us, as if we had been entering a Wood, rather than a City. That Amadavar is a very large and populous City, entered by many fair Gates girt about with an high and thick Wall of Brick, which mounts above the tops of their houses, without which wall there are no suburbs.

Most of the houses within the City are of Brick, and very many of them ridged and covered with Tiles. But for their houses in their Aldeas or Villages, which stand very thick in that Country, they are generally very poor and base. All those Country-dwellings are set up close together; for I never observed any house there to stand single, and alone. Some of their houses in those villages are made with earthen walls, mingled with straw, set up immediately after their Rains, and having a long season after to dry them thoroughly, stand firm, and so continue; they are built low, and many of them flat: but for the general-ity of those Country-Villages, the Cottages in them are miserably poor, little, and base; so that as they are built with a very little charge, set up with sticks rather than Timber, if they chance to fire (as many times they do) for a very little they may be re-edified.

Those who inhabit the Country-Villages, are called Coolees. These till the ground, and breed up Cattle, and other things for provision, as Hens, etc. They who plant the Sugar, the Cotton-wool, and Indigo, etc., for their Trades and Manufactures, they are kept in Cities and Towns, about which are their choicest fruits planted. In their Cities and Towns, without their dwellings, but fix't to them, are pend-houses where they shew and sell their provisions, as bread, and flower-cakes made up with Sugar, and fruits, and other things; and there they show their manufactures, and other Commodities, some of which they carry twice every day to sell in the Bazar or Market.

I saw two houses of the Mogol's, one at Mandoa, the other at Amadaver, which appeared large & stately, built of excellent stone well squared and put together, each of them taking up a large compass of ground; but we could never see how they were contrived within, because there are none admitted, strangers or others, to have a sight of those houses, while the King's wives and women are there, which must not be seen by any but by himself, and his servants the Eunuchs.

The Mogol's Palace Royal is at Agra his Metropolis (of which more afterward) but for the present I shall take a little notice of a very curious Grot I saw belonging to his house at Mandoa, which stood a small distance from it, for the building of which there was a way made into a firm Rock, which showed it self on the side of an Hill, Canopied over with part of that Rock. It was a place that had much beauty in it by reason of the curious workmanship bestowed on it; and much pleasure by reason of its coolness.

That City Mandoa I speak of, is situated upon a very high mountain, the top whereof is flat, and plain, and spacious. From all parts that lie about it but one; the ascent is very high, and steep; and the way to us seemed exceeding long, for we were two whole days climbing up the Hill, with our Carriages, which we got up with very much difficulty; not far from the bottom of which Hill, we lodged at a great town called Achabar-pore, where we ferried over a broad River (as we did in other places) for I observed no bridges made there over any of their Rivers where their high-ways lie. That Hill on which Mandoa stands, is stuck round (as it were) with fair trees, that keep their distance so one from and below the other that there is much delight in beholding them either from the bottom or top of that Hill.

In those vast and far extended Woods, there are Lions, Tigers, and other beasts of Prey, and many wild Elephants. We lay one night in that wood with our Carriages, and those Lions came about us discovering themselves by their Roaring; but we keeping a very good fire all night, they came not near enough to hurt either our selves, or cattle. Those cruel Beasts are night-walkers for in the day they appear not.

After when (through God's most gracious assistance) we had overcome those difficulties and dangers, we came into a plain and even Country; in which travelling a few days more, we first met with my Lord Ambassador marching towards Mandoa with that great King, with whom I then settled, and continued with him, till he was returned home.

We were in our journey to the Court from the beginning of January, till the end of March, we resting a while at Brampore, which is a very spacious and populous City, where we had a Factory. And after that, we were violently detained in our journey by Sultan Caroon the Prince, whom we met in his march towards Brampore, & a very marvelous great retinue with him. The reason why he interrupted us in our course was, that he might see the Presents we had for his Father the King; but we having command from the Ambassador to tell him, that we durst not open them, till we came to the King, we most humbly craved his pardon to spare us in that; so presenting him with a pair of Rich Gloves (though they be things they wear not in those hot Countries) and a rich embroidered bag for perfume (which amongst many other things of the like kind were brought from England to be given away for Presents) after that he had carried us back three days journey, he let us go, taking further order for our safe convoy.

And now Reader, thou mayest suppose us almost settled in Mandoa, the place then of the Mogol's residence, not much inhabited before we came thither, having more ruins by far about it, than standing houses. But amongst the Piles of building that had held up their heads above Ruin, there were not a few unfrequented Mosquits, or Mahometan Churches; yet I observed, that though the people who attended the King there, were marvellously straightened for room, wherein they might dispose of very great numbers of most excellent horses, which were now at that place, they would not make stables of any of those Churches, though before that time, they had been forsaken, and out of use.

One of those deserted Mosquits, with some large Tomb near it, both vaulted over head (which shall be after described) were the best places there to be gotten for my Lord Ambassadors and his Company to lodge and be in, we carrying our bedding, and all things appertaining thereto, all necessities belonging to our Kitchen, and every thing beside for bodily use, from place to place, as we occasionally removed. Here we stayed with the Mogol from the middle of April, till the twentieth of September following, and then began our progress with him, towards the City Amadavar.

Our abiding place at Mandoa, was very near one of the sides of that vast Wilderness, out of which, some of those wild beasts oft-times in the night came about our habitation, and seldom returned back without a Sheep, or a Goat, or a Kid, some of which we always kept about us for our provision. And it was a wonderful great mercy, those furious, and ravening, and hunger-bit Creatures, did not make their prey sometimes in the dark and silent nights, while we were sleeping, on some of our bodies, the fore-part of our dwelling standing upon pillars; and there was nothing in those open distances, that had any strength in it to keep them from us.

One night, early in the Evening, there was a great Lion which we saw, came into our Yard, (though our Yard was compassed about with a stone-wall, that was not low). And my Lord Ambassador having a little white neat Shock, that ran out barking at him, the Lion presently snapt him up, leapt again over the wall, and away he went.

But for a ravening and roaring Lion, as I believe that he cannot be made tame when he is old; yet certainly he may be bred tame, being kept full, and high fed. For the

Mogol, at my being there, had a very great Lion (I often saw) which went up and down, amongst the people that frequented his Court, gently as a dog, and never did hurt; only he had some Keepers which did continually wait upon him.

For those wild and cruel Beasts, one of our English-men watching in a tree by night, (that stood not far from our dwelling) with a fire-lock charged with some small bullets, shot a Tiger, and killed him stone-dead, as he was coming towards us. It was a large beast, higher than an Irish-Greyhound, with grizzled hair, a long head, & sharp and short picked ears, having a mouth filled with cruel teeth; after which (we usually keeping a little fire without our house every night) were not so much troubled with those night-walkers.

Now to return to that from which I am occasionally digressed, I told you before what their buildings are. And now for the furniture that the greatest men have in them, it is Curta supellex, very little; they being not beautified with hangings, nor with any thing besides to line their walls; but where they are best adorned, they are kept very white, and set off with a little neat painting and nothing else; for they have no Chairs, no stools, nor Couches, nor Tables, nor Beds, enclosed with Canopies, or Curtains, in any of their Rooms. And the truth is, that if they had them, the extreme heat there would forbid the use of many of them; all their bravery is upon their Floors, all which are made even with fine Earth or Plaster, on which they spread their most excellent Carpets in their Tents, as well as in their dwelling houses, laying some coarse thing under to preserve them; on which they sit (as Tailors on their shop-boards) when they meet together, putting off their shoes (which they usually wear as slippers and their feet bare in them) when they come to tread upon those soft Pavements, and keeping them off till they remove thence, this helps to keep cool their feet, and is very pleasant in those hot Countries. On those Carpets they sleep in the night time, or else upon an hard Quilt, or lying upon a flight and low Bed-stead they call a Cot, bottomed with broad Girt-web made of Cotton-wool. But wherever they lie, they stretch themselves out at their full length when they go to sleep, usually upon their backs, without any Pillow, or Bolster, to raise up their heads. Very many of the meaner sort of people (as I have often observed) lie thus stretched out to take their rest upon the ground, in the dry season of the year, with a white Callico-cloth spread all over them, which makes them to appear like so many dead corpses laid forth for burial. This lying so even, and at length with their bodies thus extended, may be one reason why the people there are all so straight limbed, having none crooked amongst them; and another, because they never girt, nor lace in their bodies (as before was observed). Some of those slight Bedsteads, they call Cots, in their standing houses hang by ropes, a little above ground, which are fastened to the four corners thereof; moved gently up and down, by their servants, to lull them asleep.

They have no Inns in those parts for the entertainment of strangers; but in some great Towns large Houses they call Sarras very substantially built, with brick, or stone, where any Passengers may find house-room and use it without any recompence; but there is nothing to be had beside room, all other things they must provide and bring with them, as when they lodge in Tents.

Amongst their Buildings I must take special notice of their Wells and Tanks, upon both which in very many places they bestow exceeding much cost in stone-work; for their Wells which are fed with Springs, they make them round, but very wide and large.

They are wrought up with firm stones laid in fine Plaster; they usually cover those Wells with a building over-head, and with Oxen draw water out of them, which riseth up in many small Buckets, whereof some are always going down, others continually coming up, and emptying themselves, in troughs, or little rills, made to receive, and convey the water whither they please.

Their Tanks are made in low places, and many of them very deep and large (one mile, and some of them much more in compass) made round or four-square, or in more squares, about which there is a low stone-wall, that hath many doors in it, and within that wall steps, made one below the other round about it, that go down to the bottom thereof, (which is paved likewise); those steps are made of well squared lasting stone, laid firm, and even in very good order, for people that have not plenty of water otherwise, to go down and take it. These great receptacles of water, are made near places that are very populous; filled when that long season of rain (before spoken of) comes, immediately before which time, they cleanse them, that the water may be more clear, and wholesome. They hold water all the dry season of the year.

Source: Roe, Thomas. *A Voyage into the East Indies*. In Pietro della Valle, *The Travels of Sig. Pietro della Valle, a Noble Roman, into East-India and Arabia Deserta in Which, the Several Countries, Together with the Customs, Manners, Traffique, and Rites Both Religious and Civil, of Those Oriental Princes and Nations, Are Faithfully Described*. London: Macock, 1665, pp. 398–404. Spelling has been altered slightly.

9. The Welcome at an English Manor House

The best way to explore medieval and Renaissance housing is, of course, to take a tour of the many such houses that remain. Fictional descriptions of contemporary housing, however, can offer a unique understanding not only of an edifice but also of the use and symbolic importance of that edifice. The magnificent late fourteenth-century Middle English masterpiece *Gawain and the Green Knight*, for example, highlights how a wealthy home built prestige by offering a warm welcome to noble guests. In the extract reproduced here, the anonymous author recounts how Gawain, an Arthurian knight, comes upon an unexpected castle in a deep wood in the middle of winter as an answer to his prayer for refuge and a place to hear Mass over the Christmas holiday. This English manor house appears literally in answer to his prayers.

In no way does Gawain paint an accurate description of a typical medieval welcome—silk carpets, for example, would be out of the question for almost all rural estates. The passage does, however, depict an ideal to which the audience could aspire. A nobleman would offer a prominent guest silk carpets if he could. Other aspects of Gawain's welcome are more possible, however. Fourteenth-century hosts eager to please a prestigious guest would undoubtedly welcome them heartily, remove their armor, bring them to a warm room, bring them rich attire (no need to pack a suitcase!), and have an elaborate meal prepared. The more important the guest, the more luxurious and elaborate would be the clothes, food, and welcome offered. In this way, the status of both the guest and the host can be measured. In the following passage from *Gawain and the Green Knight*, therefore, the incredibly rich clothes and bedroom decorations reveal both the host's wealth and the host's generosity, but also the honor that the host feels is due to Gawain. Honor, ultimately, is measured materialistically.

Of course, the elaborate exterior of the manor house—it features a multitude of chimneys, towers, windows, and walls—foreshadows the elaborate welcome within. The architectural details of this home reflect the most recent fashions of the late Middle Ages. In the early Middle Ages, even the wealthiest of buildings featured more simple, solid designs in the Romanesque style. The Gothic style of open spaces, elaborate towers, fancy decorations, and large windows began to sweep Europe in the twelfth century. The most elaborate workmanship was usually to be found in cathedrals, which could draw on a large economic base, so the elaborate craftsmanship of the private castle in Gawain and the Green Knight is even more impressive.

Gawain and the Green Knight is written in alliterative verse in a northwest dialect of Middle English. In the following translation, the editor has attempted to present the material simply and clearly and has abandoned the goal of capturing the detailed intricacies of the verse for the sake of more colloquial clarity.

When he had just finished making the sign of the cross three times, he noticed a dwelling place with a moat in the midst of the wood. On a knoll above a glade, underneath the boughs of many giant trees, in the middle of the moat, stood the most handsome castle that a knight ever owned. It was built in a meadow with a park all around it. The palace was thoroughly enclosed with pickets, and surrounded for two miles by trees. The nobleman contemplated the side of that stronghold as it shimmered and glowed through the fair oaks. Then he removed his helmet deftly and offered thanks to Jesus and St. Gilian, those noblemen who had shown him this sight and listened to his cry. “Good lodging,” he said, “I ask of you yet.” Then he spurred Gringolet with his golden spurs, and he sped to the main gate and the knight came quickly to the drawbridge. The bridge was stoutly pulled up, and the gates were securely closed. The walls were skillfully constructed: they feared no wind’s blast.

The warrior waited with his horse on the bank by the deep moat that enclosed the habitation. The wall stood very deep in the water and rose up to a huge height. It featured well carved stone up to the cornices, with horizontal projections in the best style below the battlements. There were pretty turrets strewn along the top, and many lovely windows looked out cleverly. That knight had never seen a better barbican. Further in, he espied the lofty and wide hall set with towers and many ornamental pinnacles, carved with wondrous skill. He examined the many chalk-white chimneys scattered along the castle’s roof: they gleamed brightly. So many painted pinnacles projected everywhere in the castle that it seemed almost as if cut out of paper. The knight expected a pleasant time, if he could manage to get inside, to lodge in that dwelling for the holidays. He called out, and a polite, polished porter came at once. He did his job and greeted the knight errant.

“Good sir,” said Gawain, “will you go as a messenger to the high lord of this house to ask lodging for me?” “Yes, by Peter,” said the porter, “and I am positive that you will be welcome to stay as long as you like.” Then the man went swiftly and returned as quickly, accompanied by a group to welcome the knight. They let down the huge drawbridge and went out in a group and knelt down on their knees upon the cold earth to welcome this man who seemed most worthy. They invited him to come through the opened-wide gates. He quickly made them rise and rode over the bridge. Several men held his saddle while he alighted and then strong men led the steed to a stable. Knights

and squires came then to lead this nobleman joyfully into the hall. When he took off his helmet, they hastened to take it from his hand and to serve him. They took his sword and his shield, and then each of the knights embraced him heartily, and many proud men strove to give that prince honor. They brought him in his armor into the hall where the blazing fire burned upon the floor. Then the lord of the people came out from his private room to greet honorably the guest; He said, "You are welcome to make use of everything here. Everything is yours, to use and enjoy at your pleasure." "Many thanks," said Gawain, "May Christ reward you." The happy men embraced each other.

Gawain gazed on the man who proffered him such a warm greeting. The man that owned the castle was bold, huge, and in the prime of life. His beard was large and intensely reddish-brown. He stood firmly on two massive legs, and had a face like fire, and was courteous in his speech. He appeared truly to Gawain to be a good leader of knights. The lord brought him into the room and commanded that a servant be brought immediately. Many men appeared at once. They brought him to a beautiful bedroom with luxurious bedclothes and silk curtains with golden hems and embroidered blankets lined with ermine. There were drapes hanging from gold rings, and rich, red tapestries of silk hung on the walls, and carpeted the floors as well. There the knight's armor was removed while they chatted pleasantly. The men quickly brought him a selection of rich robes to put on. As soon as he put one on and wrapped it around himself, the man's limbs shone brightly and resembled spring itself. They were of the opinion that Christ had never made a more handsome knight. It seemed that he had to be the best prince anywhere in the world where fierce men battle in the field.

A chair draped with cloths and padded with beautifully quilted cushions was placed for Sir Gawain in front of the chimney and a charcoal fire. Then a jolly mantle of rich, embroidered cloth, lined with fur—ermine in fact—with a hood of the same quality was placed upon him. He sat in that chair nobly arrayed, and warmed up quickly, and his spirits revived. A table was soon set up, decorated with a clean, bright table cloth, and laid with a salt cellar and silver spoons. The man washed and went to eat. Servants waited on him well, and brought him delicious stews in vast quantities, along with many kinds of fish. Some fish were baked in bread, and others were grilled over hot coals; some were poached, and some were stewed with spices. All the sauces were skillfully prepared and the man enjoyed them. The nobleman frequently proclaimed it a true feast, while the men beseeched him at the same time: "Accept this penitential fare graciously for now, and later we'll do better." The man grew very merry as the wine went to his head.

Source: *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. 2nd ed. Ed. J.R.R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967, lines 763–900. Translated for this volume by Lawrence Morris.

Clothing and Personal Appearance

According to an old adage, "Clothing makes the man." Or woman, for that matter. The documents presented in this section certainly seem to agree. Of course, documents that expressly examine clothing are likely to highlight the important role of clothing in self-presentation in daily life, yet the use of clothing across time and cultures to delineate and reveal socioeconomic class as well as personal taste indicates that clothing does play a central role in structuring societal and personal interactions.

Sumptuary laws, in which certain social classes are ordered to wear certain kinds of clothing, were prevalent across the globe, from medieval Europe to seventeenth-century South America. Clothing under such legislation serves as a readily apparent marker of political and economic power. The poor are marked as poor, and the wealthy are marked as wealthy. Of course, even without such legislation (as in the case of the modern-day United States), the differences between the wealthy and the poor can frequently be seen in clothing, but these differences are not enshrined in law. Document 13 gives a good overview of the practicalities of one system of clothing regulations: the fashions of the Incas of Peru and their subject peoples. At the pinnacle of the system stood the founder of the Inca people, *Manco Capac*. All the other tribes were permitted to imitate the Inca leader and his family in some respects but were never allowed to adopt exactly the same fashions. The ruling class determined what fashions were good, and the lower social classes could imitate, but never obtain, those same fashions. This structure naturally made Inca culture the center and pinnacle of achievement while debasing the previous tribal traditions of the conquered peoples.

The tribal or national traditions of dress were often greatly valued, as seen in Richard Brathwaite's remarks on Englishwomen's clothing of the seventeenth century (Documents 11 and 12). Brathwaite, however, was even more concerned with the morality of clothing. According to Brathwaite, an excessive interest in fancy clothing and foreign fashions corrupts the soul. Arguing from the biblical book of Genesis, where God dressed Adam and Eve in the skins of animals, Brathwaite claims that the modern desire for soft, luxurious, full clothing represents an indulgent debasement. Ultimately, instead of having wardrobes full of fine clothing, the wealthy should spend this money on clothing the poor. Only fools, moreover, value a people based on their appearance—much better to attract someone using internal qualities rather than external appearance. In sum, Brathwaite radically rejects the idea, seen in the Inca culture as well as in Brathwaite's contemporary Britain, that wealthy fashions are the best fashions.

Islamic law also saw fashion as a location of morality. However, unlike Brathwaite in the seventeenth century, who saw wealthy fashion as the main enemy, the seventh-century principles contained in the *Koran* saw immodest fashion as the most dangerous temptation. The passage extracted in Document 10 provides the rationale for Muslim women covering themselves in veils, either with simple headscarves or in full-length *hijab*. According to the *Koran*, such veiling will protect a woman's beauty from the gaze of men; the women should appear unveiled only in front of those who will not notice the beauty (children, relations, other women) or who are permitted to enjoy that beauty (husbands). Modest clothing therefore serves to control male lust.

The connections and connotations of clothing that these documents describe show that clothing and personal appearance are not, in fact, strictly personal. Clothing is fundamentally a way of communicating with others. Even when we do not speak or interact with someone, our appearance suggests to that person what we are like and what background we have. Clothing is not personal; it is a cultural construct as expressive and meaningful as language.

10. Women's Dress in the Koran

The passage from the Koran reprinted here provides the major textual backing for the practice of Muslim women wearing veils. The vagueness of the passage has allowed for multiple interpretations. Thus, in some regions, women wear full covering from head to foot (called hijab), whereas in other regions women wear a simple headscarf.

Regardless of interpretation, the purpose of the veils remains the same: the women reserve their "ornaments" (i.e., their physical beauty) primarily for their husbands, although the formality of veiling is not needed when dealing with close relations or with those unlikely to be aroused by the woman's appearance, such as small children. Veiling, therefore, serves primarily as a means of combating male desire and unwanted male attention.

And speak to the believing women that they refrain their looks, and observe continence; and that they display not their ornaments, except those which are external; and that they draw their veils over their bosoms, and display not their ornaments, except to their husbands or their fathers, or their husbands' fathers, or their sons, or their husbands' sons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or their slaves, or male domestics who have no natural force, or to children who note not women's nakedness. And let them not strike their feet together, so as to discover their hidden ornaments. And be ye wholly turned to God, O ye believers! Haply it shall be well with you.

Source: *El-Koran, or, The Koran*. 2nd ed. Translated by J. M. Rodwell. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1876, p. 492 (sura 24, verse 31).



Forced baptism of Muslim women, wearing hijab, in Granada after the Reconquista by the Catholic Kings in 1492. Painted wood relief, c. 1500. Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY.

11. Sinful Dress

A person's clothing can make a powerful impression and imply what kind of a person he or she is. Even today, this supposed connection between clothing and internal qualities remains strong—we get a different impression from someone in jeans and a T-shirt than from someone in a business suit. The Middle Ages and Renaissance were no different; in fact, people from those eras believed even more strongly in a connection between external appearance and internal character. In the extract that follows, the author, an Englishman named Richard Brathwaite, discusses what clothing is inappropriate, indeed, sinful, for a human being to wear.

Brathwaite classifies the abuse of clothing into four categories: inappropriate degree, excessive softness, foreign fashions, and simply too much. "Degree" refers to social class; throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, people were expected to dress in a manner that indicated what their social class was. In fact, sumptuary laws frequently attempted to legislate exactly what kinds of clothes any particular social class could wear. Such laws rarely succeeded in their ambitions—people of all classes consistently strove to wear the best clothing they could afford.

Brathwaite adds a further twist, however, by suggesting that all current styles of human clothing are excessive by noting that God gave Adam and Eve the skins of animals to wear in Genesis, but today humans have chosen instead to wear worm excrement, by which he means silk.

“Softness of apparel” refers to luxurious clothes with smooth textures. Once again referring to the clothing of the ancestors referenced in the Bible, consisting of rough skins and animal hair, Brathwaite suggests that human beings are becoming like their clothes: soft and effeminate. Better, according to Brathwaite, would be to adopt the animal skins of John the Baptist, if we want to be close to God.

Outlandish is the word Brathwaite chooses to describe foreign clothes. The word actually meant “foreign” (out + land) during Brathwaite’s time but was already coming to contain the sense of strange and over-the-top that the word has today. Brathwaite’s biblical citation is misleading here—although Brathwaite considers non-English clothing to be outlandish, the biblical personages of course were referring to Jewish clothing. English clothing, in fact, was very outlandish from a Jewish perspective.

Finally, Brathwaite discusses “superfluity of apparel,” by which he refers to two practices: (1) having too many changes of clothing and (2) having clothes made with too much cloth. The second criticism is perhaps the hardest to understand from a modern perspective because of changes in fashion. Today, clothing tends to contain more or less only the amount of cloth needed to cover the body; in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, however, clothes often had large amounts of extra cloth in the design. A prime example, which Brathwaite criticizes, is the long, billowing sleeves that often reached all the way to the ground. The purpose of such extra cloth was to show off wealth. Cloth was expensive, and more of it indicated that the wearer had the financial means to spend large amounts of money on clothing. Brathwaite, perhaps sensibly, suggests that the extra cloth should simply be given to the poor and naked, who cannot afford to buy anything new. Brathwaite successfully turns the question “What shall I wear tonight?” into a moral dilemma.

REPROOF TOUCHING APPAREL MAY BE OCCASIONED FROM FOUR RESPECTS

First, when any one weareth *Apparel* above their degree, exceeding their estate in precious attire. Whence it is that Gregory sayeth, “There be some who are of opinion, that the wearing of precious or sumptuous *Apparel* is no sin, which, if it were no fault, the divine Word would never have so punctually expressed, nor historically related, how the *Rich man*, who was tormented in hell, was clothed with Purple and Silk. Whence we may note, that touching the matter or subject of attire, human curiosity availeth highly. The first stuff or substance of our garments, was very mean, to wit, Skin with Wool. Whence it is we read, that God made Adam and his wife *Coats of Skins*, that is, of the Skins of dead beasts. Afterwards (see the gradation of this vanity derived from human singularity) they came to *Pure Wool*, because it was lighter than Skins. After that to *rinds of trees*, to wit, *Flax*. After that to the *dung and ordure of Worms*, to wit, *Silk*. Lastly, to *Gold and Silver*, and *precious Stones*. Which preciousness of attire highly displeaseth God. For instance whereof (which the very Pagans themselves observed) we read that the very first among the *Romans*, whoever wore *Purple*, was struck with a Thunder-bolt, and so dyed suddenly, for a terror and mirror to all succeeding times, that none should attempt to lift himself proudly against God in precious attire.

The second point reprehensible is, *Softness or Delicacy of Apparel*: Soft Clothes introduce soft minds. Delicacy in the *habit*, begets an *effeminacy* in the *heart*. *John the Baptist*, who was sanctified in his mother's womb, wore sharp and rough garments. Whence we are taught, that the true servant of God is not to wear garments for beauty or delight, but to cover his nakedness; not for State or Curiosity, but necessity and convenience. Christ sayeth in his Gospel, "They that are clad in soft raiments are in Kings' houses." Whence appeareth a main difference betwixt the servants of Christ and of this world. The servants of this world seek delight, honour, and pleasure in their attire; whereas the servants of Christ so highly value the garment of innocence, as they loath to stain it with outward vanities. It is their honour to *put on* Christ Jesus; other robes you may rob them of, and give them occasion to joy in your purchase.

The third thing reproveable is, *foreign Fashions*: When we desire nothing more than to bring in some Outlandish habit different from our own, in which respect (so Apishly-antic is man) it becomes more affected than our own. Against such the Lord threatneth, "I will visit the Princes and the Kings' children, and all such as are clothed with strange Apparel." Which "strange Apparel" is after diverse fashions and inventions, wholly unknown to our Ancestors. Which may appear sufficiently to such, who within this 30, or 40, or 60 years never saw such cutting, carving, nor indenting as they now see.

The fourth thing reproveable is, *Superfluity of Apparell*, expressed in these three particulars: first, in those who have diverse changes and suits of Clothes; who had rather have their garments eaten by moths, than they should cover the poor members of Christ. The naked cry, the needy cry, and shriekingly complain unto us, how they miserably labour and languish of hunger and cold. What avails it them that we have such changes of raiments neatly plaited and folded; rather than we will supply them, they must be starved? How do such rich Moth-worms observe the Doctrine of Christ, when he sayeth in his Gospel, "*He that hath two Coats let him give one to him that hath none?*"

Secondly, we are to consider the *Superfluity* of such who will have long garments, purposely to seem greater: yet, which of these can add one cubit to his stature? This puts me in remembrance of a conceited story which I have sometimes heard, of a diminutive Gentleman, who demanding of his Tailor, what yards of Satin would make him a Suit, being answered far short in number of what he expected: with great indignation replied,

"Such an one of the *Guard* to my knowledge had thrice as much for a Suite, and I will second him." Which his Tailor with small importunacy condescended to, making a *Gargantuan's Suite* for this *Ounce of man's flesh*, reserving to himself a large portion of shreds, purposely to form a fitter proportion for his *Ganymede* shape.

The third *Superfluity* ariseth from their vanity, who take delight in wearing great sleeves, misshapen Elephantine bodies, trains sweeping the earth, with huge pokes to shroud their fantastic heads, as if they had committed some egregious fact which deserved that censure; for in the Eastern Countries it hath been usually observed, that such light Women as had distained their honour, or laid a public imputation on their name, by consenting to any libidinous act, were to have their heads sewed up in a poke, to proclaim their shame, and publish to the world the quality of their sin.

Source: Brathwaite, Richard. *The English Gentlewoman, Drawn Out to the Full Body: Expressing What Habilliments Doe Best Attire Her, What Ornaments Doe Best Adorne Her, What Complements Doe Best Accomplish Her*. London: B. Alsop and T. Fawcet, 1631, pp. 13–16.

12. National Dress, Modesty, and Mates

In the extract reproduced here, the seventeenth-century Englishman Richard Brathwaite discusses the temptations of fancy and fanciful dress. According to Brathwaite, many women dress richly to attract a mate. Indeed, Brathwaite even acknowledges that he knows some men who are in fact struck by beautiful clothing. However, Brathwaite avers that these men are largely fools, possessing little intelligence (called “wit” in the language of the day), and are therefore largely not worth attracting because they are attracted to appearances rather than realities. Using the metaphor of musical instruments, he implies that it is much better to appreciate a violin because of its beautiful sound than to appreciate it because of its beautiful case. Therefore, according to Brathwaite, women do better in improving their internal character—especially their humility, modesty, and chastity—than they do in improving their external appearance.

Brathwaite is particularly critical of England’s propensity to borrow the fashions of other cultures. He argues that whereas the Italians, French, and others are content with their own national costume—which frequently also delineates the sex, state, and family of the wearer—Englishwomen alone seek out other nations’ costume, thereby both abandoning the traditions of their ancestors and proving their insufferable delight in new fashions. Although twenty-first-century fashions do not much resemble the fashions of the seventeenth century, curiously, stereotypes about women’s love of clothing and shopping continue today.

As that is ever held most generous which is least affected, most genuine which is least forced; so there is nothing which confers more true glory on us, than in displaying our own Country’s garb by that we wear upon us. The Crow in the fable was sharply taxed for her borrowed feathers; the *fable*, though it spoke of a Crow, the Moral pointed at a man. *Habit* (we say) is a *Custom*; why should it be our custom to change our *Habit*? With what constancy some other Nations observe their native attire, Histories both ancient and modern will sufficiently inform us. Nothing is held more contemptible with them, than apishly to imitate foreign fashions. Prescription is their Tailor, antiquity their Tutor. Amongst the ancient Heathen, even their very habit distinguished Widows from Matrons, Matrons from Virgins. So as not only sexes, states, conditions, years, but even lineages, races, and families were remarkably discovered.

We usually observe such a fashion to be *French*, such an one *Spanish*, another *Italian*, this *Dutch*, that *Poland*. Meantime where is the *English*? Surely, some precious Elixir extracted out of all these. She will neither rely on her own invention, nor compose herself to the fashion of any one particular Nation, but make herself an Epitomized confection of all. Thus becomes she not only a stranger to others, but to herself. It were to be wished, that as our Country is jealous of her own invention in contriving, so she were no less cautious in her choice of wearing. Gregory the Great thought that *Angles* did nearly symphonize with *Angels*, not so much in letter, as in favour and feature: Were it not pity that these should darken their beauty with veils of deformity?

Truth is, there is nothing which confers more native beauty on the *wearer*, than to be least affective in whatsoever she shall wear. She asperseth a great blemish on her better part, who ties herself to that formality, as she dare not put off the least trifle

that she wears, nor put on ought more than she wears, lest she should lose the opinion of Compleat. There is a native modesty even in attire as well as gesture, which better becomes, and would more fully accomplish her, if *fashion* were not such a *pearl* in her eye, as it keeps her from the sight of her own vanity. I confess, light heads will be easily taken with such toys: yea, I have sometimes observed a fantastic dressing strike an amorous inconsiderate Gosling sooner into a passionate *ah me*, with a careless lovesick wreathing of his enfolded arms, than some other more attractive object could ever do. But what is the purchase of one of these *Green-wits* worth? What benefit can a young *Gentlewoman* reap in enjoying him, who scarcely ever enjoyed himself? Means he may have, but so meanly are they seconded by inward abilities, as his state seems fitter to manage him, than he to marshal it. A long Locke he has got, and the art to frizzle it; a Ring in a string, and the trick to handle it: for his discourse, to give him his true Character, his silence approves him better; for his wit, he may laugh at a conceit, and his conceit never the wiser; for his other parts, disclaiming his substance, I appeal to his picture. Now, *Gentlewoman*, tell me, do you trim yourself up for this *Popinjay*? Would you have the *fool* to wear you, after so many *follies* have outworn you? Let modesty suit you, that a discreeter mate may choose you.

Be it your prime honour to make civility your director. This will incomparably more grace you, than any fantastic attire, which, though it beget admiration, it closeth always with derision. You cannot possibly detract more from the renown of your Country, where you received birth and education, than by too hot a quest or pursuit after Outlandish fashions. Play not the *Dotterell*, in this too apish and servile *Imitation*; let other Countries admire your Constancy and Civility: while they reflect both on what you wear and what you are. Be it your glory to improve your Country's fame. Many eyes are fixed on you, and many hearts will be taken with you, if they behold those two Ornaments, *Modesty*, and *Humility*, ever attending you; Discretion will be more taken and enamoured with these, than toys and feathers. There is nothing so rough but may be polished; nor ought so outwardly faire but may be disfigured. Whereas the beauty of these two cannot by adulterate Art be more graced, by the aged furrows of time become defaced, or by any outward Occurrence impaired.

There are many beauteous and sumptuous Cases, whose *Instruments* are out of tune. These may please the eye, but they neither lend nor leave a sweet accent in the *Ear*. May-buds of fading beauty; Fruits which commonly *fall* before they be *ripe*, and tender small sweetness to them that *reap*. These Baths of voluptuous delights, chaste feet disdain to approach. Virtue must either be suited with Consorts like herself, or they must give her leave solely to enjoy herself. Be you *Maids of honour* to this maiden Princess. Consecrate your day to virtuous actions, your night to usefull recollections. Think how this *World* is your *Stage*, your *Life* an *Act*. The *Tiring-house*, where you bestowed such care, cost and curiosity, must be shut up, when your *Night* approacheth. Prepare Oil for your virgin Lamps; marriage robes for your chaste souls; that advancing the honour of your Country here on Earth, in your translation from hence, you may find a Country in heaven.

Source: Brathwaite, Richard. *The English Gentlewoman, Drawn Out to the Full Body: Expressing What Habilliments Doe Best Attire Her, What Ornaments Doe Best Adorne Her, What Complements Doe Best Accomplish Her*. London: B. Alsop and T. Fawcet, 1631, pp. 22–25.

13. Inca Fashions

Garcilaso de la Vega, called "El Inca," had a special insight into the cultures of Peru: his mother was an Inca princess, and his father was a Spanish conquistador. Thus, he had access to the worlds of both Native American and European elites. His firsthand accounts of the Incas provide accurate insights into the traditions of the Native American peoples of the Andes.

According to Garcilaso, the fashions of the Native Americans were strictly regimented to indicate both to what tribe a person belonged and with what favor that tribe was held. The center of fashion was the original Inca, Manco Capac, who proclaimed himself the child of the Sun and therefore a god. His own fashion, which he passed down to the Incas, the elite ruling class of Andean society during the time of the Conquistadors, was striking: a shaved head except for a finger-wide strip of hair, a thin colored headband called a llautu, and ears pierced with studs as wide as a red-wine-glass's mouth. The less important tribes were commanded gradually to adopt similar fashions; the closer their own allotted fashion to the fashion of the Inca himself, the more respected that tribe was. The vassal tribes, for example, wore a llautu, but theirs was black rather than multicolored; they had their ears pierced, but their studs were much smaller and made of materials such as wool or reeds. In this way, Inca fashion replicated the power structure of the society. At the top was the divine Inca emperor and his family; every other tribe attempted to imitate the Incas but was never allowed to succeed.

THE HONOURABLE BADGES WHICH THE INCA GAVE TO HIS FOLLOWERS

In the above affairs, and in other similar occupations, the Inca Manco Ccapac was occupied during many years, conferring benefits on his people; and, having experienced their fidelity and love, and the respect and adoration with which they treated him, he desired to favour them still farther by ennobling them with titles, and badges such as he wore on his own head, and this was after he had persuaded them that he was a child of the Sun. The Inca Manco Ccapac, and afterwards his descendants, in imitation of him, were shorn, and only wore a tress of hair one finger in width. They were shaven with stone razors, scraping the hair off, and only leaving the above-mentioned tress. They used knives of stone, because they had not invented scissors, shaving themselves with great trouble, as any one may imagine. When they afterwards experienced the facility and ease afforded by the use of scissors, one of the Yncas said to an old schoolfellow of mine: "If the Spaniards, your fathers, had done nothing more than bring us scissors, looking-glasses, and combs, we would have given all the gold and silver there is in our land, for them." Besides having their heads shaved, they bored their ears, just as women are usually bored for ear-rings; except that they increased the size of the hole artificially (as I shall more fully relate in the proper place) to a wonderful greatness, such as would be incredible to those who have not seen it, for it would seem impossible that so small a quantity of flesh as there is under the ear, could be so stretched as to be able to surround a hole of the size and shape of the mouth of a pitcher. The ornaments they put in the holes were like stoppers, and if the lobes were broken the flesh would hang down a quarter of a *vara* in length, and half a finger in thickness. The Spaniards called the Indians *Orejones* (large-eared men) because they had this custom.

The Incas wore, as a head-dress, a fringe which they called *llautu*. It was of many colours, about a finger in width, and a little less in thickness. They twisted this fringe three or four times round the head, and let it hang after the manner of a garland.

These three fashions, the *llautu*, the *shaving*, and the *boring of the ears*, were the principal ones that were introduced by the Inca Manco Ccapac. There were others which we shall describe presently, and which were peculiar to the sovereign, no one else being permitted to use them. The first privilege that the Inca granted to his vassals was to order them to imitate him in wearing a fringe; only it was not to be of many colours like the one worn by the Inca, but of one colour only, and that colour was black.

After some time another fashion was granted to the people, and they were ordered to go shaven, but in a fashion differing one from another, and all from the Inca, that there might be no confusion in the distinctions between nations and provinces, and that they might not have too near a resemblance to the Inca. Thus one tribe was ordered to wear the tail plait like a cap for the ears; that is, with the forehead and temples bare, and the plaits reaching down so as to cover the ears on either side. Others were ordered to cut the tail plait so as only to reach halfway down the ears, and others still shorter. But none were allowed to wear the hair so short as that of the Inca. It is also to be observed that all these Indians, and especially the Incas, took care not to let the hair grow, but always kept it at a certain length, that it might not appear after one fashion, but each nation kept to its own, which was decreed and ordained by the hand of the Inca.

After several months and years had elapsed, the Inca granted his people another privilege, more important than those already mentioned, which was that of boring their ears. This privilege, however, was limited with reference to the size of the hole, which was not to be so much as half that of the Inca, and each tribe and province wore a different stopper in the ear hole. To some he granted the privilege of wearing a wisp of straw in their ears, the size of a little finger, and these were of the nations called Mayu and Cancu. Others were to have a tuft of white wool, which was to come out on each side as far as the length of the first joint of a man's thumb, and these were of the nation called Pòques. The nations called Muyna and Huarac Cillqui were ordered to wear ear ornaments made of common reeds, called by the Indians *tutura*. The nation of Rimac-tampu and its neighbours wore their ear ornament made of the pole which is called *maguey* in the Windward Islands, and *chuchau* in the general language of Peru. When the bark is removed, the pith is very soft and light. The three tribes called Urcos, Yucay, and Tampu, all living in the valley of the river Yucay, were ordered as a particular favour and honour, to wear a larger hole in their ears than any of the other nations. But, that it might not reach to half the size of the Inca's hole, he gave them a measure of the size of his hole, as he had done to all the other tribes. He also ordered their stoppers to be made of the reed *tutura*, that they might more resemble those of the Ynca. They called the ornaments ear stoppers, and not ear drops, because they



Inca holding a quipu. The quipu, a rope with knotted strings, was used to keep administrative records and accounts throughout the Inca Empire. The Art Archive/John Meek.

did not hang from the ears, but were closed by the sides of the hole, like a stopper in the mouth of a jar.

Besides the signs which were intended to prevent confusion between one tribe and another, the Inca ordered other differences in the fashion of his vassals, which they said were intended to show the degree of favour and trust in which they were held, according as they resembled the badges of the Inca. But he did not like one vassal more than another from any caprice, but in conformity with reason and justice. Those who most readily followed his precepts, and who had worked most in the subjugation of the other Indians were allowed to imitate the Inca most closely in their badges, and received more favours than the others. He gave them to understand that all he did with regard to them was by an order and revelation of his father the Sun. And the Indians, believing this, were well satisfied with every thing that was ordered by the Inca, and with any manner in which he might treat them; for, besides believing that his orders were revelations of the Sun, they saw, by experience, the benefits that were derived from obedience to them.

Source: El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*. Translated by Clements R. Markham. Vol. 1. London: Hakluyt Society, 1869, pp. 84–87.

Part VI

POLITICAL LIFE

Political Life describes the ways in which people group together to advance their mutual self-interests. The development of legal systems is a prime example: individuals agree to give up certain freedoms in return for greater protection. Of course, people do not always have a choice in government; monarchies, in which a king theoretically rules the entire nation, dominated the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Nor did a strong government always establish peace. Some of the most powerful nations were also the most belligerent—they gained power at the cost of other peoples and other governments.

The Government and Hierarchy section examines how societies were governed. Social hierarchy is inextricably bound up with government during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The prevailing model of government—kingship—rested on a theoretical framework of class distinction in which the king stood uppermost, followed by aristocrats, then freemen, and then serfs and slaves. Each member of society had a clearly defined role within the social hierarchy, and this role corresponded more or less directly with that individual's political power. Kings, in fact, were thought to be chosen by God for their roles of leadership. Nevertheless, centralizing power in the hands of a king and his confidantes did cause civil unrest. In 1215 the barons (an influential group of aristocrats) gathered and forced King John to sign the Magna Carta, a declaration that radically limited the rights and prerogatives of the king. The Magna Carta did not establish a democracy, as we understand that word today. First of all, King John almost immediately broke the terms of the agreement. More important, although the Magna Carta did envision a kind of small parliament, political power was still limited to the wealthy aristocracy. Barons would be the ones to control the king under Magna Carta. Another strong check on royal power was the Church. Throughout this time period, Church and state vied for ultimate control; this contest resulted frequently in an unintended and limited system of checks and balances.

The Legal Systems section discusses the ways in which societies sought to maintain justice and equity within their realms. Three main legal traditions dominated Europe during this time period: Roman law, Germanic law, and Church law. The great emperor Justinian in the sixth century sponsored a codification of Roman law—both individual statutes and general principles—that has remained highly influential until the present

day. Germanic law tended to be more straightforward and reflected the agricultural concerns of the people—fines are laid out with careful attention, for example, to how many pigs were stolen. Operating in parallel to civil law was Church law. Throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Church law oversaw the clergy and adjudicated issues of morality and theology. A suspected heretic, for example, would be tried in Church courts, though any punishments would be enforced by civil courts. Church law, called canon law, survives today, though its influence on society has been greatly diminished. Most early medieval law focused on torts, that is, the payment of fines. For crimes such as murder for which a perpetrator would go to jail today, a perpetrator in Anglo-Saxon England would be required to pay a fine. In the absence of jails, in fact, most penalties were financial. If the guilty person could not pay the fine, he or she faced possible execution. Not only were there no public jails, but there was also no well-organized police force. Victims and their families were the ones who would track down the guilty. As a result much of the early legislation sought to regulate what victims could and could not do once they found the guilty party.

The military campaigns of England, the Aztecs, China, and others, demonstrates that medieval and Renaissance nations understood the role of warfare in pursuing international politics. The Warfare section explores the tactics, technology, and philosophy behind the practice of war. While European nations relied upon heavy armor and siege weaponry, the Mongols—who created the largest empire of the period—carved out their kingdom through the use of versatile and highly skilled horse-archers. The document on Japanese Samurai, shows the high respect that culture paid to those who fell in battle. Regardless of differences in the philosophy and conduct of war, one thing united all warfare: violence. People always died in war. As the Tang dynasty poet Ts'ao Sung stated, “For a single general's reputation / Is made out of ten thousand corpses.”

Government and Hierarchy

Governmental systems and social hierarchies were so closely interwoven throughout the Middle Ages and *Renaissance* that they must be treated in the same section. The major form of government during this period—kingship—is after all predicated on the concept of social hierarchy: there is one person at the top, a group of aristocrats just below him, and then everyone else. These social systems at times developed out of warlord societies, as seen in the social class and government of early *Anglo-Saxon* England (Document 3), in which aristocrats, called *thegnas*, were originally the top warriors in the king's troop. Kings, moreover, were often viewed either as divine or as ruling with divine approval. The Anglo-Saxon kings of the eighth century frequently traced their ancestry back to the Germanic god Woden, and Thomas Cranmer, a sixteenth-century archbishop of Canterbury in England viewed the king as appointed by God (Document 8).

Despite the rhetoric of divine kingship, in practice real restrictions were placed on the king's power. The Magna Carta of 1215 (Document 5) famously sought to erect a group of barons who could restrict and constrain King *John* of England. Parliament (an advisory body drawn from the body of citizens) gained increasing power throughout this time period—indeed, elected individuals have replaced kings in most countries of the modern world. As Document 6 demonstrates, however, medieval and Renaissance parliamentary

bodies were not necessarily fully democratic. Members of Parliament were generally drawn from the wealthiest sectors of society—indeed, the poor, who made up the majority of the population, were not allowed to vote at all.

The other force operating to restrict royal power was the Church. For example, *Unam sanctam* (Document 7), a bull (or papal charter) issued by Pope Boniface VIII in 1302, explicitly contended that the Pope and Church were superior in rank and authority to the king. Kings as a result did not have the right to tax the Church or interfere in other ways with the clergy. Such competition for power extends as far back as the time of Christ himself—the gospels argue that Jesus was executed because of the fear that his power challenged the power of the Roman emperor in Jerusalem. “The Donation of Constantine” (Document 9 under “Priests and Rituals” in Part VIII: Religious Life) was another sally in the competition between church and state.

The king was not the only one to wield power—all aristocrats and wealthy individuals commanded respect and power. In China, as discussed by Tsung Ch'en in Document 4, a system of clientship operated. In this system, an individual would give expensive gifts to the powerful in hopes of increased career prospects and influential recommendations. In western Europe, the system was even more formalized. Feudal relationships formalized personal contracts between individuals in which the less wealthy served the more wealthy in return for material benefits (Documents 1 and 2).

1. A Vassal's Contract

The social and economic structure of early medieval life depended on personal relationships between noblemen and their clients. The following contract, from seventh-century France, provides a good example of this economic relationship; an indigent individual agrees to serve and honor a wealthier man in return for food, clothing, and other material benefits. To some degree, modern employment is no different from these contracts: an employee receives money, with which to buy food, clothing, shelter, and luxuries, in return for doing work for a wealthier individual or corporation.

Unlike modern employment, however, early medieval contracts could be for life. In this contract, the oath-taker renounces the right ever to withdraw from the “control or guardianship” of the lord. Although either party to the contract can purchase his way out of the relationship for a specified amount, the wealthier party would obviously find it easier to pay the sum than the less wealthy party. Taking an oath of allegiance could not be undertaken lightly. The following document has blanks that could be filled in with the individual names and figures to suit individual relationships.

To that magnificent lord _____, I, _____. Since it is well known to all how little I have wherewith to feed and clothe myself, I have therefore petitioned your piety, and your goodwill has decreed to me, that I should hand myself over, or commend myself, to your guardianship, which I have thereupon done; that is to say, in this way, that you should aid and succor me, as well with food as with clothing, according as I shall be able to serve you and deserve it.

And so long as I shall live I ought to provide service and honor to you, compatible with my free condition; and I shall not, during the time of my life, have the right to withdraw from your control or guardianship; but must remain during the days of my life under your power or defense. Wherefore it is proper that if either of us shall wish to withdraw himself from these agreements, he shall pay _____ shillings to the other party, and this agreement shall remain unbroken.

Source: *University of Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints*, trans. Edward P. Cheyney. Vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 3–4. In *A Source Book of Mediaeval History*, Ed. Frederic Austin Ogg. New York: American, 1908, pp. 205–06.

2. Enfeoffment

Document 1 describes a relatively poor man, in need of food and clothing, entering into a business relationship, but noblemen also entered into lifelong social and economic contracts. The next document describes the ceremony through which William, Count of Flanders, having in 1127 inherited his position from his father, reestablished the feudal relationships that his father had established. The ceremony consists of six steps. First, the client kneels down before the count, places his hand between the two hands of the count, and receives a kiss from the count. Next, the client swears homage to the count. Then the client swears his loyalty upon the relics—the bones and clothing—of the saints; failing to fulfill such an oath would be sacrilege, and the violator would fear punishment in hell. Finally, after the oaths, the count uses a rod to symbolically confirm the rights and privileges that the clients had acquired from William’s father, Count Charles. By the end of the ceremony, clients and count have established a formal working relationship and have been bound to each other through sacred rights.

Through the whole remaining part of the day those who had been previously enfeoffed by the most pious count Charles, did homage to the count, taking up now again their fiefs and offices and whatever they had before rightfully and legitimately obtained. On Thursday, the seventh of April, homages were again made to the count, being completed in the following order of faith and security:

First they did their homage thus. The count asked if he was willing to become completely his man, and the other replied, “I am willing,” and with clasped hands, surrounded by the hands of the count, they were bound together by a kiss. Secondly, he who had done homage gave his fealty to the representative of the count in these words, “I promise on my faith that I will in future be faithful to Count William, and will observe my homage to him completely, against all persons, in good faith and without deceit.” Thirdly, he took his oath to this upon the relics of the saints. Afterwards, with a little rod which the count held in his hand, he gave investitures to all who by this agreement had given their security and homage and accompanying oath.

Source: Galbert de Bruges. *De multro, traditione, et occisione gloriosi Karoli comitis Flandrarum*. In *University of Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints*, trans. Edward P. Cheyney. Vol. 4, no. 3, p. 18. In Frederic Austin Ogg, *A Source Book of Mediaeval History*. New York: American, 1908, pp. 218–19.

3. Rank and Wealth

Like most medieval and Renaissance societies, Anglo-Saxon England possessed a fixed class system based primarily on wealth. At the head of the system was the theoden (pronounced “thay-oh-den”), the king in modern language. By the time the following document was written in the second quarter of the eleventh century, England had a centralized monarchy, the head of which was called “cing.” In earlier times, however, theoden could refer to a local warlord who held independent control of a certain tract of land.

Below the theoden in rank stood the eorl, which has become in modern English “earl.” A more common rank, however, was the thegn (pronounced “thane”). In origin, a thegn was an aristocratic warrior in the service of a local king or theoden. By the eleventh century, however, thegn referred to a powerful nobleman, who might or might not also be an effective warrior. A thegn had a similar amount of power as a duke on the continent. Below the thegn stood the ceorl (pronounced “cherl”), the lowest widely recognized rank of a successful freeman. The ceorl would generally own enough land to produce self-sufficiency. Slaves (theowas) completed the social hierarchy; see Document 23 under “Slavery” in Part III: Economic Life for more information about their lives.

Although wealth and service to the king are the main methods of advancement according to this document, other paths were possible. Priest scholars, for example, were ranked as thegns provided that they did not break the rules of their orders. Even merchants, outside of the traditional landed economy around which traditional social hierarchy was built, could achieve thegn status if they made three trips overseas. Although conservative, social class systems evolved and adapted to the changing socioeconomic conditions.

Of People’s Ranks and Law

1. It was once, in the laws of the English, that people and law went by ranks, and then were the counselors of the nation of worship worthy, each according to his condition: *eorl* and *ceorl*, *thegn* and *theoden*.
2. And if a *ceorl* thrived, so that he had fully five hides of his own land, church and kitchen, bell-house and *burh*-gate seat, and special duty in the king’s hall, then was he thenceforth of *thegn*-right worthy.
3. And if a *thegn* thrived, so that he served the king, and on his summons rode among his household; if he then had a *thegn* who him followed, who had five hides to the king’s *ut-ware*, and in the King’s hall served his lord, and thrice with his errand went to the king; he might thenceforth represent his lord with his fore-oath at various needs, and conduct his plaint lawfully, wheresoever he ought.
4. And he who so prosperous a viceregent had not, swore for himself according to his right, or if forfeited.
5. And if a *thegn* thrived, so that he became an *eorl*, then he was thenceforth worthy of *eorl*-right.
6. And if a merchant thrived, so that he fared thrice over the wide sea by his own means, then was he thenceforth of *thegn*-right worthy.
7. And if there were a scholar, who thrived through learning, so that he had holy orders, and served Christ; then was he thenceforth of rank and power so much worthy, that he rightfully belonged to those orders, if he conducted himself as he should; unless he should misdo, so that he might not perform those orders’ ministry.

Source: Thorpe, Benjamin. *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*. London: Eye and Spottiswoode, 1840, p. 191. In Roy Cave and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965, p. 316. Translation modified by Lawrence Morris.

4. Flunkeyism in China

The author of this document, Tsung Ch'en, was a sixteenth-century Chinese official and national hero; he successfully defended Fuzhou against the Japanese around 1560. His stratagem involved opening the gate, as if to let in the invaders, and then slaughtering them in an ambush.

In the passage presented here, however, Tsung Ch'en criticizes the informal sociopolitical system that controlled the upper echelons of Chinese society. In this client system, wealthy and powerful individuals would accept gifts from inferiors in return for speaking well of them and recommending them for good jobs. These inferiors, moreover, had to undergo great humiliation to secure this preferment. According to Tsung Ch'en, the supplicant would first need to bribe the porter two days in a row to be allowed in to see the master. Once allowed access to the master, the supplicant would need to prostrate himself on the floor several times and repeatedly beg the master to accept a costly gift. Once the master had accepted the gift, however, the supplicant would return to his home and brag to his friends that he had high contacts—the supplicant would expect better career prospects from then out.

Similar client systems existed in ancient Rome, and the fundamental relationship between wealthy and less wealthy is similar to the feudal relationships of medieval Europe. Nonetheless, Tsung Ch'en considered the system completely corrupt and humiliating—commitment to duty alone should determine advancement in Tsung Ch'en's eyes.

I was very glad at this distance to receive your letter which quite set my mind at rest, together with the present you were so kind as to add. I thank you very much for your good wishes, and especially for your thoughtful allusion to my father.

As to what you are pleased to say in reference to official popularity and fitness for office, I am much obliged by your remarks. Of my unfitness for office I am only too well aware; while as to popularity with my superiors, I am utterly unqualified to secure that boon.

How indeed does an official find favour in the present day with his chief? Morning and evening he must whip up his horse and go dance attendance at the great man's door. If the porter refuses to admit him, then honied words, a coaxing air, and money drawn from the sleeve may prevail. The porter takes in his card; but the great man does not come out. So he waits in the stable among grooms, until his clothes are charged with the smell; in spite of hunger, in spite of cold, in spite of a blazing heat. At nightfall, the porter who had pocketed his money comes forth and says his master is tired and begs to be excused, and will he call again next day. So he is forced to come once more as requested. He sits all night in his clothes. At cock-crow he jumps up, performs his toilette, and gallops off and knocks at the entrance gate. "Who's there?" shouts the porter angrily; and when he explains, the porter gets still more angry and begins to abuse him, saying, "You are in a fine hurry, you are! Do you think my master sees people at this hour?" Then is the visitor shamed, but has to swallow his wrath and try to persuade

the porter to let him in. And the porter, another fee to the good, gets up and lets him in; and then he waits again in the stable as before, until perhaps the great man comes out and summons him to an audience.

Now, with many an obeisance, he cringes timidly towards the foot of the dais step: and when the great man says "Come!" he prostrates himself twice and remains long without rising. At length he goes up to offer his present, which the great man refuses. He entreats acceptance; but in vain. He implores, with many instances; whereupon the great man refuses. He entreats acceptance, but in vain. He implores, with many instances; whereupon the great man bids a servant take it. Then two more prostrations, long drawn out; after which he arises, and with five or six salutations he takes his leave.

On going forth, he bows to the porter, saying, "It's all right with your master. Next time I come you need make no delay." The porter returns the bow, well pleased with his share in the business. Meanwhile, our friend springs on his horse, and when he meets an acquaintance flourishes his whip and cries out, "I have just been with His Excellency. He treated me very kindly, very kindly indeed."

And then he goes into detail, upon which his friends begin to be more respectful to him as a *protégé* of His Excellency. The great man himself says, "So-and-so is a good fellow, a very good fellow indeed;" upon which the bystanders of course declare that they think so too.

Such is the popularity with one's superiors in the present day. Do you think that I could be as one of these? No! Beyond sending a complimentary card at the summer and winter festivals, I do not go near the great from one year's end to another. Even when I pass their doors I stuff my ears and cover my eyes and gallop quickly past as if some one was after me. In consequence of this want of breadth, I am of course no favourite with the authorities; but what care I? There is a destiny that shapes our ends and it has shaped mine towards the path of duty alone. For which, no doubt, you think me an ass.

Source: *Gems of Chinese Literature: Prose*. 2nd ed. Ed. Herbert A. Giles. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1923, pp. 223–25.

5. Magna Carta (June 15, 1215)

The Great Charter, or Magna Carta as it is known in Latin, set the first major limits on medieval kingship. The document arose out of a conflict between King John of England and rebellious aristocrats dissatisfied with the king. This dissatisfaction resulted in large part from the king's attempt to increase the level of taxation dramatically through income taxes and through special laws pertaining to forests. Other sources of dissatisfaction included the loss of most of England's possessions in France during John's reign and the argument between the king and the Pope Innocent III over who had the right to appoint archbishops, which resulted in all church services in England being temporarily suspended. The aristocrats, called barons, gathered together in 1215 and forced King John to concede certain rights and protections, which were then recorded and promulgated in the Magna Carta.

The Magna Carta covers a large number of very specific legal questions, such as the financial position of widows, but the most important concessions are found in clauses 12, 14,

and 61. Clauses 12 and 14 force the king to gain the permission of a council of aristocrats before raising taxes (called “aid” and “scutage”). Clause 61, moreover, empowers a group of 25 barons to take direct action against the monarch if he fails to fulfill the clauses of the Great Charter. In particular, the barons are permitted to seize all the king’s possessions, and the public is to swear allegiance to the barons. In effect, clause 61 makes the 25 barons the effective rulers of England, not the king. Because of this dramatic shift in power, the Magna Carta is often viewed as a step away from kingship and toward parliamentary democracy.

Once King John had freed himself from the barons’ control, however, he rescinded the Great Charter, thereby provoking the First Barons’ War. King John died of dysentery in the middle of the war in 1216, and his son, King Henry III, reissued the Magna Carta, albeit in modified form without the controversial clause 61. Although the Magna Carta as originally signed therefore never carried full legal force, it remained a powerful symbol of the limitation of a king’s rights. Kings would not hold absolute power, at least in England.

John, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciars, foresters, sheriffs, stewards, servants, and to all his bailiffs and liege subjects, greeting. Know that, having regard to God and for the salvation of our soul, and those of all our ancestors and heirs, and unto the honor of God and the advancement of holy church, and for the reform of our realm, by advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England and cardinal of the holy Roman Church, Henry archbishop of Dublin, William of London, Peter of Winchester, Jocelyn of Bath and Glastonbury, Hugh of Lincoln, Walter of Worcester, William of Coventry, Benedict of Rochester, bishops, of master Pandulf, subdeacon and member of the household of our lord the Pope, of brother Aymeric (master of the Knights of the Temple in England), and of the illustrious men William Marshall earl of Pembroke, William earl of Salisbury, William earl of Warenne, William earl of Arundel, Alan of Galloway (constable of Scotland), Waren Fitz Gerald, Peter Fits Herbert, Hubert de Burgh (seneschal of Poitou), Hugh de Neville, Matthew Fitz Herbert, Thomas Basset, Alan Basset, Philip d’Aubigny, Robert of Roppesley, John Marshall, John Fitz Hugh, and others, our liegemen.



King Edward I, 1239–1307, of England, confirming Magna Carta, from manuscript “Statutes of England,” in Latin and French, fourteenth century. (Douce 35 folio 25r). The Art Archive/Bodleian Library Oxford.

1. In the first place we have granted to God, and by this our present charter confirmed for us and our heirs for ever that the English church shall be free, and shall have her rights entire, and her liberties inviolate; and we will that it be thus observed; which is apparent from this that the freedom of elections, which is reckoned most important and very essential to the English church, we, of our pure and unconstrained will, did grant, and did by our charter confirm and did obtain the ratification of the same from our lord, Pope Innocent III, before the quarrel arose between us and our barons: and this we will observe, and our will is that it be observed in good faith by our heirs for ever. We have also granted to all freemen of our kingdom, for us and our heirs for ever, all the underwritten liberties, to be had and held by them and their heirs, of us and our heirs for ever.

2. If any of our earls or barons, or others holding of us in chief by military service shall have died, and at the time of his death his heir shall be of full age and owe "relief," he shall have his inheritance on payment of the ancient relief, namely the heir or heirs of an earl, 100 pounds for a whole earl's barony; the heir or heirs of a baron, 100 pounds for a whole barony; the heir or heirs of a knight, 100 shillings at most for a whole knight's fee; and whoever owes less let him give less, according to the ancient custom of fiefs.
3. If, however, the heir of any of the aforesaid has been under age and inwardship, let him have his inheritance without relief and without fine when he comes of age.
4. The guardian of the land of an heir who is thus under age, shall take from the land of the heir nothing but reasonable produce, reasonable customs, and reasonable services, and that without destruction or waste of men or goods; and if we have committed the wardship of the lands of any such minor to the sheriff, or to any other who is responsible to us for its issues, and he has made destruction or waste of what he holds in wardship, we will take of him amends, and the land shall be committed to two lawful and discreet men of that fee, who shall be responsible for the issues to us or to him to whom we shall assign them; and if we have given or sold the wardship of any such land to anyone and he has therein made destruction or waste, he shall lose that wardship, and it shall be transferred to two lawful and discreet men of that fief, who shall be responsible to us in like manner as aforesaid.
5. The guardian, moreover, so long as he has the wardship of the land, shall keep up the houses, parks, fishponds, stanks, mills, and other things pertaining to the land, out of the issues of the same land; and he shall restore to the heir, when he has come to full age, all his land, stocked with ploughs and "waynage," according as the season of husbandry shall require, and the issues of the land can reasonably bear.
6. Heirs shall be married without disparagement, yet so that before the marriage takes place the nearest in blood to that heir shall have notice.
7. A widow, after the death of her husband, shall forthwith and without difficulty have her marriage portion and inheritance; nor shall she give anything for her dower, or for her marriage portion, or for the inheritance which her husband and she held on the day of the death of that husband; and she may remain in the house of her husband for forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned to her.
8. No widow shall be compelled to marry, so long as she prefers to live without a husband; provided always that she gives security not to marry without our consent, if she holds of us, or without the consent of the lord of whom she holds, if she holds of another.
9. Neither we nor our bailiffs shall seize any land or rent for any debt, so long as the chattels of the debtor are sufficient to repay the debt; nor shall the sureties of the debtor be distrained so long as the principal debtor is able to satisfy the debt; and if the principal debtor shall fail to pay the debt, having nothing wherewith to pay it, then the sureties shall answer for the debt; and let them have the lands and rents of the debtor, if they desire them, until they are indemnified for the debt which they have paid for him, unless the principal debtor can show proof that he is discharged thereof as against the said sureties.

10. If one who has borrowed from the Jews any sum, great or small, die before that loan can be repaid, the debt shall not bear interest while the heir is under age, of whomsoever he may hold; and if the debt fall into our hands, we will not take anything except the principal sum contained in the bond.
11. And if any one die indebted to the Jews, his wife shall have her dower and pay nothing of that debt; and if any children of the deceased are left underage, necessities shall be provided for them in keeping with the holding of the deceased; and out of the residue the debt shall be paid, reserving, however, service due to feudal lords; in like manner let it be done touching debts due to others than Jews.
12. No scutage nor aid shall be imposed on our kingdom, unless by common counsel of our kingdom, except for ransoming our person, for making our eldest son a knight, and for once marrying our eldest daughter; and for these there shall not be levied more than a reasonable aid. In like manner it shall be done concerning aids from the city of London.
13. And the city of London shall have all its ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water; furthermore, we decree and grant that all other cities, boroughs, towns, and ports shall have all their liberties and free customs.
14. And for obtaining the common counsel of the kingdom against the assessing of an aid (except in the three cases aforesaid) or of a scutage, we will cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, severally by our letters; and we will moreover cause to be summoned generally, through our sheriffs and bailiffs, all others who hold of us in chief, for a fixed date, namely, after the expiry of at least forty days, and at a fixed place; and in all letters of such summons we will specify the reason of the summons. And when the summons has thus been made, the business shall proceed on the day appointed, according to the counsel of such as are present, although not all who were summoned have come.
15. We will not for the future grant to anyone license to take an aid from his own free tenants, except to ransom his body, to make his eldest son a knight, and once to marry his eldest daughter; and on each of these occasions there shall be levied only a reasonable aid.
16. No one shall be distrained for performance of greater service for a knight's fee, or for any other free tenement, than is due therefrom.
17. Common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be held in some fixed place.
18. Inquests of *novel disseisin*, of *mort d'ancestor*, and of *darrein presentment*, shall not be held elsewhere than in their own county courts and that in manner following,—We, or, if we should be out of the realm, our chief justiciar, will send two justiciars through every county four times a year, who shall, along with four knights of the county chosen by the county, hold the said assize in the county court, on the day and in the place of meeting of that court.
19. And if any of the said assizes cannot be taken on the day of the county court, let there remain of the knights and freeholders, who were present at the county court on that day, as many as may be required for the efficient making of judgments, according as the business be more or less.
20. A freeman shall not be amerced for a slight offense, except in accordance with the degree of the offense; and for a grave offense he shall be amerced in accordance

with the gravity of the offense, yet saving always his “contentment;” and a merchant in the same way, saving his “merchandise;” and a villein shall be amerced in the same way, saving his “wainage”—if they have fallen into our mercy: and none of the aforesaid amercements shall be imposed except by the oath of honest men of the neighborhood.

21. Earls and barons shall not be amerced except through their peers, and only in accordance with the degree of the offence.
22. A clerk shall not be amerced in respect of his lay holding except after the manner of the others aforesaid; further, he shall not be amerced in accordance with the extent of his ecclesiastical benefice.
23. No village or individual shall be compelled to make bridges at river-banks, except those who from of old were legally bound to do so.
24. No sheriff, constable, coroners, or others of our bailiffs, shall hold pleas of our Crown.
25. All counties, hundreds, wapentakes, and trithings (except our *demesnemanors*) shall remain at old rents, and without any additional payment.
26. If any one holding of us a lay fief shall die, and our sheriff or bailiff shall exhibit our letters patent of summons for a debt which the deceased owed to us, it shall be lawful for our sheriff or bailiff to attach and catalogue chattels of the deceased, found upon the lay fief, to the value of that debt, at the sight of law-worthy men, provided always that nothing whatever be thence removed until the debt which is evident shall be fully paid to us; and the residue shall be left to the executors to fulfil the will of the deceased; and if there be nothing due from him to us, all the chattels shall go to the deceased, saving to his wife and children their reasonable shares.
27. If any freeman shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his nearest kinsfolk and friends, under supervision of the church, saving to every one the debts which the deceased owed to him.
28. No constable or other bailiff of ours shall take corn or other provisions from any one without immediately tendering money therefore, unless he can have postponement thereof by permission of the seller.
29. No constable shall compel any knight to give money in lieu of castle-guard, when he is willing to perform it in his own person, or (if he cannot do it from any reasonable cause) then by another responsible man. Further, if we have led or sent him upon military service, he shall be relieved from guard in proportion to the time during which he has been on service because of us.
30. No sheriff or bailiff of ours, or other person, shall take the horses or carts of any freeman for transport duty, against the will of the said freeman.
31. Neither we nor our bailiffs shall take, for our castles or for any other work of ours, wood which is not ours, against the will of the owner of that wood.
32. We will not retain beyond one year and one day, the lands of those who have been convicted of felony, and the lands shall thereafter be handed over to the lords of the fiefs.
33. All kiddles for the future shall be removed altogether from Thames and Medway, and throughout all England, except upon the seashore.
34. The writ which is called *praecipe* shall not for the future be issued to any one, regarding any tenement whereby a freeman may lose his court.

35. Let there be one measure of wine throughout our whole realm; and one measure of ale; and one measure of corn, to wit, “the London quarter;” and one width of cloth (whether dyed, or russet, or “halberget”), to wit, two ells within the selvages; of weights also let it be as of measures.
36. Nothing in future shall be given or taken for a writ of inquisition of life or limbs, but freely it shall be granted, and never denied.
37. If any one holds of us by fee-farm, by socage, or by burgage, and holds also land of another lord by knight’s service, we will not (by reason of that fee-farm, socage, or burgage) have the wardship of the heir, or of such land of his as is of the fief of that other; nor shall we have wardship of that fee-farm, socage, or burgage, unless such fee-farm owes knight’s service. We will not by reason of any small serjeanty which any one may hold of us by the service of rendering to us knives, arrows, or the like, have wardship of his heir or of the land which he holds of another lord by knight’s service.
38. No bailiff for the future shall, upon his own unsupported complaint, put any one to his “law,” without credible witnesses brought for this purpose.
39. No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or *disseised* or exiled or in anyway destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor send upon him, except by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.
40. To no one will we sell, to no one will we refuse or delay, right or justice.
41. All merchants shall have safe and secure exit from England, and entry to England, with the right to tarry there and to move about as well by land as by water, for buying and selling by the ancient and right customs, quit from all evil tolls, except (in time of war) such merchants as are of the land at war with us. And if such are found in our land at the beginning of the war, they shall be detained, without injury to their bodies or goods, until information be received by us, or by our chief justiciar, how the merchants of our land found in the land at war with us are treated; and if our men are safe there, the others shall be safe in our land.
42. It shall be lawful in future for any one (excepting always those imprisoned or outlawed in accordance with the law of the kingdom, and natives of any country at war with us, and merchants, who shall be treated as is above provided) to leave our kingdom and to return, safe and secure by land and water, except for a short period in time of war, on grounds of public policy—reserving always the allegiance due to us.
43. If any one holding of some escheat (such as the honor of Wallingford, Nottingham, Boulogne, Lancaster, or of other escheats which are in our hands and are baronies) shall die, his heir shall give no other relief, and perform no other service to us than he would have done to the baron, if that barony had been in the baron’s hand; and we shall hold it in the same manner in which the baron held it.
44. Men who dwell without the forest need not henceforth come before our justiciars of the forest upon a general summons, except those who are impleaded, or who have become sureties for any person or persons attached for forest offenses.
45. We will appoint as justices, constables, sheriffs, or bailiffs only such as know the law of the realm and mean to observe it well.
46. All barons who have founded abbeys, concerning which they hold charters from the kings of England, or of which they have long-continued possession, shall have the wardship of them, when vacant, as they ought to have.

47. All forests that have been made such in our time shall forthwith be disafforested; and a similar course shall be followed with regard to river-banks that have been placed "in defense" by us in our time.
48. All evil customs connected with forests and warrens, foresters and warreners, sheriffs and their officers, river-banks and their wardens, shall immediately be inquired into in each county by twelve sworn knights of the same county chosen by the honest men of the same county, and shall, within forty days of the said inquest, be utterly abolished, so as never to be restored, provided always that we previously have intimation thereof, or our justiciar, if we should not be in England.
49. We will immediately restore all hostages and charters delivered to us by Englishmen, as sureties of the peace or of faithful service.
50. We will entirely remove from their bailiwicks, the relations of Gerard Athee (so that in future they shall have no bailiwick in England); namely, Engelard of Cigogne, Peter, Guy, and Andrew of Chanceaux, Guy of Cigogne, Geoffrey of Martigny with his brothers, Philip Mark with his brothers and his nephew Geoffrey, and the whole brood of the same.
51. As soon as peace is restored, we will banish from the kingdom all foreign-born knights, cross-bowmen, serjeants, and mercenary soldiers, who have come with horses and arms to the kingdom's hurt.
52. If any one has been dispossessed or removed by us, without the legal judgment of his peers, from his lands, castles, franchises, or from his right, we will immediately restore them to him; and if a dispute arise over this, then let it be decided by the five-and-twenty barons of whom mention is made below in the clause for securing the peace. Moreover, for all those possessions, from which any one has, without the lawful judgment of his peers, been disseised or removed, by our father, King Henry, or by our brother, King Richard, and which we retain in our hand (or which are possessed by others, to whom we are bound to warrant them) we shall have respite until the usual term of crusaders; excepting those things about which a plea has been raised, or an inquest made by our order, before our taking of the cross; but as soon as we return from our expedition (or if perchance we desist from the expedition) we will immediately grant full justice therein.
53. We shall have, moreover, the same respite and in the same manner in rendering justice concerning the disafforestation or retention of those forests which Henry our father and Richard our brother afforested, and concerning wardship of lands which are of the fief of another (namely, such wardships as we have hitherto had by reason of a fief which any one held of us by knight's service), and concerning abbeys founded on other fiefs than our own, in which the lord of the fief claims to have right; and when we have returned, or if we desist from our expedition, we will immediately grant full justice to all who complain of such things.
54. No one shall be arrested or imprisoned upon the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other than her husband.
55. All fines made with us unjustly and against the law of the land, and all amercements imposed unjustly and against the law of the land, shall be entirely remitted, or else it shall be done concerning them according to the decision of the five-and-twenty barons of whom mention is made below in the clause for securing the peace, or

according to the judgment of the majority of the same, along with the aforesaid Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, if he can be present, and such others as he may wish to bring with him for this purpose, and if he cannot be present the business shall nevertheless proceed without him, provided always that if any one or more of the aforesaid five-and-twenty barons are in a similar suit, they shall be removed as far as concerns this particular judgment, others being substituted in their places after having been selected by the rest of the same five-and-twenty for this purpose only, and after having been sworn.

56. If we have disseised or removed Welshmen from lands or liberties, or other things, without the legal judgment of their peers in England or in Wales, they shall be immediately restored to them; and if a dispute arise over this, then let it be decided in the marches by the judgment of their peers; for tenements in England according to the law of England, for tenements in Wales according to the law of Wales, and for tenements in the marches according to the law of the marches. Welshmen shall do the same to us and ours.
57. Further, for all those possessions from which any Welshman has, without the lawful judgment of his peers, been disseised or removed by King Henry our father or King Richard our brother, and which we retain in our hand (or which are possessed by others, to whom we are bound to warrant them) we shall have respite until the usual term of crusaders; excepting those things about which a plea has been raised or an inquest made by our order before we took the cross; but as soon as we return (or if perchance we desist from our expedition), we will immediately grant full justice in accordance with the laws of the Welsh and in relation to the foresaid regions.
58. We will immediately give up the son of Llywelyn and all the hostages of Wales, and the charters delivered to us as security for the peace.
59. We will do toward Alexander, King of Scots, concerning the return of his sisters and his hostages, and concerning his franchises, and his right, in the same manner as we shall do toward our other barons of England, unless it ought to be otherwise according to the charters which we hold from William his father, formerly King of Scots; and this shall be according to the judgment of his peers in our court.
60. Moreover, all these aforesaid customs and liberties, the observance of which we have granted in our kingdom as far as pertains to us toward our men, shall be observed by all of our kingdom, as well clergy as laymen, as far as pertains to them toward their men.
61. Since, moreover, for God and the amendment of our kingdom and for the better allaying of the quarrel that has arisen between us and our barons, we have granted all these concessions, desirous that they should enjoy them incomplete and firm endurance for ever, we give and grant to them the underwritten security, namely, that the barons choose five-and-twenty barons of the kingdom, whomsoever they will, who shall be bound with all their might, to observe and hold, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties we have granted and confirmed to them by this our present Charter, so that if we, or our justiciar, or our bailiffs or any one of our officers, shall in anything bear fault toward any one, or shall have broken any one of the articles of the peace or of this security, and the offense be notified to four barons of the foresaid five-and-twenty, the said four barons shall repair to us (or our

justiciar, if we are out of the realm) and, laying the transgression before us, petition to have that transgression redressed without delay. And if we shall not have corrected the transgression (or, in the event of our being out of the realm, if our justiciar shall not have corrected it) within forty days, reckoning from the time it has been intimated to us (or to our justiciar, if we should be out of the realm), the four barons aforesaid shall refer that matter to the rest of the five-and-twenty barons, and those five-and-twenty barons shall, together with the community of the whole land, distrain and distress us in all possible ways, namely, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, and in any other way they can, until redress has been obtained as they deem fit, saving harmless our own person, and the persons of our queen and children; and when redress has been obtained, they shall resume their old relations toward us. And let whoever in the country desires it, swear to obey the orders of the said five-and-twenty barons for the execution of all the aforesaid matters, and along with them, to molest us to the utmost of his power; and we publicly and freely grant leave to every one who wishes to swear, and we shall never forbid anyone to swear. All those, moreover, in the land who of themselves and of their own accord are unwilling to swear to the twenty-five to help them in constraining and molesting us, we shall by our command compel the same to swear to the effect aforesaid. And if any one of the five-and-twenty barons shall have died or departed from the land, or be incapacitated in any other manner which would prevent the foresaid provisions being carried out, those of the said twenty-five barons who are left shall choose another in his place according to their own judgment, and he shall be sworn in the same way as the others. Further, in all matters, the execution of which is entrusted to these twenty-five barons, if perchance these twenty-five are present, that which the majority of those present ordain or command shall be held as fixed and established, exactly as if the whole twenty-five had concurred in this; and the said twenty-five shall swear that they will faithfully observe all that is aforesaid, and cause it to be observed with all their might. And we shall procure nothing from any one, directly or indirectly, whereby any part of these concessions and liberties might be revoked or diminished; and if any such thing has been procured, let it be void and null, and we shall never use it personally or by another.

62. And all the ill-will, hatreds, and bitterness that have arisen between us and our men, clergy and lay, from the date of the quarrel, we have completely remitted and pardoned every one. Moreover, all trespasses occasioned by the said quarrel, from Easter in the sixteenth year of our reign till the restoration of peace, we have fully remitted to all, both clergy and laymen, and completely forgiven, as far as pertains to us. And, on this head, we have caused to be made for them letters testimonial patent of the lord Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, of the lord Henry, archbishop of Dublin, of the bishops aforesaid, and of Master Pandulf as touching this security and the concessions aforesaid.
63. Wherefore it is our will, and we firmly enjoin, that the English Church be free, and that the men in our kingdom have and hold all the aforesaid liberties, rights, and concessions, well and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, for themselves and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all respects and in all places for ever, as is aforesaid. An oath, moreover, has been taken, as well on our part as on the part

of the barons, that all these conditions aforesaid shall be kept in good faith and without evil intent. Given under our hand—the above-named and many others being witnesses—in the meadow which is called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, on the fifteenth day of June, in the seventeenth year of our reign.

Source: *Source Problems in English History*. Albert Beebe White and Wallace Notestein, eds. and trans. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1915. Translation modified by Lawrence Morris.

6. The Manner of Holding Parliament in England

On a day-to-day basis, the English Parliament, like parliaments in Spain and elsewhere, attempted to curtail the power of the king and to supervise the monarch's activities. The following document, from the fourteenth century, describes the workings of Parliament as practiced under King Edward the Confessor (died 1066). Although the document purports to describe ancient practices, it ultimately sets forth the theoretical workings of an ideal parliament—what the author would like parliament to be in the fourteenth century. By giving the contemporary parliament ancient roots, the document lends Parliament authority and credibility.

The importance of social class is clear in this extract. The members of Parliament are divided strictly by their hierarchical social class. At the most basic level, there are three grades of “peer” (voting member): the clergy, the knights, and the citizens (i.e., wealthy inhabitants of the cities). This basic three-fold division can be further subdivided to create six grades: king; bishops and other important religious figures; clergy; earls, barons, and other magnates; knights of the shires; and citizens. During parliamentary disputes, each of these grades formulates its own written response to a parliamentary question. If the total Parliament cannot decide, then a subset of Parliament is elected, and that committee attempts to resolve the issue. If that committee cannot agree, then a still smaller committee is chosen out of their number. Eventually, if disagreements continue, all decision making is vested in just one member of Parliament, although the king must still ratify those decisions.

Throughout, the document stresses the important role of the lower social grades. For example, whereas only two bishops are appointed to a committee, five citizens are appointed. The lower-level peers thus have a greater voice and greater decision-making power within the kingdom, at least on the theoretical level. As the document states, “the commonalty of parliament” must make decisions, not the great magnates alone. This refusal to cater to the interests of the super-rich and powerful can be seen likewise in the rules governing the order in which questions are addressed. According to the document, “he who first made a proposition shall act first” with “no respect being had for the persons of any one.” The idea of “first come, first served,” rather than wealth and power, determined the order of business on the agenda.

Finally, the document outlines the kinds of “aid”—that is, financial assistance in the form of taxes—that Parliament could give the king. Most importantly for the kingdom, aid could be sought to fight a war. Yet more personal reasons for requesting tax money could also be advanced; the king could request money to knight one of his sons or to marry one of his daughters. In these scenarios, much of the money would be spent on parties and revelries for the king, his family, and their friends. Although such occasions may seem like frivolous uses of tax monies, such events could be important ways of securing international alliances—they were the business lunches and golf-outings of the Middle Ages.

CONCERNING DIFFICULT CASES AND JUDGMENTS

When a dispute, a doubt, or a difficult case, whether of peace or war, comes up in the kingdom or out of it, that case shall be drawn up in writing and read in full parliament; and, if it be necessary, it shall be enjoined—through the king, or on the part of the king if he be not present—on each of the grades of peers, that each grade shall go apart by itself; and that that case shall be delivered to their clerk in writing; and that they, in a fixed place, shall cause that case to be read before them, so that they may ordain and consider among themselves how, in that case, they shall best and most justly proceed; according as they themselves are willing to answer before God for the person of the king, and for their own persons, and also for the persons of those whose persons they represent. And they shall draw up in writing their replies and views; so that when all their responses, plans and views, on this side and on that, have been heard, it may be proceeded according to the better and more healthful plan, and according as, at length, the majority of the parliament shall agree. And if, through discord between them and the king and some magnates—or, perhaps, between the magnates themselves—the peace of the kingdom is endangered, or the people or the country troubled; so that it seems to the king and his council to be expedient that that matter shall be treated of and emended through the attention of all the peers of his kingdom; or if, through war, the king or the kingdom are in trouble; or if a difficult case come up before the chancellor of England; or a difficult judgment be about to be rendered before the justices, and so on: and if perchance, in such deliberations, all, or at least the majority, can not come to an agreement; then the earl seneschal, the earl constable, the earl marshal, or two of them, shall elect twenty five persons from all the peers of the realm—two bishops, namely, and three representatives for the whole clergy; two counts, and three barons; five knights of the shires; five citizens, and five burgesses; which make twenty five. And those twenty five can elect from themselves twelve and resolve themselves into that number; and those twelve, six, and resolve themselves into that number; and those who were hitherto six, three, and resolve themselves into that number. And those three can not resolve themselves into fewer, unless by obtaining permission from our lord the king. And, if the king consent, those three can resolve into two; and of those two, one into the other; and so at length that man's decision shall stand above the whole parliament. And thus, by resolving from twenty five persons into one single person, if a greater number cannot be concordant and make a decision, at last one person alone, as has been said, who cannot disagree with himself, shall decide for all; it being allowed to our master the king, and to his council, to examine and amend such decisions after they have been written out—if they can and will do this. In such manner that this same shall then be done in full parliament, and with the consent of parliament, and not behind parliament.

CONCERNING THE BUSINESS OF PARLIAMENT

The matters for which parliament has been summoned ought to be deliberated upon according to the calendar of parliament, and according to the order of the petitions delivered and filed; no respect being had for the persons of any one; but he who first made a proposition shall act first. In the calendar of parliament all the business of parliament should be called up in this order: first what concerns war, if there is war, and what concerns other

matters relating to the persons of the king, the queen and their children; secondly, what concerns the common affairs of the kingdom, such as the making of laws against defects of original laws, judicial and executive, after the judgments have been rendered—which things, most of all, are common affairs; thirdly, there should be called the separate matters, and this according to the order of the petitions filed, as has been said.

CONCERNING THE DAYS AND HOURS OF PARLIAMENT

Parliament ought not to be held on Sundays, but it can be held on all other days; that day always being excepted, and three others, namely: All Saints', and Souls', and the nativity of John the Baptist. And it ought to begin each day in the middle of the first hour; at which hour the king is bound to be present in parliament, together with all the peers of the kingdom. And parliament ought to be held in a public place, and not in a private nor in a secret place. On feast days parliament ought to begin at the first hour, on account of the Divine Service.

CONCERNING THE GRADES OF PEERS

The king is the head, beginning and end of parliament; and thus he has no peer in his grade, and the first grade consists of the king alone. The second grade consists of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, who hold by barony. The third grade consists of the representatives of the clergy. The fourth, of earls, barons, and other magnates and chiefs, whose holding is of the value of a county and barony—as has been explained in the clause concerning laymen. The fifth is of knights of the shires. The sixth, of citizens and burgesses. And thus parliament consists of six grades. But it must be known that even though any one of the said grades except the king be absent—provided, however, that all have been forewarned by reasonable summonses of parliament—nevertheless, it shall be considered as a full parliament. . . .

CONCERNING THE STANDING OF THOSE WHO SPEAK

All the peers of parliament shall sit, and no one shall stand except when he speaks; and he shall so speak that every one in parliament may hear him. No one shall enter the parliament, or go out from parliament, unless through the one door; and whenever anyone says something that is to be deliberated upon by the parliament, he shall always stand when he speaks; the reason is that he may be heard by his peers, for all his peers are judges and justices.

CONCERNING AID TO THE KING

The king does not usually ask aid from his kingdom unless for imminent war, or for knighting his sons, or for marrying his daughters; and then such aids ought to be sought in full parliament; and to be delivered in writing to each grade of the peers of parliament; and to be replied to in writing. And be it known that if such aids are to be granted, all the peers of parliament ought to consent. And be it known that the two knights who come to parliament for the shire, have a greater voice in parliament, in granting and refusing, than a greater earl of England; and likewise, if the representatives of the clergy are all of one mind, than the bishop himself. And this is the case in all

matters which ought to be granted, refused or done through the parliament. And this is evident, that the king can hold parliament with the commonalty of his kingdom, without the bishops, earls and barons, provided they have been summoned to parliament, even though no bishop, earl or baron, answer to his summons. For, formerly, kings held their parliaments when no bishop, earl or baron was present. But it is another matter, on the contrary, if the commonalty—the clergy and the laity—have been summoned to parliament, as they have a right to be, and are not willing to come for certain causes; as if they were to maintain that the lord king did not rule them as he ought to, and were to signify in what especial respect he did not do so; then it would not be a parliament at all, even though the archbishops, bishops, counts and barons and all their peers, were present with the king. And so it is necessary that all things which are to be affirmed or cancelled, granted or denied, or done by the parliament, should be granted by the commonalty of the parliament, which consists of the three grades or divisions of parliament: viz. of the representatives of the clergy, the knights of the shires, the citizens and burgesses, who represent the whole commonality of England; and not by the magnates. For each of them is in parliament for his own person alone, and not for any one else.

Source: *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward the First*, ed. William Stubbs. 9th ed. Revised by H.W.C. Davis. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913, p. 502. In *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*. Ed. and trans. by Henderson, Ernest F. London: Bell, 1921, pp. 151–65. Translation slightly modified by Lawrence Morris.

7. Church and State: The Papal Bull Unam Sanctam

Issued in November 1302, the famous papal bull *Unam sanctam* attempted to finalize the theoretical relationship between church and state. In no uncertain terms, the bull's promulgator, Pope Boniface VIII, stated that the Church had ultimate authority and power of judgment over the state. In other words, the pope was greater than the king because the spiritual life was ultimately greater than the secular life. Moreover, using the image of a two-headed monster, the pope argued that the world needed ultimately just one head—not two heads. Thus, the Church and state were not equals; rather, the Church was superior to the state.

Although *Unam sanctam* set forth a theoretical, philosophical, and theological position, its motivation was ultimately political. Pope Boniface's release of *Unam sanctam* was a response to the growing infringement of secular princes on Church properties. To finance their intermittent war against each other, both Edward I of England and Philip IV of France turned to taxing the clergy. Although the kings levied this taxation as a matter of political expediency—to gain more money for their wars—the actions did have theological consequences; in effect, taxing the clergy suggested that kings had the right to force the Church to pay money. In other words, the state had ultimate control over the Church. Seen in this light, Boniface's actions in *Unam sanctam* appear to defend the Church from outside interference.

Boniface was not shy about playing politics and developed a reputation for such during his lifetime. Elected pope upon the abdication of Celestine V, Boniface imprisoned his predecessor in a castle. When Celestine died soon thereafter, contemporaries suspected foul play and cast suspicion on Boniface. The great Italian poet Dante Alighieri so disliked Boniface's political position that the poet pictures Boniface in hell in the *Divine Comedy*.

We are compelled, our faith urging us, to believe and to hold—and we do firmly believe and simply confess—that there is one holy catholic and apostolic church, outside of which there is neither salvation nor remission of sins; her Spouse proclaiming it in the canticles: “My dove, my undefiled, is but one, she is the choice one of her that bore her;” which represents one mystic body, of which body the head is Christ; but of Christ, God. In this church there is one Lord, one faith and one baptism. There was one ark of Noah, indeed, at the time of the flood, symbolizing one church; and this being finished in one cubit had, namely, one Noah as helmsman and commander. And, with the exception of this ark, all things existing upon the earth were, as we read, destroyed. This church, moreover, we venerate as the only one, the Lord saying through His prophet: “Deliver my soul from the sword, my darling from the power of the dog.” He prayed at the same time for His soul—that is, for Himself the Head—and for His body, which body, namely, he called the one and only church on account of the unity of the faith promised, of the sacraments, and of the love of the church. She is that seamless garment of the Lord which was not cut but which fell by lot. Therefore of this one and only church there is one body and one head—not two heads as if it were a monster: Christ, namely, and the vicar of Christ, St. Peter, and the successor of Peter. For the Lord Himself said to Peter, “Feed my sheep.” My sheep, He said, using a general term, and not designating these or those particular sheep; from which it is plain that He committed to Him all His sheep. If, then, the Greeks or others say that they were not committed to the care of Peter and his successors, they necessarily confess that they are not the sheep of Christ; for the Lord says, in John, that there is one fold, one shepherd, and one only. We are told by the word of the gospel that in this His fold there are two swords: a spiritual, namely, and a temporal. For when the apostles said “Behold here are two swords”—when the apostles were speaking of the church—the Lord did not reply that this was too much, but enough. Surely he who denies that the temporal sword is in the power of Peter wrongly interprets the word of the Lord when He says: “Put up thy sword in its scabbard.” Both swords, the spiritual and the material, therefore, are in the power of the church; the one, indeed, to be wielded for the church, the other by the church; the one by the hand of the priest, the other by the hand of kings and knights, but at the will and sufferance of the priest. One sword, moreover, ought to be under the other, and the temporal authority to be subjected to the spiritual. For when the apostle says “there is no power but of God, and the powers that are of God are ordained,” they would not be ordained unless sword were under sword and the lesser one, as it were, were led by the other to great deeds. For according to St. Dionysius the law of divinity is to lead the lowest through the intermediate to the highest things. Not therefore, according to the law of the universe, are all things reduced to order equally and immediately; but the lowest through the intermediate, the intermediate through the higher. But that the spiritual exceeds any earthly power in dignity and nobility we ought the more openly to confess the more spiritual things excel temporal ones. This also is made plain to our eyes from the giving of tithes, and the benediction and the sanctification; from the acceptance of this same power, from the control over those same things. For the truth bearing witness, the spiritual power has to establish the earthly power, and to judge it if it be not good. Thus concerning the church and the ecclesiastical power is verified the prophecy of Jeremiah: “See, I have this day set thee over the nations and

over the kingdoms,” and the other things which follow. Therefore if the earthly power err, it shall be judged by the spiritual power; but if the lesser spiritual power err, by the greater. But if the greatest, it can be judged by God alone, not by man, the apostle bearing witness. A spiritual man judges all things, but he himself is judged by no one. This authority, moreover, even though it is given to man and exercised through man, is not human but rather divine, being given by divine lips to Peter and founded on a rock for him and his successors through Christ himself whom he has confessed; the Lord himself saying to Peter: “Whatsoever thou shalt bind,” etc. Whoever, therefore, resists this power thus ordained by God, resists the ordination of God, unless he makes believe, like the Manichean, that there are two beginnings. This we consider false and heretical, since by the testimony of Moses, not “in the beginnings,” but “in the beginning” God created the Heavens and the earth. Indeed we declare, announce, and define, that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff.

Source: *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*. Ed. and trans. by Ernest F. Henderson. London: Bell, 1921, pp.435–37.



King Philip of France (1790). © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

8. Divine Right of Kings

The issue of the dividing line between church and state remained a vexed question throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance. While popes such as Boniface VIII (c. 1235–1303) laid claim to ultimate authority (see Document 7), kings attempted to carve out their own sphere of influence. The monarchical backlash to papal authority can be seen clearly in the English Reformation of the sixteenth century. Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), who was archbishop of Canterbury under both King Henry VIII (1491–1547) and his son King Edward VI (1537–1553), worked to create not only a Protestant church in England but also a king-dominated society.

In the following sermon, Cranmer defends the notion of kingship and argues that the king has ultimate authority. According to Cranmer, the social class system is a form of natural order imposed by God; any destabilizing of that order not only is forbidden by God but also will lead to a lack of safety. Cranmer argues that a society without a king and his government officials (such as judges) would quickly sink into anarchy, and the people therefore would have to fear for the safety of their property and for their lives. More importantly, kings are God’s ministers and are divinely appointed. In fact, Cranmer goes to great lengths to convince the audience that rebellion from even an unrighteous and evil tyrant is contradictory to God’s law. The intertwining of politics and religion here is obvious, and it is perhaps no surprise that the king ordered priests to read this collection of Cranmer’s sermons throughout England. The English Church had become an effective vehicle for royalist propaganda.

The spelling of this sixteenth-century document has been left mostly as it appears in the earliest printed version; if you get stuck on a word, try pronouncing it out loud. Although

spelled differently from modern English, Renaissance English was pronounced almost exactly the same.

An exhortacion, concernyng good ordre and obedience, to rulers and magistrates.

Almightie God hath created and appointed all thinges, in heaven, the earth, and waters, in a moste excellent and perfect ordre. In heaven, he hath appoynted distinct orders and states of Archangelles and Angels. In the earth he hath assigned kyniges, princes, with other governors under them, all in good and necessary ordre. The water above is kept and raineth doune in due time and season. The sunne, mone, sterres, rainbow, thunder, lightning, cloudes, and al birdes of the aire, do kepe their ordre. The earth, trees, seedes, plantes, herbes, corne, grasse, and all maner of beastes, kepe them in their ordre. All the partes of the whole yeare, as winter, somer, monethes, nightes and dayes, continue in their ordre. All kyndes of fishes in the sea, rivers and waters, with all fountaynes, sprynges, yea, the seas themselves, kepe their comely course and ordre. And man hymself also, hath al his partes, both within and without: as soule, harte, mynd, memory, understandyng, reason, speache, withall and singuler corporall membres of his body, in a profitable, necessary and pleasaunt ordre. Every degre of people, in their vocation, callyng, and office, hath appoynted to them, their duetie and ordre. Some are in high degree, some in lowe, some kyniges and princes, some inferiors and subjectes, priestes, and laymen, masters and servautes, fathers and children, husbandes and wives, riche and poore, and every one have nede of other: so that in all thinges, is to be lauded and praysed the goodly ordre of God, without the whiche, no house, no citie, no common wealth, can continue and endure.

For where there is no right ordre, there reigneth all abuse, carnall libertie, enormitie, syn, and babilonicall confusion. Take away kyniges, princes, rulers, magistrates, judges, and such states of Gods ordre, no man shall ride or go by the high way unrobbed, no man shall slepe in his owne house or bed unkilld, no man shall kepe his wife, children, and possessions in quietness; all thynges shal be common, and there must nedes folow all mischief and utter destruction, both of soules, bodies, goodes and common wealthes. But blessed be God, that we in this realme of England fele not the horrible calamities, miseries and wretchedness, which al they undoubtedly fele and suffre, that lacke this godly ordre. And praised be God, that we knowe the great excellent benefite of God, shewed towards us in this behalfe. God hath sente us his high gifte, our most dere sovereigne lord king Edward the sixth, with godly wise, and honorable counsail, with other superiors and inferiors in a beautifull ordre. Wherefore, let us subjectes do our bounden duties, giving hartie thanks to God, and praiyng for the preservacion of this Godly ordre.

Let us all obey even from the botome of our hartes, al their Godly procedynges, lawes, statutes, proclamacions, and injunctions, with all other Godly orders. Let us considre the scriptures of the holy ghost, whiche perswade and conmaunde us all obediently to be subject: First and chiefly, to the kyniges majestie, supreme head over all, and next, to his honorable counsail, and to all other noble men, magistrates and officers, which by Gods goodness be placed and ordered: for almightie God, is the onely author and provider of thys forenamed state and ordre, as it is written of God, in the boke of the proverbes: through me, kyniges do reigne; through me counsailors make just lawes, through me, doo princes beare rule, and all judges of the earth execute judgement: I am lovyng to them, that love me.

Here let us marke wel, and remembre, that the high power and auctoritie of kynges, with theyr makynge of lawes, judgements, and officers, are the ordinaunces, not of man, but of God: and therefore is this word (through me) so many tymes repeted. Here is also well to be considered and remembred, that this good ordre is appoynted of Gods wisdom, favor, and love, specially for them that love god, and therefore he saith: I love them, that love me. Also, in the boke of wisdom we may evidently learne, that a kynges power, auctoritie, and strength, is a greate benefite of God, geven of his great mercy, to the comfort of our greate misery. For thus wee rede there spoken to kynges. Heare o ye kynges and understand: learne ye that be judges of the endes of the earth: give eare ye, that rule the multitudes: for the power is geven you of the lord, and the strength from the highest.

Let us learne also here by the infallible word of God, that kinges and other supreme and higher officers, are ordeined of god who is most highest, and therefore they are here diligently taught, to apply themselves, to knowledge and wisdom, necessary for the orderynge of Gods people, to their governaunce committed. And they be here also taught by almighty God, that thei should reknowlege themselves, to have all their power and strength, not from Rome, but immediatly of God most highest. We rede in the boke of Deuteronomy, that al punishment pertaineth to God, by this sentence: vengeance is mine, and I will reward. But this sentence we must understand, to pertain also unto the magistrates, which do exercise Gods rouse in judgement and punishing, by good and godly lawes, here in the earth. And the places of scripture whiche seme to remove from among al christian men, judgement, punishment, or kylling, ought to be understand, that no man (of his owne private auctoritie) may be judge over other, may punish, or may kill. But we must refer al judgement to god, to kynges and rulers, and judges under them, which be Gods officers, to execute justice, and by plain wordes of scripture, have their auctoritie and use of the sword, graunted from God, as we are taught by S. Paule the dere and elect Apostle of our savior Christ, whom we ought diligently to obeye, even as we would obey our savior Christ, if he were present. Thus S. Paule writeth to the Romans, "Let every soule submit hymself, unto the auctoritie of the higher powers, for there is no power, but of God, the powers that be, be ordeined of God, whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinaunce of God, but they that resist, shall receive to themselves dampnacion: for rulers are not fearful to them that do good, but to them that do evill. Wilt thou be without feare of the power? Do well then, and so shalt thou be prayesd of the same: for he is the minister of God, for thy wealthe. But and if thou do that, whiche is evill, then feare, for he beareth not the swourde for naught, for he is the minister of God, to make vengeance on hym, that doth evill." Wherefore ye must nedes obey, not onely for feare of vengeance, but also, because of conscience, and even for this cause pay the tribute, for they are Gods ministers, serving for the same purpose.

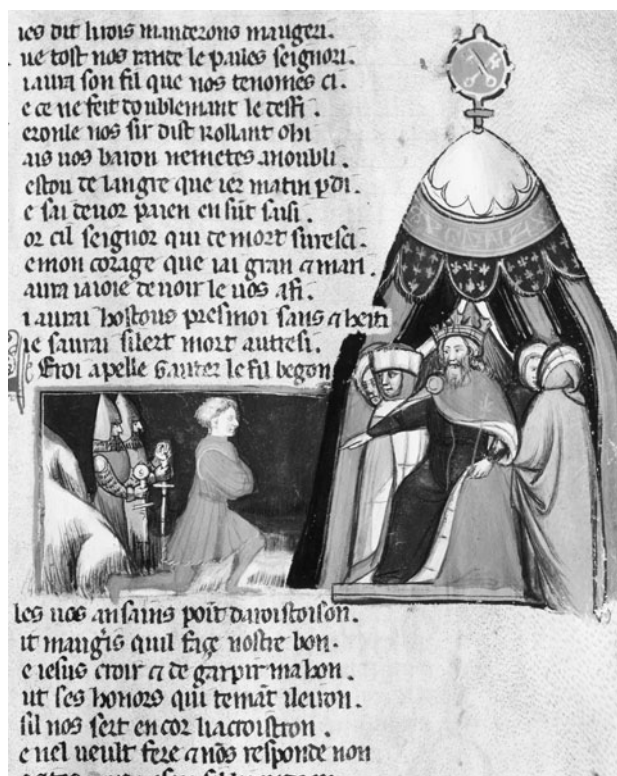
Here let us al learne of S. Paule, the elect vessel of God, that all persones having soules, (he excepteth none, nor exempteth none, neither priest, apostle, nor prophet, saith. s. Chryso.) do owe of bounden duetie, and even in conscience, obedience, submission and subjection, to the hygh powers, which be constituted in auctoritie by God, forasmuch as thei be Gods liutenantes, Gods presidentes, Gods officers, Gods commissioners, Gods judges, ordeined of God hymself, of whom onely thei have al their power, and all their auctoritie. And the same s. Paule threateneth no lesse pain, then everlasting dampnacion to al disobedient persons, to al resisters, against this generall and

common authoritie, forasmuch as they resist not man, but God, not mannes devise and invencion, but Gods wisdom, Gods ordre, power, and authoritie.

And here (good people) let us all marke diligently, that it is not lawfull for inferiors and subjectes, in any case to resist the superior powers: for s. Paules wordes be playn, that whosoever resisteth, shall get to themselves dampnation: for whosoever resisteth, resisteth the ordinance of God. Our savior Christe him self and his apostles, received many and diverse injuries of the unfaithfull and wicked men in authoritie: yet we never rede, that thei, or any of then, caused any sedicion or rebellion agaynst authoritie. We rede oft, that they patiently suffered al troubles, vexacions, slaunders, pangues, and paines, and death it self obediently, without tumulte or resistance. They committed their cause to him, that judgeth righteously, and prayed for their enemyes hartely and earnestly. They knew that the authoritie of the powers, was Gods ordinance, and therefore bothe in their wordes and dedes, they taught ever obedience to it, and never taught, nor did the contrary. The wicked judge Pilat sayd to Christe: knowest thou not that I have power to crucifye thee, and have power also to lose thee? Jesus answered: "Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were geven the from above." Whereby Christe taught us plainly, that even the wicked rulers have their power and authoritie from God. And therefore it is not lawfull for their subjectes, by force to resyst then, although they abuse

their power; muche lesse then it is lawfull for subjectes to resist their godly and christian princes, whiche do not abuse their authoritie, but use the same to Gods glory, and to the profyte and commoditie of Gods people. The holy apostle S. Peter commaundeth servauntes to be obedient to their masters, not onely, if they be good and gentle, but also, if they be evil and froward: affirmyng, that the vocation and callyng of Gods people, is to bee patient, and of the sufferynge syde. And there he bringeth in, the patience of our savior Christ to perswade obedience to governors, yea, although they be wycked and wrong doers. But let us now heare S. Peter himself speake, for his own wordes certifie best our conscience. Thus he uttereth them in his firste Epistle: Servauntes obeye your Masters with feare, not onely, if they be good and gentle, but also, if they bee frowarde: For it is thanke worthy, if a man for conscience towarde God, suffereth grief, and suffreth wronge undeserved: for what praise is it, when ye be beaten for your faultes, if ye take it patiently, but when ye do wel, if you then suffre wrong, and take it patiently, then is there cause to have thanke of God: for hereunto verily were ye called. For so did Christ suffre for us, leavyng us an example, that we should follow his steppes. All these be the very wordes of Saint Peter.

Saint David also teacheth us a good lesson in this behalfe, who was many tymes most cruelly and wrongfully persecuted of kyng Saule, and many tymes also put in jeopardy and daunger of his life, by kyng Saule and his people: yet he never resysted, neither used any force or violence against



Investiture of knight by King, from fourteenth-century manuscript. The kneeling knight shows the close relationship between religious and secular symbolism during the Middle Ages. The Art Archive/Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Venice/Alfredo Dagli Orti.

kyng Saule, his mortall enemy, but did ever to his liege Lorde and master kyng Saule, moste true, most diligent, and most faithfull service. In so much, that when the lord God had given kyng Saule into Davides handes in his own cave, he would not hurt him, when he myght without all bodily perill, easly have slain hym: no, he would not suffre any of his servauntes, once to lay their handes upon kyng Saule, but praied to god in this wise: lord, kepe me from doyng that thyng unto my master, the lordes anoynted: kepe me that I laye not my hande upon him, seyng, he is the anoynted of the lorde: for as truly as the lorde liveth, (except the lorde smyte him, or except his day come, or that he go doune to warre, and in battaill perishe) the Lorde be mercifull unto me, that I lay not my hand upon the lordes anoynted. And that Daud mighte have killed his enemye kyng Saule, it is evidently proved, in the first boke of the kynges, both by the cutting of the lap of Saules garment, and also by the playn confession of kyng Saule. Also another time (as it is mentioned in the same boke) when the most unmercifull, and most unkynd kyng Saule did persecute poore Daud, God did agayn give kyng Saule into Davides handes, by casting of kyng Saul and his whole army, into a dead slepe: so that David and one Abisai with him, came in the night into Saules hoste, wher Saule lay slepyng, and his speare stacke in the ground at his hed. Then said Abisai unto David: God hath delivered thyne enemy into thy handes, at this tyme, now therfore let me smyte him once with my spear to the earth, and I will not smyte him agayn the seconde tyme: meanyng thereby to have kylled hym with one stroke, and to have made him sure for ever. And David answered, and sayd to Abisai, destroy him not: for who can lay his handes on the lordes anoynted and be guiltless? And David said furthermore: as sure as the lord liveth, the lord shall smite him, or his day shall come to dye, or he shall descend into battaill, and there perish. The lord kepe me from laiyng my handes vpon the lordes anoynted. But take thou now the speare that is at his head, and the cruse of water, and let us go: and so he did.

Source: Cranmer, Thomas. *Certaine Sermons, or Homelies Appoynted by the Kynges Maiestie, to Be Declared and Redde, by All Persones, Vicars, or Curates, Euery Sondaye in Their Churches, Where They Have Cure.* 1547. Spelling modified slightly by Lawrence Morris.

Legal Systems

Human societies have turned to formal legal systems to provide clear guidelines for peaceful coexistence and the profitable exchange of goods. However, the complexity and concepts of any legal system may differ from those of another legal system. The law is certainly not the same everywhere. *Anglo-Saxon* law, for example, allowed individuals to seek their own private vigilante justice, provided that certain procedures designed to promote peaceful outcomes were followed. The rather straightforward proclamations of the ninth-century Anglo-Saxon king *Alfred the Great* (Document 12) contrast with the complex compilation of Roman law codes initiated by the Roman Emperor *Justinian* in the sixth century. The legal advisors under Justinian not only established what the law was but also offered a theory of basic legal concepts, such as possession (Document 14). In all cases, however, the legal codes tend to reflect the legal needs of the particular society. Anglo-Saxon law addresses vendetta, for example, whereas other early Germanic law codes distinguish carefully between different forms of livestock theft (Document 13). Such concern with rural matters reflects the importance of rural life in their society.

Not only do different countries have different laws, but additionally, the same country may have different but contemporaneous law codes. Throughout much of western Europe, two laws existed side by side: secular law and Church law (Documents 9 and 11). Church law covered moral and religious matters, as well as internal Church affairs, whereas secular law tended to cover crime affecting property or persons.

Perhaps the most spectacular aspect of medieval law was the trial by ordeal, in which two opponents would determine who was right by fighting or by undergoing some other physical contest. As Document 10 shows, these ordeals attracted large crowds eager to see who would win and who would be severely injured. Despite the fascination of this form of trial, the vast majority of cases were decided in a way that we would recognize today—by a judge listening to witnesses. It was an unfortunate aspect of the times, however, that the testimony of wealthy high-status individuals inevitably carried more weight than the testimony of the poor. It was nearly impossible for the lower classes to win a case against a wealthy individual.

9. Church Law

As noted previously, throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, two major legal systems existed: secular law and Church law. Ecclesiastic and canon law governed the internal workings of the Church but could also serve as the main judge of clergymen. A good example comes from the following extract from the Council of Trent (1545–1563). As part of the efforts of Roman Catholic self-reformation, the council addressed the issue of clerics who, contrary to their vows of celibacy, kept concubines, that is, lovers. Although clerical celibacy did not become the norm until the early Middle Ages—after all, many of the Apostles, such as Peter, were married—by the year 1000 all the clergy in western Europe were expected to be single and celibate. In the following decrees, the Council of Trent sought to ensure celibacy by punishing delinquent priests in their pocketbooks: womanizing prelates would need to pay one-third of their total income as a fine, and repeat offenders would have their entire income confiscated and would face excommunication if they did not reform. Moreover, the council forbade the illegitimate sons of priests to hold office in the same establishment as their father, a formerly rather commonplace, though criticized, custom.

The urgency of reform can be seen in the legal structure established by these decrees. The local bishop, instead of lower-ranking officials or a legal court, was given all the authority to determine guilt and to punish the womanizing priests. Vesting authority in one individual in this manner streamlined justice; there was no need for lawyers and complicated legal procedures. The absence of a right of appeal, however, meant that there were also no checks and balances.

CHAPTER XIV

The Manner of Proceeding Against Clerics who Keep Concubines is Prescribed

How shameful a thing, and how unworthy it is of the name of clerics who have devoted themselves to the service of God, to live in the filth of impurity, and unclean bondage, the thing itself doth testify, in the common scandal of all the faithful, and the extreme disgrace

entailed on the clerical order. To the end, therefore, that the ministers of the Church may be recalled to that continency and integrity of life which becomes them; and that the people may hence learn to reverence them the more, that they know them to be more pure of life: the holy Synod forbids all clerics whatsoever to dare to keep concubines, or any other woman of whom any suspicion can exist, either in their own houses, or elsewhere, or to presume to have any intercourse with them: otherwise they shall be punished with the penalties imposed by the sacred canons, or by the statutes of the (several) churches. But if, after being admonished by their superiors, they shall not abstain from these women, they shall be ipso facto deprived of the third part of the fruits, rents, and proceeds of all their benefices whatsoever, and pensions; which third part shall be applied to the fabric of the church, or to some other pious place, at the discretion of the bishop. If, however, persisting in the same crime, with the same or some other woman, they shall not even yet have obeyed upon a second admonition, not only shall they thereupon forfeit all the fruits and proceeds of their benefices and pensions, which shall be applied to the places aforesaid, but they shall also be suspended from the administration of the benefices themselves, for as long a period as shall seem fit to the Ordinary, even as the delegate of the Apostolic See. And if, having been thus suspended, they nevertheless shall not put away those women, or, even if they shall have intercourse with them, then shall they be for ever deprived of their ecclesiastical benefices, portions, offices, and pensions of whatsoever kind, and be rendered thenceforth incapable and unworthy of any manner of honours, dignities, benefices and offices, until, after a manifest amendment of life, it shall seem good to their superiors, for a cause, to grant them a dispensation. But if, after having once put them away, they shall have dared to renew the interrupted connexion, or to take to themselves other scandalous women of this sort, they shall, in addition to the penalties aforesaid, be smitten with the sword of excommunication. Nor shall any appeal, or exemption, hinder or suspend the execution of the aforesaid; and the cognizance of all the matters above-named shall not belong to archdeacons, or deans, or other inferiors, but to the bishops themselves, who may proceed without the noise and the formalities of justice, and by the sole investigation of the truth of the fact.

As regards clerics who have not ecclesiastical benefices or pensions, they shall, according to the quality of their crime and contumacy, and their persistence therein, be punished, by the bishop himself, with imprisonment, suspension from their order, inability to obtain benefices, or in other ways, conformably with the sacred canons.

Bishops also, if, which God forbid, they abstain not from crime of this nature, and, upon being admonished by the provincial Synod, they do not amend, shall be ipso facto suspended; and, if they persist therein, they shall be reported by the said Synod to the most holy Roman Pontiff, who shall punish them according to the nature of their guilt, even with deprivation if need be.

CHAPTER XV

The Illegitimate Sons of Clerics are Excluded from Certain Benefices and Pensions

That the memory of paternal incontinency may be banished as far as possible from places consecrated to God, where purity and holiness are most especially befitting; it shall not be lawful for the sons of clerics, not born in lawful wedlock, to hold, in those churches wherein their fathers have, or had, an ecclesiastical benefice, any benefice whatsoever,

even though a different one; nor to minister in any way in the said churches; nor to have pensions out of the revenues of benefices which their fathers hold, or have aforetime held. And if a father and son shall be found, at this present time, to hold benefices in the same church; the son shall be compelled to resign his benefice, or to exchange it for another out of that church, within the space of three months, otherwise he shall be ipso jure deprived thereof; and any dispensation in regard of the aforesaid shall be accounted surreptitious. Moreover, any reciprocal resignations which shall from this time forth be made by fathers who are clerics in favour of their sons, that one may obtain the benefice of the other, shall be wholly regarded as made in fraudulent evasion of this decree, and of the ordinances of the canons; nor shall the collations that may have followed, by virtue of resignations of this kind, or of any other whatsoever made fraudulently, be of avail to the said sons of clerics.

Source: *The Council of Trent: The Twenty-Fifth Session; The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent.* Edited and translated by J. Waterworth. London: Dolman, 1848, pp. 270–72.

10. Trial by Ordeal

Ordeals, with their battles to the death or injury, are a famous part of medieval justice but did not, in fact, play a major role in the medieval justice system. The elites in both the Church and state, as seen in Document 9, understood that a rational system of justice, using evidence and sworn witnesses, provided justice more surely than recourse to life-threatening competitions in the name of God. On the popular level, however, ordeals remained alive. Seventeenth-century witch trials, for example, still involved dunking suspected witches in water to see if they would float unnaturally.

The grasping of heated objects was one of the most common ordeals. In the following extract, from Gregory of Tours's sixth-century Books of Miracles (Libri miraculorum), two men in a dispute over religion decide to pluck a ring from a cauldron of boiling water; the man who is not harmed by the water will prove that his doctrine is correct. Comically, one of the participants loses confidence and attempts to protect his arm by covering it in ointment and urges his adversary to go first, in hopes, no doubt, that his opponent will be badly burned! While the two stand arguing, a third religious man comes along and proves the correctness of orthodox Christianity by plunging his arm into the boiling water and retrieving the ring while remaining unharmed. When the Arian heretic attempts to do the same, the flesh of the heretic's arm is completely burned off.

The fear and excitement generated by an ordeal is clear from the extract. Neither disputant wants to go first, and one of them has attempted to cheat. Meanwhile, a large crowd gathers around to see the outcome of the ordeal and, gruesomely, to see violent injury done to one or both parties. The interest aroused by the ordeal highlights the extraordinary nature of the event: ordeals were rare and therefore intriguing. At the same time, ordeals could evidently be convincing; Gregory of Tours relates the story precisely because he believes that the readers will be convinced by the outcome of the ordeal.

Arianism, the heresy that Gregory attempts to disprove by recording this story, taught that Jesus and the Holy Spirit were not equal to God the Father, whereas orthodox Christianity, followed by Gregory of Tours and by the characters of Iacintus and the ointment-wearing deacon in the story, held that Jesus and the Holy Spirit were equal to the Father.

An Arian priest, disputing with a deacon of our religion, made venomous assertions against the Son of God and the Holy Spirit, as is the habit of that sect. But when the deacon had discoursed a long time concerning the reasonableness of our faith, and the heretic, blinded by the fog of unbelief, continued to reject the truth (according as it is written, “Wisdom shall not enter the mind of the wicked”) the former said: “Why weary ourselves with long discussions? Let acts demonstrate the truth. Let a kettle be heated over the fire and someone’s ring be thrown into the boiling water. Let him who shall take it from the heated liquid be approved as a follower of the truth, and afterwards let the other party be converted to the knowledge of this truth. And understand, O heretic, that this our party will fulfill the conditions with the aid of the Holy Spirit; you shall confess that there is no inequality, no dissimilarity, in the Holy Trinity.” The heretic consented to the proposition and they separated, after appointing the next morning for the trial. But the fervor of faith in which the deacon had first made this suggestion began to cool through the instigation of the enemy. Rising with the dawn, he bathed his arm in oil and smeared it with ointment. But nevertheless he made the round of the sacred places and called in prayer on the Lord. What more shall I say? About 9 am they met in the market place. The people came together to see the show. A fire was lighted, the kettle was placed upon it, and when it grew very hot the ring was thrown into the boiling water. The deacon invited the heretic to take it out of the water first. But he promptly refused, saying, “You who did propose this trial should take it out.” The deacon, all of a tremble, bared his arm. When the heretic priest saw it besmeared with ointment he cried out: “With magic arts you have thought to protect yourself: you have made use of these salves, but what you have done will not avail.” While they were thus quarreling, there came up a deacon from Ravenna named Iacinthus, who inquired what the trouble was about. When he learned the truth, he drew his arm out from under his robe at once and plunged his right hand into the kettle. Now the ring that had been thrown in was a little thing and very light, so that it was tossed about by the water as chaff would be blown about by the wind. And searching for it a long time, he found it after about an hour. Meanwhile the flame beneath the kettle blazed up mightily, so that the greater heat might make it difficult for the ring to be followed by the hand; but the deacon extracted it at length and suffered no harm, protesting rather that at the bottom the kettle was cold while at the top it was just pleasantly warm. When the heretic beheld this, he was greatly confused and audaciously thrust his hand into the kettle saying, “My faith will aid me.” As soon as his hand had been thrust in, all the flesh was boiled off the bones clear up to the elbow. And so the dispute ended.

Source: Gregory of Tours, *Libri miraculorum*, ch. 80. Text in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores merovingicarum*, vol. 1, p. 542. Trans. by Arthur Howland in *University of Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints*, vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 10–11. In *A Source Book of Mediaeval History*. Ed. by Frederic Austin Ogg. New York: American, 1908, pp. 198–200. Translation modified slightly by Lawrence Morris.

11. Separation of Church and State

When the Norman duke William the Conqueror won control of England in 1066, he imported continental legal practices to his new kingdom. One of these practices was a strict separation of church and state. In this decree from the early 1070s, William orders

that bishops no longer hear cases in the hundred courts (where secular legal cases were heard) but instead hear them in a special episcopal court at a place of the bishop's choosing. Although William thus removed the bishops from the secular courts, he also removed the secular law officers (sheriffs, reeves, and crown ministers) from the episcopal courts by outlawing their interference with episcopal law. Finally, William sought to limit trial by ordeal by confining it solely to church law, and even then the ordeal had to be under the direct supervision of the bishop.

William, King of the English by the grace of God, to R. Bainardo, G. de Magnavilla, P. de Valoines, and to my other faithful followers from Essex, Hartfordshire, and Middlesex, greetings. May you, and all my faithful who remain in England, know that I have ordered that a common council of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and chief men of my kingdom amend the episcopal laws that have been used in England up until my time although they are poor and not in accordance with the precepts of holy canon law. Moreover, I command and instruct by my royal authority that no bishop or archdeacon hear pleas concerning episcopal law in the hundred courts anymore, nor bring any case relating to the guidance of souls to the secular courts. Instead, let anyone called for a case or charge pertaining to episcopal law go to the place which the bishop shall choose and announce for this purpose, and there the called shall respond to the case or charge, and let him do right before God and the bishop, not according to the laws of the hundred courts, but according to the canons and episcopal law. If anyone, carried away by pride, refuses to come to the episcopal court, let him be called three times; if he does not come to make amends, let him be excommunicated, and the strength and the justice of the king or his deputy shall enforce this excommunication as necessary. Whoever refuses to come to the episcopal court when called shall pay reparations for each time he refused to come. I also declare, and proclaim with my authority, that no sheriff or reeve or crown minister, nor any lay man, should interfere with the law belonging to the bishop, and no lay man should bring another to trial by ordeal without the episcopal court. Trial by ordeal shall not be conducted anywhere, except at the episcopal seat or in a place that the bishop has appointed.

Source: *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward the First*. 9th ed. Ed. by William Stubbs. Revised by H.W.C. Davis. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913, pp. 99–100. Translated and adapted by Lawrence Morris for this encyclopedia.

12. Vendetta and Tort Law

In many early medieval law codes, such as in Anglo-Saxon England, the legal system was based on tort law, in which an aggressor or a criminal pays a fine to the victim instead of going to prison. Whereas an aggressor who knocked out a victim's eye in the modern day would go to jail for assault and battery, the same culprit, according to the following excerpt from the law code issued by the ninth-century Anglo-Saxon king Alfred the Great, would need to pay a little more than 66 shillings in monetary compensation. Fines, rather than imprisonment, were the main form of punishment.

Another difference from modern legal systems was the reliance on personal vengeance to ensure justice. In an era before police forces, the victim and the victim's family ensured that justice occurred. Alfred's laws, however, already bear witness to attempts to curb the role of personal and violent vengeance in the administration of justice. In the first codes quoted here, for example, the victim must first give the criminal a chance to make monetary restitution. The victim therefore may surround the criminal's house, but he is not permitted to commence open warfare. If the victim is not powerful enough to besiege the criminal's house, then the victim can seek assistance from the local ealdorman, who may, in turn, request assistance from the king, if necessary.

A notable exception to this prohibition of sudden vengeance is made for crimes of passion. According to the law code, a man can fight immediately if he finds his wife in suspicious circumstances with another man or indeed if he finds any female relative with an inappropriate male.

42. Also we enjoin, that a man who knows his adversary to be residing at home, shall not have recourse to violence before demanding justice of him.
 - i. If he has power enough to surround his adversary and besiege him in his house, he shall keep him therein seven days, but he shall not fight against him if he will consent to remain inside. And if, after seven days, he will submit and hand over his weapons, he shall keep him unscathed for thirty days, and send formal notice of his position to his kinsmen and friends.
 - ii. If, however, he flees to a church, the privileges of the church shall be respected, as we have declared above.
 - iii. If, however, he has not power enough to besiege him in his house, he shall ride to the *ealdorman* and ask him for help. If he will not help him, he shall ride to the king before having recourse to violence.
 - iv. And further, if anyone chances on his enemy, not having known him to be at home, and if he will give up his weapons, he shall be detained for thirty days, and his friends shall be informed [of his position]. If he is not willing to give up his weapons, then violence may be used against him, he shall pay any sum which he incurs, whether wergeld or compensation for wounds, as well as a fine, and his kinsman shall forfeit his claim to protection as a result of his action.
 - v. We further declare that a man may fight on behalf of his lord, if his lord is attacked, without becoming liable to vendetta. Under similar conditions a lord may fight on behalf of his man.
 - vi. In the same way a man may fight on behalf of one who is related to him by blood, if he is attacked unjustly, except it be against his lord. This we do not permit.
 - vii. A man may fight, without becoming liable to vendetta, if he finds another man with his wedded wife, within closed doors or under the same blanket; or if he finds another man with his legitimate daughter or sister; or with his mother, if she has been given in lawful wedlock to his father.
44. 30 shillings shall be given as compensation for a wound on the head, if both bones are pierced.
 - i. If the outer bone only is pierced, 15 shillings shall be given as compensation.

45. If a wound an inch long is inflicted under the hair, one shilling shall be given as compensation.
 - i. If a wound an inch long is inflicted in front of the hair, 2 shillings shall be paid as compensation.
46. If either ear is struck off, 30 shillings shall be given as compensation.
 - i. If the hearing is stopped, so that he cannot hear, 60 shillings shall be given as compensation.
47. If anyone knocks out a man's eye, he shall give him 66 shillings, 6 pence and the third part of a penny as compensation.
 - i. If it remains in the head, but he can see nothing with it, one-third of the compensation shall be withheld.
48. If anyone strikes off another's nose, he shall pay him 60 shillings compensation.
49. If anyone knocks out another's front tooth, he shall pay 8 shillings as compensation for it.
 - i. If it is a black tooth, 4 shillings shall be given as compensation.
 - ii. A man's canine tooth shall be valued at 15 shillings.
50. If anyone strikes another's jaws so violently that they are fractured, he shall pay 15 shillings compensation.
 - i. If a man's chin-bone is broken in two, 12 shillings shall be given as compensation.
51. If a man's throat is pierced, 12 shillings shall be paid as compensation.
52. If, as the result of another's actions, a man's tongue is torn from his mouth, the compensation shall be the same as that for an eye.
53. If a man is wounded in the shoulder, so that the synovia flows out, 30 shillings shall be paid as compensation.
54. If the arm is fractured above the elbow, 15 shillings must be paid as compensation for it.
55. If both bones in the arm are broken, the compensation shall be 30 shillings.
56. If the thumb is struck off, 30 shillings must be paid as compensation for it.
 - i. If the nail is struck off, 5 shillings must be paid as compensation for it.
57. If the first finger is struck off, the compensation shall be 15 shillings; for the nail of the same 3 shilling.
58. If the middle finger is struck off, the compensation shall be 15 shillings; for the nail of the same, 2 shillings compensation shall be paid.
59. If the third finger is struck off, 17 shillings must be paid as compensation for it; and for the nail of the same, 4 shillings must be paid as compensation.
60. If the little finger is struck off, 9 shillings must be paid as compensation for it, and one shilling must be paid as compensation for the nail of the same, if it is struck off.
61. If a man is wounded in the belly, 30 shillings shall be given to him as compensation.
 - i. If he is pierced right through, 20 shillings shall be paid for each orifice.
62. If a man's thigh is pierced, 30 shillings shall be given to him as compensation.
 - i. If it is fractured, 30 shillings shall also be the compensation.
63. If the shin is pierced below the knee, 12 shillings must be paid as compensation for it.
 - i. If it is fractured below the knee, 30 shillings shall be given to him as compensation.

64. If the big toe is struck off, 20 shillings shall be given to him as compensation.
 - i. If it is the second toe which is struck off, 15 shillings shall be given to him as compensation.
 - ii. If the middle toe is struck off, 9 shillings must be paid as compensation for it.
 - iii. If it is the fourth toe which is struck off, 6 shillings must be paid as compensation for it.
 - iv. If the little toe is struck off, 5 shillings shall be given to him as compensation.
65. If a man is so badly wounded in the testicles that he cannot beget children, 80 shillings shall be paid to him as compensation for it.

Source: *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*. Ed. and trans. by F. L. Attenborough Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922, pp. 83–91.

13. Stealing Livestock

This brief extract from seventh-century German laws reveals the importance of the rural economy. The punishments for the theft of pigs and cows are determined according to precise distinctions between the animals involved. The theft of a suckling pig, for example, carries a penalty of 120 denarii, whereas the theft of a weaned pig carries a penalty one-third as severe: 40 denarii. The theft of a whole herd of 25 or more pigs carries the truly heavy penalty of 2500 denarii; the penalty indicates that theft of a whole herd could leave the owner destitute and at risk of starvation. Livestock was valued so highly by the Germans that even animals that drifted into a neighbor's crops were protected; harming the animal could result in repaying the price of the animal, and attempting to cover up the crime would result in a whopping 600 denarii additional fine. Stealing and harming livestock were clearly serious crimes in the rural societies of the early medieval Germanic world.

II. Concerning thefts of pigs

1. If any one steal a suckling pig and it be proved against him, let him be judged guilty of *chrane calcium*, i.e. 120 denarii, which make 3 solidi.
2. If any one steal a pig that is weaned and it be proved against him, let him be judged guilty of *chrane calcium*, i.e., 40 denarii, which make 1 solidi. . .
14. If any one steal 25 pigs and there be no more in the herd, and it be proved against him, let him be judged guilty of *sonista*, i.e. 2500 denarii, which make 62 solidi.

III. Concerning thefts of cattle

4. If any one steal the unyoked bull which is the leader of the herd, let him be judged guilty of *charohitum*, i.e., 8000 denarii, which make 45 solidi.
5. But if that bull be kept for the cows of three villages in common, let him who stole it be judged guilty of *chammitum*, i.e., three times 45 solidi.
6. If any one steal the king's bull, let him be judged guilty of *anteotho*, i.e., 3600 denarii, which make 90 solidi, besides *capitale* and *delitura*.

IX. Concerning damage done among crops or in any enclosure

1. If any one find cattle or a horse or any flocks among his crops he ought not to harm them in any way.
2. And if he does so and confess it, let him pay *capitale* in place of the damage; but he shall keep the injured beast for himself.
3. But if he does not confess, and it be proved against him, let him be judged guilty of 600 denarii, which make 15 solidi, besides *capitale* and *dilatatura*.

Source: Gengler, H. G. *Germanische Rechtsdenkmäler*. Erlangen: F. Enke, 1875, p. 267. In Roy Cave and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965, pp. 307–08.

14. The Code of Justinian

The Code of Justinian, a law code drawn up by the Roman emperor Justinian (483–565), remained the most influential legal document throughout the Middle Ages and much of the Renaissance. Upon assuming the throne of the Roman Empire, Justinian appointed a team of lawyers to collect and recodify the existing body of Roman law. The result was a series of books that united Roman law and presented that law in an easily accessible manner. The finished work carefully indicated which emperors enacted the laws and how legal thinkers had understood the law. The kingdoms of western Europe would continually look to the Code of Justinian as a source of authoritative legal precedent.

The following extract, from the Digest, discusses the notion of the legal possession of goods and how to acquire it. Legal possession is one of the most important legal concepts. Without the concept of possession, private property could not exist. Anyone would be able to take property away from anyone else. Possession is thus necessary for economic security. Possession also played an important role in family life because Roman parents possessed their children. The same laws that applied to things applied to certain classes of people.

CONCERNING ACQUIRING OR LOSING POSSESSION.

1. Paulus, On the Edict, Book LIV.

Possession, as Labeo says, is derived from the term *sedes*, or position, because it is naturally held by him who has it.

1. Nerva, the son, asserts that the ownership of property originated from natural possession, and that the trace of this still remains in the case of whatever is taken on the earth, on the sea, and in the air, for it immediately belongs to those who first acquire possession of it. Likewise, spoils taken in war, and an island formed in the sea, gems, precious stones, and pearls found upon the shore, become the property of him who first obtains possession of them.
2. We also acquire possession by ourselves.
3. An insane person, or a ward, cannot begin to acquire possession without the authority of his curator or guardian; because, although the former may touch the

property with their bodies, they have not the disposition to hold it, just as where anyone places something in the hands of a man who is asleep. A ward can begin to obtain possession by the authority of his guardian. Ofilius, and Nerva, the son, however, say that a ward cannot begin to obtain possession without the authority of his guardian, for possession is a matter of fact, and not of law. This opinion may be accepted where the ward is of such an age as to be capable of understanding what he is doing.

4. Where a husband gives possession to his wife for the purpose of making her a donation, several authorities hold that she is in actual possession, as a question of fact cannot be annulled by the Civil Law. And, indeed, what use would it be to say that the wife is not in possession, as the husband immediately lost it when he no longer desired to retain it?
5. We also acquire possession by means of a slave or a son who is under our control; and this is the case with property constituting his peculium, even if we are ignorant of the fact, as was held by Sabinus.

Cassius and Julianus: because those whom we have permitted to have peculium are understood to be in possession with our consent. Therefore, an infant and an insane person can obtain possession of property forming peculium, and can acquire it by usucaption; an heir also can do this, where a slave belonging to the estate makes a purchase.

6. We can also acquire possession through anyone whom we possess in good faith as a slave, even though he belongs to another, or is free. If, however, we have possession of him fraudulently, I do not think that we can acquire possession through his agency. He who is in possession of another can neither acquire property for his master nor for himself.
7. When we are joint-owners of a slave, we can individually acquire property through him to the full amount, as if he were one of our own slaves, if he intends to make the acquisition for one of his masters; just as is the case of acquiring ownership.
8. We can obtain possession through a slave in whom we have the usufruct in the same way that he is accustomed to acquire property for us by means of his labor; nor does it make any difference if we do not actually possess him, for the same rule applies to a son.
9. Moreover, he through whom we desire to obtain possession should be such a person as to be able to understand what possession means.
10. Therefore, if you send a slave, who is insane, to take possession, you will by no means be considered to have acquired it.
11. If you send a boy under the age of puberty to take possession, you will begin to do so; just as a ward acquires possession, and especially by the authority of his guardian.
12. There is no doubt that you can obtain possession by means of a female slave.
13. A ward can acquire possession by means of a slave, whether the latter has arrived at the age of puberty, or not, if he directs him to take possession with the authority of his guardian.
14. Nerva, the son, says that we cannot acquire possession by means of one of our slaves who is a fugitive, although it has been held that he remains in our possession as long

as he is not in that of another; and therefore that, in the meantime, property can be acquired by him through usucaption. This opinion, however, is adopted on account of public convenience, so that usucaption may take place as long as no one has obtained possession of the slave. It is the opinion of Cassius and Julianus that possession may be acquired by such a slave, as well as by those whom we have in a province.

15. Julianus says that we cannot acquire possession by means of a slave who has been actually given in pledge, for he is held to be possessed by the debtor in one respect, that is to say, for the purpose of usucaption. Nor can the slave who is pledged acquire property for the creditor, because although the latter may have possession of him, he cannot acquire property through him by means of a stipulation, or in any other way.
16. The ancients thought that we could acquire anything by means of a slave belonging to an estate, because he was part of the said estate. Hence, a discussion arose whether this rule should not be extended farther so that where some slaves were bequeathed, the others could be possessed by the act of one of them. It was also discussed whether this would be the case if they were all purchased or donated together.

The better opinion is that I cannot, under such circumstances, acquire possession by the act of one of them.

17. If a slave is partially bequeathed to an appointed heir, he can acquire possession of the land of the estate for him, in proportion to his share in the said slave, by virtue of the legacy.
18. The same rule will apply if I order a slave owned in common to accept an estate, because I obtain possession of my share of it on account of my interest in him.
19. What we have stated with reference to slaves also applies where they themselves desire to acquire possession for us; for if you order your slave to take possession, and he does so with the intention of acquiring the property not for you, but for Titius, possession is not acquired for you.
20. Possession is acquired by us by means of an agent, a guardian, or a curator. But when they take possession in their own names, and not with the intention of merely rendering their services, they cannot acquire possession for us.

On the other hand, if we say that those who obtain possession in our name do not acquire it for us, the result will be that neither he to whom the property was delivered will obtain possession, because he did not have the intention of doing so, nor will he who delivered the article retain it, as he has relinquished possession of the same.

21. If I order a vendor to deliver the property to my agent, while it is in our presence, Priscus says that it will be held to have been delivered to me.

The same rule will apply if I order my debtor to pay to another the sum which is due to me, for it is not necessary to take possession bodily and actually, but this can be done merely by the eyes and the intention. The proof of this appears in the case of property which, on account of its weight, cannot be moved, as columns, for instance; for they are considered to have been delivered if the parties consent, with the columns before

them; and wines are held to have been delivered when the keys of the wine-cellar have been handed to the purchaser.

22. Municipalities cannot possess anything by themselves, because all the citizens cannot consent. They do not possess the forums, and the temples, and other things of this kind, but they make use of them promiscuously. Nerva, the son, says that they can acquire, possess, and obtain by usucaption, the peculium of their slaves; others, however, hold the contrary; as they do not have possession of the slaves themselves.

2. Ulpianus, On the Edict, Book LXX.

The present rule is that municipalities can both hold possession and acquire by usucaption, and that this can be done through a slave, or a person who is free.

3. Paulus, On the Edict, Book LXX.

Moreover, only corporeal property can be possessed.

1. We obtain possession by means of both the body and the mind, and not by these separately. When, however, we say that we obtain possession by the body and the mind, this should not be understood to mean that where anyone desires to take possession of land he must walk around every field, as it will be sufficient for him to enter upon any part of the land, as long as it is his intention to take possession of it all, as far as its boundaries extend.
2. No one can obtain possession of property which is uncertain; as, for instance, if you have the intention and desire to possess everything that Titius has.
3. Neratius and Proculus think that we cannot acquire possession solely by intention, if natural possession does not come first. Therefore, if I know that there is a treasure on my land, I immediately possess it, as soon as I have the intention of doing so; because the intention supplies what is lacking in natural possession.

Again, the opinion of Brutus and Manilius, who hold that anyone who has had possession of land for a long time has also had possession of any treasure to be found there, even though he was ignorant of its existence, is not correct. For he who does not know that there is any treasure there does not possess it, although he may have possession of the land; and, if he was aware of its presence, he cannot acquire it by long possession, because he knows that it is the property of someone else.

Several authorities hold that the opinion of Sabinus is the better one; namely, that he who knows that there is a treasure on his land does not gain possession of it unless it has been removed from its place, because it is not in our custody. I concur in this opinion.

4. We can hold possession of the same thing by several different titles; for example, certain authorities think that he who obtains property by usucaption does so not only as a purchaser, but as the owner. For if I am the heir of him who has possession as a purchaser I possess the same property, but as purchaser and as heir; for while ownership can only be established by a single title, this is not the case with possession.

5. On the other hand, several persons cannot have possession of the same thing without division; for, indeed, it is contrary to nature that while I hold something you should also be considered to hold it. Sabinus, however, says that he who gives property held by a precarious title possesses it himself, as well as he who received it with the risk. Trebatius, also, approves this opinion, for he thinks that one person can have possession justly, and another unjustly, but that both of them cannot possess it either unjustly or justly.

Labeo contradicts him, since, in the case of complete possession, it does not make much difference whether anyone has possession justly or unjustly. This is correct, for the same possession cannot be held by two persons, any more than you can be considered to stand on the very place on which I am standing, or to sit exactly where I am seated.

6. When possession is lost, the intention of the party in possession must be considered. Therefore, although you may be on a tract of land, still, if you do not intend to retain it, you will immediately lose possession. Hence, possession can be lost by the intention alone, although it cannot be acquired in this way.
7. If, however, you have possession solely by intention, even though another may be on the land, you will still have possession of the same.
8. If anyone should give notice that a house is invaded by robbers, and the owner, being overcome with fear, is unwilling to approach it, it is established that he loses possession of the house. But if a slave or a tenant, through whose agency I actually possess property, should either die, or depart, I will retain possession by intention.
9. If I deliver an article to another, I lose possession of the same; for it has been decided that we hold possession until we voluntarily relinquish it, or are deprived of it by force.
10. If a slave, of whom I am in possession, asserts that he is free, as Spartacus did, and is ready to maintain his freedom in court, he will not be considered to be in possession of the master whom he is preparing to oppose. This, however, is only correct when he has remained for a long time at liberty; otherwise, if, from his condition as a slave, he demands his freedom, and petitions for a judicial decision on this point, he, nevertheless, remains under my control, and I hold possession of him by intention, until he has been pronounced to be free.
11. We possess by intention the places to which we resort in summer and in winter, although we leave them at certain times.
12. Moreover, we can have possession by intention, and also corporeally, by means of another, as we have stated in the case of a tenant and a slave. The fact that we possess certain property without being aware of it as is the case where slaves obtain peculium), should not present any difficulty, for we are held to possess it by both the intention and the actual agency of the slaves.
13. Nerva, the son, thinks that we can possess movable property, with the exception of slaves, as long as it remains in our charge; that is to say, as long as we can obtain natural possession of it, if we wished to do so. For if a flock should be lost, or a vase should fall in such a way that it cannot be found, it immediately ceases to be in our possession, although no one else can obtain possession of it; but the

case is different where anything cannot be found which is in my charge, because it still remains in the neighborhood, and diligent search will discover it.

14. Likewise, wild animals which we shut up in enclosures, and fish which we throw into ponds, are in our possession. But fish which are in a lake, or wild animals that wander in woods enclosed by hedges, are not in our possession, as they are left to their natural freedom; for otherwise, if anyone purchased the woods, he would be considered to have possession of all the animals therein, which is false.
15. Moreover, we have possession of birds which we have shut up or tamed, and subjected to our control.
16. Certain authorities very properly hold that pigeons, which fly away from our buildings, as well as bees which leave our hives, and have the habit of returning, are possessed by us.
17. Labeo and Nerva, the son, have given it as their opinion that I cease to possess any place which a river or the sea has overflowed.
18. If you appropriate any property which has been deposited with you, with the intention of stealing it, I cease to have possession of the same. If, however, you do not move it from its place, and have the intention of denying that it was deposited with you, several ancient authorities, and among them Sabinus and Cassius, very properly hold that I still retain possession, for the reason that a theft cannot be committed without handling the article, nor can theft be committed by mere intention.
19. The rule that no one can himself change his title to the possession of property has been established by the ancient authorities.
20. If, however, he who deposited an article with me, or lent it to me, should sell or give me the same thing, I will not be considered to have changed the title by which I hold possession, since I did not have possession.
21. There are as many kinds of possession as there are ways of acquiring property which does not belong to us; as, for example, by purchase, by donation, by legacy, by dowry, as an heir, by surrender as reparation for damage committed, by occupancy, as in the case where we obtain property from the land or the sea, or from the enemy, or which we ourselves create. And, in conclusion, there is but one genus of possession, but the species are infinite in number.
22. Possession may be divided into two kinds, for it is acquired either in good, or in bad faith. The opinion of Quintus Mucius, who included among the different kinds of possession that given by order of a magistrate, for the purpose of preserving the property, or where we obtain possession because security against threatened injury is not furnished, is perfectly ridiculous. For where anyone places a creditor in possession for the purpose of preserving property, or where this is done because security has not been furnished against threatened injury, or in the name of an unborn child, he does not really grant possession, but merely the custody and supervision of the property. Hence, when a neighbor does not give security against threatened injury, and we are placed in charge, and this condition continues for a long time, the Praetor, upon proper cause being shown, will permit us to obtain actual possession of the property.

4. Ulpianus, On the Edict, Book LXVII.

A father immediately possesses whatever his son acquires as a part of his peculium, although he may not be aware that he is under his control. Moreover, the same rule should be adopted even if the son is in possession of another as a slave.

5. Paulus, On the Edict, Book LXIII.

If I owe you Stichus under the terms of a stipulation, and I do not deliver him, and you obtain possession of him in some other way, you are a depredator. Likewise, if I should sell you any property and do not deliver it, and you obtain possession of the same without my consent, you will not do so as a purchaser, but as a depredator.

6. Ulpianus, On the Edict, Book LXX.

We say that he holds anything clandestinely who takes possession of it by stealth, suspecting that the other party, not knowing what he has done, may raise a controversy, and fearing that he will contend his right. He, however, who does not take possession secretly, but conceals himself, is in such a position that he is not considered to have clandestine possession. For not the manner in which he acquired possession, but the beginning of his acquiring it, should be taken into account, nor does anyone begin to acquire possession clandestinely who does so in good faith, with the knowledge or consent of him to whom the property belongs, or for any other good reason. Hence Pomponius says that he obtains clandestine possession who, fearing that some future controversy may arise, and the person of whom he is apprehensive being ignorant of the fact, takes possession by stealth.

1. Labeo says that where a man goes to a market, leaving no one at home, and on his return from the market finds that someone has taken possession of his house, the latter is held to have obtained clandestine possession. Therefore, he who went to the market still retains possession, but if the trespasser should not admit the owner on his return, he will be considered to be in possession rather by force than clandestinely.

7. Paulus, On the Edict, Book LIV.

If the owner is unwilling to return to the land because he fears the exertion of superior force, he will be considered to have lost possession. This was also stated by Neratius.

8. The Same, On the Edict, Book LXV.

As possession cannot be acquired except by intention and a corporeal act, so in like manner, it cannot be lost, except in a case where the opposite of both of these things takes place.

9. Gaius, On the Edict, Book XXV.

Generally speaking, we are considered to have possession when anyone as an agent, a host, or a friend, holds it in our name.

10. Ulpianus, On the Edict, Book LXIX.

Where anyone leases property, and afterwards claims it by a precarious title, he is considered to have abandoned his lease. If he claims it at first by a precarious title, and afterwards leases it, he is considered to hold possession under the lease; for whatever is done last should rather be taken into consideration. Pomponius, also, is of this opinion.

1. Pomponius discusses a very nice question; namely, whether a man who leases land, but claims it by a precarious title, does so, not for the purpose of possessing it, but merely to remain in possession; for there is a great difference, as it is one thing to possess, but quite another to be in possession. Persons placed in possession for the purpose of preserving the property, as legatees or neighbors, on account of threatened injury, do not possess the property but are in possession of the same for the purpose of caring for it. When this is done both of the above ways are merged into one.
2. Where anyone leases land, and asks to be placed in possession by a precarious title, if he leased it for one sesterce there is no doubt that he holds it at will, as a lease for only that sum is void. If, however, he leases it for a fair rent, it must then be ascertained what was done first.

11. Paulus, On the Edict, Book LXV.

He possesses justly who does so by the authority of the Praetor.

12. Ulpianus, On the Edict, Book LXX.

He who has the usufruct of property is held to possess it naturally.

1. Ownership has nothing in common with possession, and therefore an interdict *Uti possidetis* is not refused to one who has begun proceedings to recover the property, for he who does so is not held to have relinquished possession.

13. The Same, On the Edict, Book LXXII.

Pomponius relates that stones were sunk in the Tiber by a shipwreck and were afterwards recovered; and he asks whether the ownership remained unchanged during the time that they were in the river. I think that the ownership, but not the possession, was retained. This instance is not similar to that of a fugitive slave, for the slave is considered to be possessed by us, in order to prevent him from depriving us of possession; but the case of the stones is different.

1. Where anyone makes use of the agency of another, he should do so with the liabilities and defects attaching to it. Hence, with reference to the time during which the vendor has had possession of the property, we also take into consideration the questions of violence, secrecy, and precarious title.
2. Moreover, where anyone returns a slave to the vendor, the question arises whether the latter can profit by the time that the slave was in possession of the purchaser. Some authorities think that he cannot, for the reason that the return of the slave annuls the sale; others hold that the purchaser can profit by



Church and State. Justinian and his ministers with Maximian, bishop of Ravenna. On the right are representatives of the Church; on the left are representatives of the state. Reproduction of a mosaic at Ravenna. North Wind Picture Archives.

- the time of possession by the vendor, and the vendor by that of the purchaser. This opinion, I think, should be adopted.
3. If a freeman, or a slave belonging to another who is serving in good faith, purchases property, and a third party acquires possession of the same, neither the alleged slave, when he becomes free, nor the real owner can profit by the time that the property has been in the hands of a bona fide possessor.
 4. Where an heir did not possess in the first place, the question arose whether he can profit by the possession of the testator. And, indeed, possession is interrupted between the parties to the sale, but many authorities do not hold the same opinion with reference to heirs, as the right of succession is much more extensive than that of purchase. It is, however, more in accordance with a liberal interpretation of law that the same rule should be adopted concerning heirs which applies to purchasers.
 5. Not only does the possession of the testator, which he had at the time of his death, benefit the heir, but also that which he had at any time whatsoever has this effect.
 6. With reference to dowry also, if property has been either given or received as such, the time of possession will profit either the husband or the wife, as the case may be.

7. Where anyone has transferred property by a precarious title, the question arises whether he can profit by the time during which it was in possession of the person to whom it was transferred. I think that he who transfers it by a precarious title cannot profit by the time of possession, as long as the title continues to be precarious; but if he again acquires possession, and the precarious title is extinguished, he can profit by the possession during the time when the property was held by a precarious title.
8. In a certain case, it was asked if a manumitted slave has possession of property forming part of his peculium (his peculium not having been given to him) and his master desires to profit by the time it was held by the freedman, possession of the property having been surrendered, whether he can do so. It was decided that he should not be granted the benefit of the time of possession, because his conduct was clandestine and dishonest.
9. Where property has been restored to me by order of court, it has been decided that I am entitled to the benefit of the time during which it was held by my opponent.
10. It must, however, be remembered that a legatee is entitled to the benefit of the time when the property was in the hands of the testator. But let us see whether he will be benefited by the time that the property was in the possession of the heir. I think that, whether the legacy was bequeathed absolutely or conditionally, it should be held that the legatee can profit by the time that it was in the possession of the heir, before the condition was fulfilled, or the property, delivered. The time that it was in the possession of the testator will always profit the legatee, if the legacy or the trust is genuine.
11. Moreover, he to whom property is donated has a right to profit by the time it was possessed by the person who made the donation.
12. Times of possession are applicable to those who themselves have possession of what is their own; but no one will be entitled to this privilege unless he himself has been in possession.
13. Again, time of occupancy will be of no advantage where the possession is defective; possession, however, which is not defective, causes no injury.

Source: *The Civil Law*. Translated by S. P. Scott. Cincinnati: Central Trust Company, 1932.

Warfare

War serves as a central tool of political life in many cultures. Although certain groups, such as strict Buddhists, *Quakers*, and *Mennonites*, refrain from violence, all modern nations and most political units throughout time have maintained armies for the express purpose of maintaining political independence or acquiring additional political influence and hegemony. Even when other motives seem to generate warfare, the desire for political control frequently lies behind the violence. For example, although the First Crusade, proclaimed by Pope Urban II in 1095 (Document 15), ostensibly sought to establish peace in Europe and to protect the religion of Christianity, the

Crusade ultimately established European political control over Jerusalem and over key parts of the Middle East. The motives of the crusaders were undoubtedly mixed; they went to defend Christianity, but they also wanted to make potential profit. Similarly, although war in Mesoamerica served to capture prisoners for sacrifice (Document 21), a city-state's defeat also led frequently to its political subjugation. War in all these cultures provided a valuable tool of politico-economic policy.

Although the underlying purpose of war has remained remarkably similar across time and space, the practice and techniques of war differ considerably. The Mongols of the thirteenth century (Document 17), for example, developed extremely mobile horse-mounted archers whose speed and flexibility allowed them to strike at both tactical and strategic weak points while escaping counterattacks; European armies, by contrast, consisted largely of heavily armed, relatively slow-moving units, such as armored knights and pikemen. European accounts of battles, moreover, often stress the role of technology in strategic planning and tactical engagement. In the description of the siege of Jerusalem in Document 16, for example, the towers used to attack the city walls receive significant attention, and Díaz del Castillo describes the mobile defensive platforms employed by the Spanish against the Aztecs during the first battle for Tenochtitlan, modern-day Mexico City (Document 20). The immediate goals of combat could also be different. Whereas armies in late medieval Europe and Asia generally aimed to kill their opponents, Aztec warriors often sought to wound their opponents to catch them alive for later ritual sacrifice to the sun god. These different practices of war inevitably helped to tip the outcomes of individual engagements. European armies had great difficulty repulsing Mongol attacks, and the Aztecs found the Spanish, with their technological superiority and “shoot-to-kill” mentality, a difficult opponent.

Despite varying purposes and techniques, a universal outcome of war was human suffering. The toll of human casualties in the first Aztec–Spanish battle in Tenochtitlan so shocked both sides that the date has come to be called *la noche triste*, meaning “the sorrowful night.” Raymond d’Aguiliers, recalling the slaughter of the Muslims who had fled to the Temple of Solomon, claims that the victorious crusading knights rode in a pool of blood that reached to the riders’ knees. Even if we allow room for exaggeration, the slaughter must have been devastating (Document 20).

Conversely, however, this immense suffering also created glory, especially for the conquerors. In China, Ts’ao Sung, a Tang dynasty poet, criticized generals for gaining promotion, honor, and glory by slaughtering thousands and depriving ordinary civilians of material sustenance (Document 18). Raymond d’Aguiliers indicates that the capture of Jerusalem and the slaughter of the Muslims therein redounded to the glory of God. Bernal Díaz del Castillo describes the suffering of Spanish prisoners of wars, who were sacrificed to the Aztec gods, to demonstrate just how courageous, and presumably glorious, he himself was when he entered battle notwithstanding the potentially fearful consequences. The Japanese samurai Sanemori (Document 19) likewise gained glory for himself by entering into a combat situation from which he could not by any reasonable means escape alive. By choosing death in battle, by willfully undergoing a certain kind of suffering, the samurai gained a lasting fame. Suffering, either imposing it or enduring it, preceded glory in war.

15. Pope Urban II Proclaims the First Crusade

In the following important speech, Pope Urban II proclaims the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont in 1095. Several different versions of the speech survive, suggesting that each historian relied largely on memory and oral history rather than on an official document. In this version, given by Fulcher of Chartres, Urban sets forth two goals: (1) to stem the tide of internal violence in Europe and (2) to secure control of the Holy Lands. In his opening comments, Urban criticizes lax priests who do not protect their congregations and then exhorts everyone to keep peace and to refrain from theft and banditry. The pope reserves particular criticism for those who rob bishops, priests, nuns, and religious pilgrims. Because Urban held authority primarily over the Church and not the state, the punishment he recommends for these criminals is also Church-related: anathema, that is, exclusion from the Church.

Whereas the first part of the speech addresses internal violence, the second part examines violence that has come from outside the Christian community. The pope turns to address the continuing Muslim invasion of the Byzantine Empire (which he calls Romania), the eastern edge of medieval Christendom. Ever since the seventh-century A.D., Muslim armies had been forcefully expanding their territories, across Arabia and North Africa and into Spain and the Byzantine Empire. Urban calls on knights, who had been breaking the peace by fighting and plundering each other, to put their skills at the service of their fellow Christians by pushing back the Muslim armies. In effect, Urban seeks to channel the aggression of European knights away from internally destructive paths and toward external expansion and defense of Christian lands.

Like most medieval Christians, the pope had relatively little understanding of Islam as a religion; he states that Muslims worship devils, for example, which is, of course, untrue. Indeed, medieval Christianity and Islam shared many similar tenets. For example, as a reward for those answering his call, the pope offers an everlasting reward: the remission of all sins, and therefore the gaining of heaven, for all those who die while undertaking the crusade. The promise of heaven for those who die fighting mirrors the Muslim idea that those who die on jihad will go to heaven.

“Most beloved brethren, urged by necessity, I, Urban, by the permission of God chief bishop and prelate over the whole world, have come into these parts as an ambassador with a divine admonition to you, the servants of God. I hoped to find you as faithful and as zealous in the service of God as I had supposed you to be. But if there is in you any deformity or crookedness contrary to God’s law, with divine help I will do my best to remove it. For God has put you as stewards over his family to minister to it. Happy indeed will you be if he finds you faithful in your stewardship. You are called shepherds; see that you do not act as hirelings. But be true shepherds, with your crooks always in your hands. Do not go to sleep, but guard on all sides the flock committed to you. For if through your carelessness or negligence a wolf carries away one of your sheep, you will surely lose the reward laid up for you with God. And after you have been bitterly scourged with remorse for your faults, you will be fiercely overwhelmed in hell, the abode of death. For according to the gospel you are the salt of the earth. But if you fall short in your duty, how, it may be asked, can it be salted? O how great the need of salting! It is indeed necessary for you to correct with the salt of wisdom this foolish people which is so devoted to the pleasures of this world, lest the Lord, when He may wish to speak to them, find them putrefied by their sins unsalted and stinking. For if He shall find worms, that is, sins, in

them, because you have been negligent in your duty, He will command them as worthless to be thrown into the abyss of unclean things. And because you cannot restore to Him His great loss, He will surely condemn you and drive you from His loving presence. But the man who applies this salt should be prudent, provident, modest, learned, peaceable, watchful, pious, just, equitable, and pure. For how can the ignorant teach others? How can the licentious make others modest? And how can the impure make others pure? If anyone hates peace, how can he make others peaceable? Or if anyone has soiled his hands with baseness, how can he cleanse the impurities of another? We read also that if the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the ditch. But first correct yourselves, in order that, free from blame, you may be able to correct those who are subject to you. If you wish to be the friends of God, gladly do the things which you know will please Him. You must especially let all matters that pertain to the church be controlled by the law of the church. And be careful that simony does not take root among you, lest both those who buy and those who sell be beaten with the scourges of the Lord through narrow streets and driven into the place of destruction and confusion. Keep the church and the clergy in all its grades entirely free from the secular power. See that the tithes that belong to God are faithfully paid from all the produce of the land; let them not be sold or withheld. If anyone seizes a bishop let him be treated as an outlaw. If anyone seizes or robs monks, or clergymen, or nuns, or their servants, or pilgrims, or merchants, let him be anathema. Let robbers and incendiaries and all their accomplices be expelled from the church and anathematized. If a man who does not give a part of his goods as alms is punished with the damnation of hell, how should he be punished who robs another of his goods? For thus it happened to the rich man in the gospel; he was not punished because he had stolen the goods of another, but because he had not used well the things which were his.

“You have seen for a long time the great disorder in the world caused by these crimes. It is so bad in some of your provinces, I am told, and you are so weak in the administration of justice, that one can hardly go along the road by day or night without being attacked by robbers; and whether at home or abroad one is in danger of being despoiled either by force or fraud. Therefore it is necessary to re-enact the truce, as it is commonly called, which was proclaimed a long time ago by our holy fathers. I exhort and demand that you each try hard to have the truce kept in your diocese. And if anyone shall be led by his cupidity or arrogance to break this truce, by the authority of God and with the sanction of this council he shall be anathematized.”

After these and various other matters had been attended to, all who were present, clergy and people, gave thanks to God and agreed to the pope's proposition. They all faithfully promised to keep the decrees. Then the pope said that in another part of the world Christianity was suffering from a state of affairs that was worse than the one just mentioned. He continued:

“Although, O sons of God, you have promised more firmly than ever to keep the peace among yourselves and to preserve the rights of the church, there remains still an important work for you to do. Freshly quickened by the divine correction, you must apply the strength of your righteousness to another matter which concerns you as well as God. For your brethren who live in the east are in urgent need of your help, and you must hasten to give them the aid which has often been promised to them. For, as most of you have heard, the Turks and Arabs have attacked them and have conquered the

territory of Romania as far west as the shore of the Mediterranean and the Hellespont, which is called the Arm of St. George. They have occupied more and more of the lands of those Christians, and have overcome them in seven battles. They have killed and captured many, and have destroyed the churches and devastated the empire. If you permit them to continue thus for awhile with impunity, the faithful of God will be much more widely attacked by them. On this account I, or rather the Lord, beseech you as Christ's heralds to publish this everywhere and to persuade all people of whatever rank, foot-soldiers and knights, poor and rich, to carry aid promptly to those Christians and to destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends. I say this to those who are present, it's meant also for those who are absent. Moreover, Christ commands it.

"All who die by the way, whether by land or by sea, or in battle against the pagans, shall have immediate remission of sins. This I grant them through the power of God with which I am invested. O what a disgrace if such a despised and base race, which worships demons, should conquer a people which has the faith of omnipotent God and is made glorious with the name of Christ! With what reproaches will the Lord overwhelm us if you do not aid those who, with us, profess the Christian religion! Let those who have been accustomed unjustly to wage private warfare against the faithful now go against the infidels and end with victory this war which should have been begun long ago. Let those who for a long time have been robbers, now become knights. Let those who have been fighting against their brothers and relatives now fight in a proper way against the barbarians. Let those who have been serving as mercenaries for small pay now obtain the eternal reward. Let those who have been wearing themselves out in both body and soul now work for a double honor. Behold! On this side will be the sorrowful and poor, on that, the rich; on this side, the enemies of the Lord, on that, his friends. Let those who go not put off the journey, but rent their lands and collect money for their expenses; and as soon as winter is over and spring comes, let them eagerly set out on the way with God as their guide."

Source: Bongars. *Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. 1, pp. 382 f. Translated in *A Source Book for Medieval History*, ed. Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar Holmes McNeal. New York: Scribners, 1905, pp. 513–17.

16. Crusades: The Fall of Jerusalem, 1099

Several crusaders wrote memoirs of their adventures. The following account, written by Raymond d'Aguiliers, gives an eyewitness account of the crowning victory of the First Crusade: the 1099 crusader capture of Jerusalem, a city of major importance for Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

This document offers valuable insight into both the practical and the psychological dimensions of medieval warfare. With regard to the practical, Raymond highlights the role of technology in determining victory. The Frankish crusaders constructed elaborate siege machines, such as tall towers with bridges that can be swung down, to overcome the walls defending the city. Similarly, the use of specially constructed long-burning flaming arrows played a crucial role in driving back the defenders from the wall. These devices were made even more potent by a clever strategy that involved a surprise nighttime redeployment of the war machines to a section of the walls that was less protected.

Despite apparent technological and strategic superiority, the ultimate outcome of the battle still depended largely on psychology. As Raymond's account makes clear, the crusaders held a strong belief that God was on their side, and this faith gave them confidence and courage. At the crucial juncture of the battle, moreover, just as the crusaders were beginning to be discouraged, a mysterious knight waving them forward from the Mount of Olives renewed their enthusiasm and rallied the troops, driving them onward to victory.

Raymond d'Aguiliers also gives an accurate account of the usual end awaiting the inhabitants of a conquered city: random death and destruction. Although both modern and medieval fiction like to portray knightly combat as genteel and courteous, in reality, medieval warfare was just as brutal as modern warfare. In this account, Raymond notes that women were not spared and that many people suffered torture, decapitation, or dismemberment. As Raymond states, "the city was filled with corpses and blood."

Later, all of our people went to the Sepulchre of our Lord rejoicing and weeping for joy, and they rendered up the offering that they owed. In the morning, some of our men cautiously ascended to the roof of the Temple and attacked the Saracens both men and women, beheading them with naked swords; the remainder sought death by jumping down into the temple. When Tancred heard of this, he was filled with anger.

The Duke and the Counts of Normandy and Flanders placed Gaston of Beert in charge of the workmen who constructed machines. They built mantlets and towers with which to attack the wall. The direction of this work was assigned to Gaston by the princes because he was a most noble lord, respected by all for his skill and reputation. He very cleverly hastened matters by dividing the work. The princes busied themselves with obtaining the material, while Gaston supervised the construction. Likewise, Count Raymond made William Ricau superintendent of the work on Mount Zion and placed the Bishop of Albara in charge of the Saracens and others who brought in the timber. The Count's men had taken many Saracen castles and villages and forced the Saracens to work, as though they were their serfs. Thus for the construction of machines at Jerusalem fifty or sixty men carried on their shoulders a great beam that could not have been dragged by four pair of oxen. What more shall I say? All worked with a singleness of purpose, no one was slothful, and no hands were idle. All worked without wages, except the artisans, who were paid from a collection taken from the people. However, Count Raymond paid his workmen from his own treasury. Surely the hand of the Lord was with us and aided those who were working!

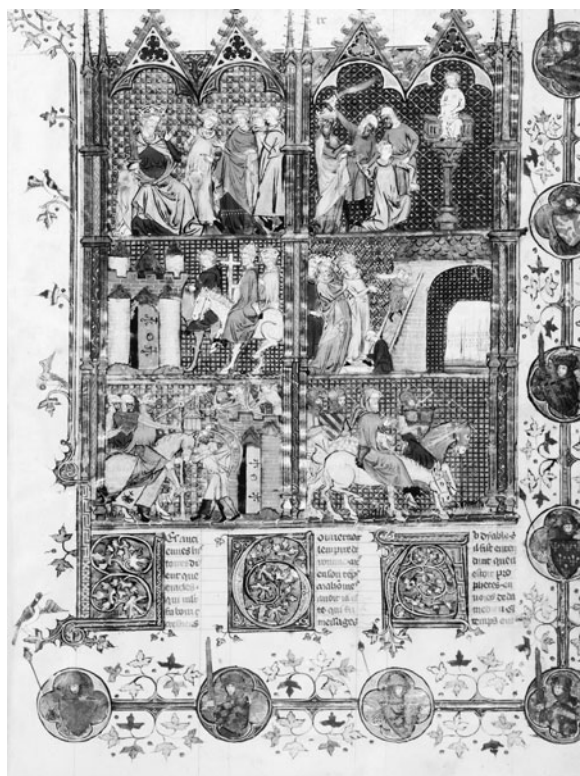
When our efforts were ended and the machines completed, the princes held a council and announced: "Let all prepare themselves for a battle on Thursday; in the meantime, let us pray, fast, and give alms. Hand over your animals and your boys to the artisans and carpenters, so that they may bring in beams, poles, stakes, and branches to make mantlets. Two knights should make one mantlet and one scaling ladder. Do not hesitate to work for the Lord, for your labors will soon be ended." This was willingly done by all. Then it was decided what part of the city each leader should attack and where his machines should be located.

Meanwhile, the Saracens in the city, noting the great number of machines that we had constructed, strengthened the weaker parts of the wall, so that it seemed that they could be taken only by the most desperate efforts. Because the Saracens had made so many and such strong fortifications to oppose our machines, the Duke, the Count of Flanders, and the Count of Normandy spent the night before the day set for the attack moving their

machines, mantlets, and platforms to that side of the city which is between the church of St. Stephen and the valley of Josaphat. You who read this must not think that this was a light undertaking, for the machines were carried in parts almost a mile to the place where they were to be set up. When morning came and the Saracens saw that all the machinery and tents had been moved during the night, they were amazed. Not only the Saracens were astonished, but our people as well, for they recognized that the hand of the Lord was with us. The change was made because the new point chosen for attack was more level, and thus suitable for moving the machines up to the walls, which cannot be done unless the ground is level; and also because that part of the city seemed to be weaker having remained unfortified, as it was some distance from our camp. This part of the city is on the north.

Count Raymond and his men worked equally hard on Mount Zion, but they had much assistance from William, and the Genoese sailors, who, although they had lost their ships at Joppa, as we have already related, had been able, nevertheless, to save ropes, mallets, spikes, axes, and hatchets, which were very necessary to us. But why delay the story? The appointed day arrived and the attack began. However, I want to say this first, that, according to our estimate and that of many others, there were sixty thousand fighting men within the city, not counting the women and those unable to bear arms, and there were not many of these. At the most we did not have more than twelve thousand able to bear arms, for there were many poor people and many sick. There were twelve or thirteen hundred knights in our army, as I reckon it, not more. I say this that you may realize that nothing, whether great or small, which is undertaken in the name of the Lord can fail, as the following pages show.

Our men began to undermine the towers and walls. From every side stones were hurled from the *tormenti* and the *petrahae*, and so many arrows that they fell like hail. The servants of God bore this patiently, sustained by the premises of their faith, whether they should be killed or should presently prevail over their enemies. The battle showed no indication of victory, but when the machines were drawn nearer to the walls, they hurled not only stones and arrows, but also burning wood and straw. The wood was dipped in pitch, wax, and sulphur; then straw and tow were fastened on by an iron band, and, when lighted, these firebrands were shot from the machines. They were bound together by an iron band, I say, so that wherever they fell, the whole mass held together and continued to burn. Such missiles, burning as they shot upward, could not be resisted by swords or by high walls; it was not even possible for the defenders to find safety down behind the walls. Thus the fight continued from the rising to the setting sun in such splendid fashion that it is difficult to believe anything more glorious was ever done. Then we called on Almighty God, our Leader and Guide, confident in His mercy. Night brought fear to both sides. The Saracens feared that we would take the city during the night or on the next day for the outer works were broken through and the ditch was filled so that it was possible to make an entrance through the wall very quickly. On our part, we feared only that the Saracens would set fire to the machines that were moved close to the walls, and thus improve their situation. So on both sides it was a night of watchfulness, labor, and sleepless caution: on one side, most certain hope, on the other doubtful fear. We gladly labored to capture the city for the glory of God, they less willingly strove to resist our efforts for the sake of the laws of Mohammed. It is hard to believe how great were the efforts made on both sides during the night.



A fourteenth-century depiction of the fall of Jerusalem to the crusaders during the First Crusade, 1096–1099. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

When the morning came, our men eagerly rushed to the walls and dragged the machines forward, but the Saracens had constructed so many machines that for each one of ours they now had nine or ten. Thus they greatly interfered with our efforts. This was the ninth day, on which the priest had said that we would capture the city. But why do I delay so long? Our machines were now shaken apart by the blows of many stones, and our men lagged because they were very weary. However, there remained the mercy of the Lord which is never overcome nor conquered, but is always a source of support in times of adversity. One incident must not be omitted. Two women tried to bewitch one of the hurling machines, but a stone struck and crushed them, as well as three slaves, so that their lives were extinguished and the evil incantations averted.

By noon our men were greatly discouraged. They were weary and at the end of their resources. There were still many of the enemy opposing each one of our men; the walls were very high and strong, and the great resources and skill that the enemy exhibited in repairing their defences seemed too great for us to overcome. But, while we hesitated, irresolute, and the enemy exulted in our discomfiture, the healing mercy of God inspired us and turned our sorrow into joy, for the Lord did not forsake us. While a council was being held to decide whether or not our machines should be withdrawn, for some were burned and the rest badly shaken to pieces, a knight on the Mount of Olives began to wave his shield to those who were with the Count and others, signalling them to advance.

Who this knight was we have been unable to find out. At this signal our men began to take heart, and some began to batter down the wall, while others began to ascend by means of scaling ladders and ropes. Our archers shot burning firebrands, and in this way checked the attack that the Saracens were making upon the wooden towers of the Duke and the two Counts. These firebrands, moreover, were wrapped in cotton. This shower of fire drove the defenders from the walls. Then the Count quickly released the long drawbridge which had protected the side of the wooden tower next to the wall, and it swung down from the top, being fastened to the middle of the tower, making a bridge over which the men began to enter Jerusalem bravely and fearlessly. Among those who entered first were Tancred and the Duke of Lorraine, and the amount of blood that they shed on that day is incredible. All ascended after them, and the Saracens now began to suffer.

Strange to relate, however, at this very time when the city was practically captured by the Franks, the Saracens were still fighting on the other side, where the Count was attacking the wall as though the city should never be captured. But now that our men had possession of the walls and towers, wonderful sights were to be seen. Some of our men (and this was more merciful) cut off the heads of their enemies; others shot them with arrows, so that they fell from the towers; others tortured them longer by casting them into the flames. Piles of heads, hands, and feet were to be seen in the streets of the city. It was necessary to pick one's way over the bodies of men and horses. But these were small matters compared to what happened at the Temple of Solomon, a place where religious

services are ordinarily chanted. What happened there? If I tell the truth, it will exceed your powers of belief. So let it suffice to say this much, at least, that in the Temple and porch of Solomon, men rode in blood up to their knees and bridle reins. Indeed, it was a just and splendid judgment of God that this place should be filled with the blood of the unbelievers, since it had suffered so long from their blasphemies. The city was filled with corpses and blood. Some of the enemy took refuge in the Tower of David, and, petitioning Count Raymond for protection, surrendered the Tower into his hands.

Now that the city was taken, it was well worth all our previous labors and hardships to see the devotion of the pilgrims at the Holy Sepulchre. How they rejoiced and exulted and sang a new song to the Lord! For their hearts offered prayers of praise to God, victorious and triumphant, which cannot be told in words. A new day, new joy, new and perpetual gladness, the consummation of our labor and devotion, drew forth from all new words and new songs. This day, I say, will be famous in all future ages, for it turned our labors and sorrows into joy and exultation; this day, I say, marks the justification of all Christianity, the humiliation of paganism, and the renewal of our faith. "This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it," for on this day the Lord revealed Himself to His people and blessed them.

On this day, the Ides of July, Lord Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, was seen in the city by many people. Many also testified that he was the first to scale the wall, and that he summoned the knights and people to follow him. On this day, moreover, the apostles were cast forth from Jerusalem and scattered over the whole world. On this same day, the children of the apostles regained the city and fatherland for God and the fathers. This day, the Ides of July, shall be celebrated to the praise and glory of the name of God, who, answering the prayers of His Church, gave in trust and benediction to His children the city and fatherland which He had promised to the fathers. On this day we chanted the Office of the Resurrection, since on that day He, who by His virtue arose from the dead, revived us through His grace. So much is to be said of this.

Source: Raymond d'Aguiliers. *Historia Francorum qui Ceperint Iherusalem*. In *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*. Ed. by August C.Krey. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1921, pp. 257–62.

17. Marco Polo on Mongol Warriors in the Thirteenth Century

Although other adventurers had reached China before Marco Polo, his literary account of his voyages became the first widely read work about Oriental peoples and cultures. The Mongols, or the Tartars as they are called in the following extract, were famous warriors who possessed a kingdom stretching from eastern Europe to China. According to his account, Marco Polo visited and befriended the Great Khan, the ruler of the Mongol empire. Although Marco Polo embellished many of his accounts with fictional details or myths that he had heard from other travelers, his description of Mongol warriors appears to be accurate because it matches the descriptions found in many other sources.

Like European knights, the Mongol warriors excelled in horsemanship; unlike the Europeans, however, who weighed themselves down with heavy armor, the Mongols prized speed and tactics over heavy armor and weapons. As a result, Mongol armies, armed with

bows and light leather armor, frequently outmaneuvered European armies, striking at the weakest defenses and retreating before any counterattack could arrive. Tensions within the Mongol empire, rather than military defeat, kept the Mongols from creating an empire that included all of Europe and Asia.

CHAPTER LIV: CONCERNING THE TARTAR CUSTOMS OF WAR

All their harness of war is excellent and costly. Their arms are bows and arrows, sword and mace; but above all the bow, for they are capital archers, indeed the best that are known. On their backs they wear armor of cuirbouly, prepared from buffalo and other hides, which is very strong. They are excellent soldiers, and passing valiant in battle. They are also more capable of hardships than other nations; for many a time, if need be, they will go for a month without any supply of food, living only on the milk of their mares and on such game as their bows may win them. Their horses also will subsist entirely on the grass of the plains, so that there is no need to carry store of barley or straw or oats; and they are very docile to their riders. These, in case of need, will abide on horseback the livelong night, armed at all points, while the horse will be continually grazing.

Of all troops in the world these are they which endure the greatest hardship and fatigue, and which cost the least; and they are the best of all for making wide conquests of country. And this you will perceive from what you have heard and shall hear in this

book; and (as a fact) there can be no manner of doubt that now they are the masters of the biggest half of the world. Their troops are admirably ordered in the manner that I shall now relate.

You see, when a Tartar prince goes forth to war, he takes with him, say, 100,000 horse. Well, he appoints an officer to every ten men, one to every hundred, one to every thousand, and one to every ten thousand, so that his own orders have to be given to ten persons only, and each of these ten persons has to pass the orders only to another ten, and so on; no one having to give orders to more than ten. And every one in turn is responsible only to the officer immediately over him; and the discipline and order that comes of this method is marvellous, for they are a people very obedient to their chiefs. Further, they call the corps of 100,000 men a Tuc; that of 10,000 they call a Toman; the hundred Guz. And when the army is on the march they have always 200 horsemen, very well mounted, who are sent a distance of two marches in advance to reconnoitre, and

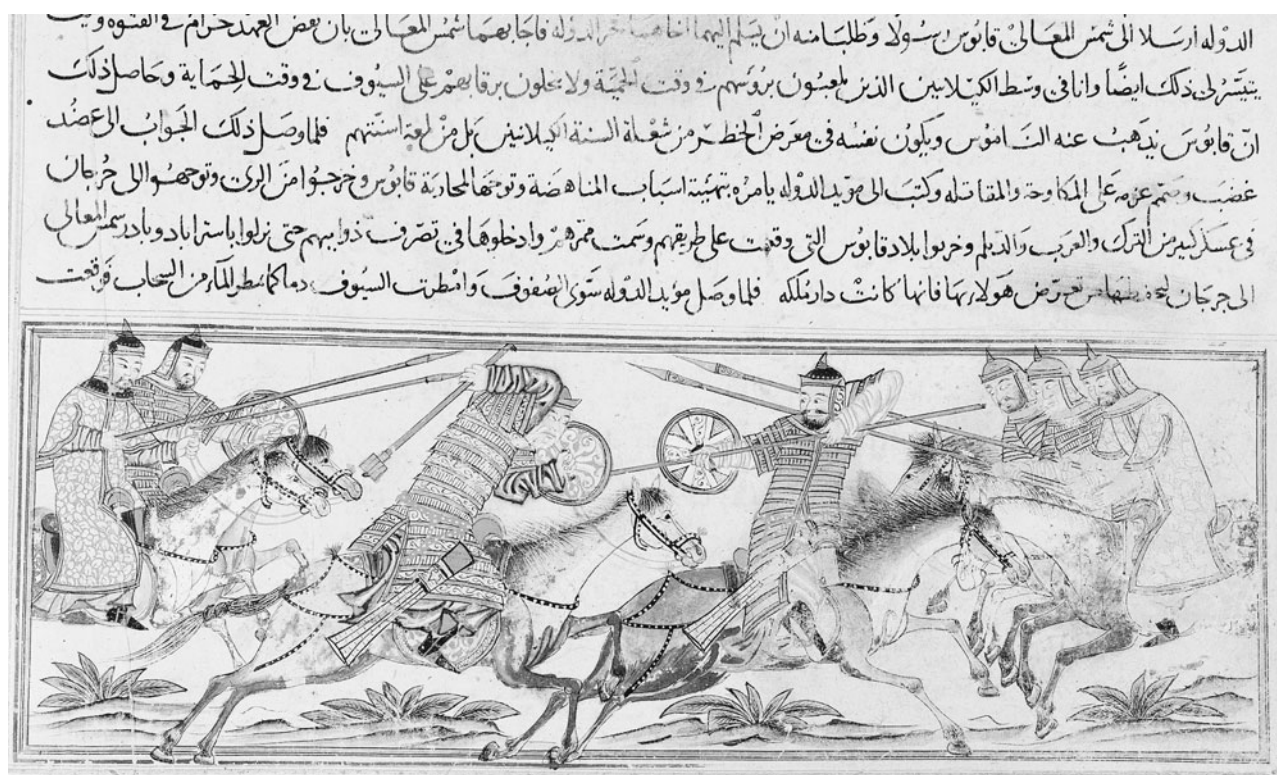


Fourteenth-century depiction of the departure of Marco Polo and his fleet from Venice. Note the prominent canal and Piazza San Marco—Venice's most important neighborhood. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

these always keep ahead. They have a similar party detached in the rear, and on either flank, so that there is a good look-out kept on all sides against a surprise. When they are going on a distant expedition they take no gear with them except two leather bottles for milk; a little earthenware pot to cook their meat in; and a little tent to shelter them from rain. And in case of great urgency they will ride ten days on end without lighting a fire or taking a meal. On such an occasion they will sustain themselves on the blood of their horses, opening a vein and letting the blood jet into their mouths, drinking till they have had enough, and then staunching it.

They also have milk dried into a kind of paste to carry with them; and when they need food they put this in water, and beat it up till it dissolves, and then drink it. It is prepared in this way; they boil the milk, and when the rich part floats on the top they skim it into another vessel, and of that they make butter; for the milk will not become solid till this is removed. Then they put the milk in the sun to dry. And when they go on an expedition, every man takes some ten pounds of this dried milk with him. And of a morning he will take a half pound of it and put it in his leather bottle, with as much water as he pleases. So, as he rides along, the milk-paste and the water in the bottle get well churned together into a kind of pap, and that makes his dinner.

When they come to an engagement with the enemy, they will gain the victory in this fashion. They never let themselves get into a regular medley, but keep perpetually riding round and shooting into the enemy. And as they do not count it any



Cavalry attack of Seljuk army shows arms and armour of the Mongols, from *Compendium of Chronicles, or World History*, by Rashid al-Din, 1247–1318, minister to the Mongol Ilkhanid dynasty, Tabriz, Iran. The Art Archive/Edinburgh University Library.

shame to run away in battle, they will sometimes pretend to do so, and in running away they turn in the saddle and shoot hard and strong at the foe, and in this way make great havoc. Their horses are trained so perfectly that they will double hither and thither, just like a dog, in a way that is quite astonishing. Thus they fight to as good purpose in running away as if they stood and faced the enemy, because of the vast volleys of arrows that they shoot in this way, turning round upon their pursuers, who are fancying that they have won the battle. But when the Tartars see that they have killed and wounded a good many horses and men, they wheel round bodily, and return to the charge in perfect order and with loud cries; and in a very short time the enemy are routed. In truth they are stout and valiant soldiers, and inured to war. And you perceive that it is just when the enemy sees them run, and imagines that he has gained the battle, that he has in reality lost it; for the Tartars wheel round in a moment when they judge the right time has come. And after this fashion they have won many a fight.

All this that I have been telling you is true of the manners and customs of the genuine Tartars. But I must add also that in these days they are greatly degenerated; for those who are settled in China have taken up the practices of the idolaters of the country, and have abandoned their own institutions; whilst those who have settled in the Middle East have adopted the customs of the Saracens.

Source: Polo, Marco, and Rustichello of Pisa. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*. Edited by Henry Yule. Vol. 1. London: John Murray, 1903, pp. 260–63. Translation slightly modified by Lawrence Morris.

18. Opposition to War in China

This moving poem by the late Tang dynasty poet Ts'ao Sung (fl. A.D. 870–920) poignantly contrasts two, perhaps diametrically opposed, aspects of warfare: glory and suffering. On the one hand, warfare had established the political dominance and economic clout of the Tang dynasty in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., establishing a kingdom that stretched from modern-day Japan and Korea to central Asia; on the other hand, war, especially internal wars, often destroyed the lives of ordinary civilians. Ts'ao Sung, for example, lived to see the collapse of the Tang dynasty because of pressure from independent military governors, especially Zhu Wen, who overthrew the government and seized the emperorship for himself in 907. However, Zhu Wen was himself overthrown and killed by his own son in 923.

The poem that follows reflects on how the ruthless actions of warlords such as Zhu Wen caused suffering to the ordinary people while gaining power and glory for the warlords. Ts'ao Sung calls attention especially to the serious societal effects of warfare in the first stanza: turning cultivated fields into battlefields destroys the crops, with the resulting privation, suffering, and possible starvation of the local civilians. The second stanza makes the point more bluntly: a general's glory depends on the deaths of thousands.

The hills and rivers of the lowland country
You have made your battle-ground.
How do you suppose the people who live there

Will procure firewood and hay?
 Do not let me hear you talking together
 About titles and promotions;
 For a single general's reputation
 Is made out of ten thousand corpses.

Source: *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*. Trans. by Arthur Waley. New York: Knopf, 1919, p. 150.

19. Samurai Hairstyles

A samurai was a member of the warrior caste of medieval Japanese society. Theoretically, the warriors followed a strict code of honor, called bushido, which governed their conduct, but in reality the ideals of loyalty and personal integrity advocated by bushido frequently went unheeded in favor of personal advantage. Nevertheless, aspects of bushido could and did influence the conduct of individual warriors.

In the narrative reproduced here, taken from a narrative history called Genpei Seisuiiki written during the Kamakura era (A.D. 1185–1333), one of the core concepts of bushido—glory, or meiyō—informs the behavior of a samurai advanced in years. The samurai, Sanemori by name, reflects on the fact that his years of glory are over now that he has turned 70. At the same time, he laments that younger warriors criticize older warriors no matter what their seniors do. If the older warrior attacks, he is viewed as foolhardy, but if he retreats, he is viewed as cowardly. Younger warriors might even refuse to fight an older warrior. To avoid such age discrimination, Sanemori dyes his gray hairs dark and advances into a suicidal combat, attacking two warriors by himself. According to Genpei Seisuiiki, when Sanemori was inevitably killed and his extraordinary commitment to achieving continual glory in battle revealed, he gained universal respect. Sanemori had completed his mission.

WHY SANEMORI DYED HIS HAIR

A Samurai in the service of the Heike lived in the land of Musashi and was called Nagai no Saito Betto Sanemori. One day, he reflected, “I am over 70 years old; I cannot expect more glory. I cannot escape from death. It doesn’t matter where I die—it’s all the same.” So he put on his clothing of red silk and his armor, and placed on his shoulder 18 feathers from a falcon’s tail, and he headed out into combat on his own, facing death. In the army of Kiso, there was a man named Tezuka no Taro Mitsumori, who lived in the land of Sinano. When he saw Sanemori, he drew close to him. Likewise, Sanemori, seeing Tezuka, strode towards him. Tezuka said, “Who are you, that you fight on your own? Are you a general or a regular samurai? You are provoking me. Say your name! Me, I am called Tezuka no Taro Kanazashi no Mitsumori, from the town of Suwa, in the land of Shinano. I am a good opponent. Tell me your name and let’s begin!” They urged their horses together. “I have heard of you,” said Sanemori. “I will not reveal my name, however, for various reasons, but I have no ill-feeling towards you. Strike off my head and show it to the Ghennji—you will be well rewarded. Do not cast my head into the river; the lord Kiso should recognize me. I am fighting on my own because I have renounced life. It is pleasant to fight any enemy! Come, Tezuka!” Saying this, he threw

away his bow and advanced on Tezuka. One of Tezuka's samurai, in order to protect him, threw himself in between them. Sanemori seized him and said, "You are a servant of Tezuka, I cannot show you mercy!" Sanemori took hold of his shoulder-piece, seized the bridle, dragged him from his horse, and threw him down to the ground, so that the feet of this servant were plunged deep into the ground. When Tezuka saw this, in order to save the life of his servant, he seized the shoulder-piece of his enemy, gave a shout, and descended from his horse. Sanemori, grabbing Tezuka's samurai, drew his own sword and chopped off the samurai's head. At the same time, Tezuka, keeping hold of Sanemori's right shoulder-piece, drove his sword through Sanemori all the way to the guard. He then cut off his head.

Tezuka, carrying the head of his enemy, came before the lord Kiso and said, "Mitsumori has won the head of a courageous warrior! When I asked him to tell me his name, he replied, 'I have reasons for not doing so. The lord Kiso will recognize me.' And he did not say his name. His embroidered silk, though, indicated that he was a samurai. I wondered if he was a general, but he did not have any soldiers. I wondered if he was a man from the West, but he had the accent of Tokaido. When I wondered if he were young, I saw that the wrinkles in his face suggested that he was more than 70. When I considered that he might be an old man, I realized that his black hair and beard showed him to be in full vigor. Whose head, then, is this?" Kiso exclaimed: "Oh, no! This must be Saito Betto of Musashi. Nevertheless, since I was young when I knew him, he ought to be covered

by white hair by now. How can it be that his hair and beard are still black? Nevertheless, the rest of his face resembles him perfectly. It is very strange. Higutchi is a long-time friend of his; he should be able to recognize him." He then sent for Higutchi. Higutchi took the head and glanced at it, and began to cry out, "Oh, no! What a sad thing! It is Sanemori. But why this black hair and beard? Yes, I remember. Sanemori often said, 'Old men who take the bow and arrows off to combat ought to dye their hair black. If in peacetime the young mock white hair, even more do they do so in time of war. If an old man attacks, they say that he lacks wisdom; if he retreats, they insult him by calling him a coward. One doesn't dare compete with these young people. As regards the enemy, they think the old are just nothings. The white hairs of old age are a true sorrow. The lord Shunzei wrote a poem about it:

Who does not have the young vegetables
That grow in the valley
Gathers years
In vain;
My cuffs are all wet!
Men should leave behind some words so that they may be remembered in the future.' Some, of course, dye their hair black."

Having said this, since they had been close friends for some years, Higutchi Jiro Kanemitsu asked for some water and washed the head, which became clearly the head of an old man covered



A nineteenth-century Ukiyo-e print illustration showing Ronin (a freelance Samurai), sword in hand, moving toward a long-handled sword. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

with white hair. There was no more doubt that it was Sanemori. Kioyu, from China, made himself famous in later times by purifying his ears in a river; Sanemori, from Japan, captured the respect of all by dying his hair black for the field of battle.

Source: Genpei Seisuiiki. In *Anthologie de la littérature japonaise des origines au XXe siècle*. Ed. by Michel Revon. Paris: Delagrave, 1919, pp. 211–44. Translated and modified by Lawrence Morris.

20. La Noche Triste: A Battle in Mexico City

La Noche Triste, Spanish for “the sorrowful night,” refers to the escape of Hernán Cortés’s conquistador army from Tenochtitlan (modern-day Mexico City) on the night of July 1, 1520, during the first battle between Spanish forces and Aztec warriors in the capital of the Aztec empire. The Spaniards and their Native American allies had arrived as honored guests of the Aztec emperor Moctezuma in November 1518, but relations between the Aztecs and their guests quickly soured when Cortés took Moctezuma as an unofficial hostage. Matters became much worse when Pedro de Alvarado slaughtered numerous Aztec nobles in the main temple during Cortés’s absence. When Cortés returned to Tenochtitlan, open warfare erupted, resulting in the death of Moctezuma at the hands of either the Spanish or the Aztecs themselves. Cortés’s men, heavily outnumbered, attempted to flee the city, taking with them as much gold and booty as they could. Hundreds of Spanish and thousands of Native Americans were killed. Because of the large death toll on both sides, July 1 is commemorated as La Noche Triste in Mexico.

The following account of the battle comes from the pen of Bernal Díaz del Castillo (c. 1492–1583), a conquistador who served with Cortés and fought during La Noche Triste. Although Díaz del Castillo was an eyewitness of the events, he did not begin to write his history until almost 50 years after the events occurred, so we may question the accuracy of some of the smaller details in the account, although the overall picture is confirmed by other surviving accounts. The account highlights several interesting aspects of the conflict. First, Díaz del Castillo highlights the Spanish reliance on technology and their attempts to gain technological superiority. The Spanish metal sword and the musket, combined with the Spaniards’ body armor, gave the Spanish both more destructive force and more protection in comparison with the Native American warriors. As the passage recounts, the Spanish attempted to further these advantages by building moveable bulwarks to provide cover and firing positions for up to 25 men each.

Second, the choice of target—the main temple in Tenochtitlan—demonstrates the role of strategy in the Spanish campaign. In sixteenth-century Mesoamerican culture, temples served as the symbolic heart of a city and its people. Aztec paintings, for example, record a victory over a neighboring people by showing the enemy’s temple broken and in flames. The Spanish attack on the temple of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital, therefore was an attack on the very heart of the Aztec empire. The symbolic importance of the target demonstrates the understanding the Spanish conquistadors had of Mesoamerican culture and also explains the fierce resistance that the conquistadors met there. Generally outnumbered, the Spanish conquistadors concentrated on strategically important targets, such as Moctezuma or the temple, instead of attempting to control the whole city or territory.

Díaz’s account also frequently highlights how the unique geography of Tenochtitlan affected the battle. Much of the city consisted of narrow avenues built up out of the water of

Lake Texcoco and separated by canals. This city plan inhibited the usual European tactics of cavalry charges and burning buildings, and the street system funneled forces into narrow bottlenecks. The failure of the usual tactics led to widespread panic among the fleeing Spanish forces and the complete breakdown of united action. In the situation of each man for himself, Cortés and other leaders of the campaign fled on horseback, leaving behind large bodies of their own troops. Although Díaz records criticism of this apparently cowardly action, he nevertheless defends this abandonment by claiming that nothing could have saved the victims and that the entire army would have been slaughtered if they had attempted to stay together. Finally, Díaz records how the soldiers split their acquired treasure among themselves. This scene reminds us of a central motive for the conquest of Mexico and for European exploration and settlement in the Americas in general: material profit.

On this day we lost ten or twelve soldiers, and all of us who came back were severely wounded. From the period of our return we were occupied in making preparation for a general sally on the next day but one, with four military machines constructed of very strong timber, in the form of towers, and each capable of containing twenty five men under cover, with port holes for the artillery and also for the musquetiers and crossbowmen. This work occupied us for the space of one day, except that we were obliged likewise to repair the breaches made in our walls, and resist those who attempted to scale them in twenty different places at the same time. They continued their reviling language, saying that the voracious animals of their temples had now been kept two days fasting, in order to devour us at the period which was speedily approaching, when they were to sacrifice us to their gods; that our allies were to be put up in cages to fatten; and that they would soon repossess our ill acquired treasure. At other times they plaintively called to us to give them their king, and during the night we were constantly annoyed by showers of arrows, which they accompanied by shouts and whistlings.

At day break on the ensuing morning, after recommending ourselves to God, we sallied out with our turrets, which as well as I recollect were called *burros* or *mantas*, in other places where I have seen them, with some of our musquetry and cross-bows in front, and our cavalry occasionally charging. The enemy this day showed themselves more determined than ever, and we were equally resolved to force our way to the great temple, although it should cost the life of every man of us; we therefore advanced with our turrets in that direction. I will not detail the desperate battle which we had with the enemy in a very strong house, nor how their arrows wounded our horses, notwithstanding their armour, and if at any time the horsemen attempted to pursue the Mexicans, the latter threw themselves into the canals, and others sallied out upon our people and massacred them with large lances.

As to setting fire to the buildings, or tearing them down, it was utterly in vain to attempt; they all stood in the water, and only communicating by draw bridges, it was too dangerous to attempt to reach them by swimming, for they showered stones from their slings, and masses of cut stone taken from the buildings, upon our heads, from the terraces of the houses. Whenever we attempted to set fire to a house, it was an entire day before it took effect, and when it did, the flames could not spread to others, as they were separated from it by the water, and also because the roofs of them were terraced.

We at length arrived at the great temple, and immediately and instantly above four thousand Mexicans rushed up into it, without including in that number other bodies

who occupied it before, and defended it against us with lances, stones, and darts. They thus prevented our ascending for some time, neither turrets, nor musquetry, nor cavalry availing, for although the latter body several times attempted to charge, the stone pavement of the courts of the temple was so smooth that the horses could not keep their feet, and fell. From the steps of the great temple they opposed us in front, and we were attacked by such numbers on both sides, that although our guns swept off ten or fifteen of them at each discharge, and that in each attack of our infantry we killed many with our swords, their numbers were such that we could not make any effectual impression, or ascend the steps. We were then forced to abandon our turrets, which the enemy had destroyed, and with great concert, making an effort without them, we forced our way up. Here Cortes shewed himself the man that he really was. What a desperate engagement we then had! Every man of us was covered with blood, and above forty dead upon the spot. It was God's will that we should at length reach the place where we had put up the image of our Lady, but when we came there it was not to be found, and it seems that Montezuma [i.e. Moctezuma], actuated either by fear or by devotion, had caused it to be removed. We set fire to the building, and burned a part of the temple of the gods Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatepuco. Here our Tlascalan allies served us essentially. While thus engaged, some setting the temple on fire, others fighting, above three thousand noble Mexicans with their priests were about us, and attacking us, drove us down six and even ten of the steps, while others who were in the corridors, or within the side the railings and concavities of the great temple, shot such clouds of arrows at us that we could not maintain our ground, when thus attacked from every part. We therefore began our retreat, every man of us being wounded, and forty six left dead upon the spot. We were pursued with a violence and desperation which is not in my power to describe, nor in that of any one to form an idea of who did not see it. During all this time also other bodies of the Mexicans had been continually attacking our quarters, and endeavoring to set fire to them. In this battle, we made prisoners two of the principal priests. I have often seen this engagement represented in the paintings of the natives, both of Mexico and Tlascala, and our ascent into the great temple. In these our party is represented with many dead, and all wounded. The setting fire to the temple when so many warriors were defending it in the corridors, railings, and concavities, and other bodies of them on the plain ground, and filling the courts, and on the sides, and our turrets demolished, is considered by them as a most heroic action.

With great difficulty we reached our quarters, which we found the enemy almost in possession of, as they had beaten down a part of the walls; but they desisted in a great measure from their attacks on our arrival, still throwing in upon us however showers of arrows, darts, and stones. The night was employed by us in repairing the breaches, in dressing our wounds, burying our dead, and consulting upon our future measures. No gleam of hope could be now rationally formed by us, and we were utterly sunk in despair. Those who had come with Narvaez showered maledictions upon Cortes, nor did they forget Velasquez by whom they had been induced to quit their comfortable and peaceable habitations in the island of Cuba. It was determined to try if we could not procure from the enemy a cessation of hostilities, on condition of our quitting the city; but at day break they assembled round our quarters and attacked them with greater fury than ever, nor could our fire arms repel them, although they did considerable execution.



Meso-American warriors. Each people-group and each rank of warrior had a distinctive costume. Feather-shields, as shown here, were prized Aztec artistic works, as well as defensive tools. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

[Omitted here is a passage detailing the death of Moctezuma when he was sent to try to broker a peace treaty.]

Orders were now given to make a portable bridge of very strong timber, to be thrown over the canals where the enemy had broken down the bridges, and for conveying, guarding, and placing this, were assigned one hundred and fifty of our soldiers and four hundred of the allies. The advanced guard was composed of Sandoval, Azevido el Pulido, F. de Lugo, D. de Ordas, A. de Tapia, and eight more captains of those who came with Narvaez, having under them one hundred picked soldiers, of the youngest and most active. The rear guard was composed of one hundred soldiers, mostly those of Narvaez, and many cavalry, under the command of Alvarado and Velasquez de Leon. The prisoners, with Donna Marina and Donna Luisa, were put under the care of thirty soldiers and three hundred Tlascalans; and Cortes, with A. de Avila, C. de Oli, Bernardino Vasquez de Tapia and other officers, with fifty soldiers, composed a reserve, to act wherever occasion should require.

By the time that all this was arranged night drew on. Cortes then ordered all the gold which was in his apartment to be brought to the great saloon, which being done, he desired the officers of his Majesty, A. de Avila and Gonzalo Mexia, to take his Majesty's due, in their charge, assigning to them for the conveyance of it eight lame or wounded horses, and upwards of eighty Tlascalans. Upon these were loaded as much as they could carry of the gold which had been run into large bars, and much more

remained heaped up in the saloon. Cortes then called to his secretary Hernandez and other royal notaries and said, "Bear witness that I can be no longer responsible for this gold; here is to the value of above six hundred thousand crowns, I can secure no more than what is already packed; let every soldier take what he will, better so than that it should remain for those dogs of Mexicans." As soon as he had said this, many soldiers of those of Narvaez, and also some of ours fell to work, and loaded themselves with treasure. I never was avaricious, and now thought more of saving my life which was in much danger; however when the opportunity thus offered, I did not omit seizing out of a casket, four *calchihuis*, those precious stones so highly esteemed amongst the Indians; and although Cortes ordered the casket and its contents to be taken care of by his major domo, I luckily secured these jewels in time, and afterwards found them of infinite advantage as a resource against famine.

A little before midnight the detachment which took charge of the portable bridge set out upon its march, and arriving at the first canal or aperture of water, it was thrown across. The night was dark and misty, and it began to rain. The bridge being fixed, the baggage artillery, and some of the cavalry passed over it, as also the Tlascalans with the gold. Sandoval and those with him passed, also Cortes and his party after the first, and many other soldiers. At this moment the trumpets and shouts of the enemy were heard, and the alarm was given by them, crying out, "Taltelulco, Taltelulco, out with your canoes! The Teules are going, attack them at the bridges!" In an instant the enemy were upon us by land, and the lake and canals were covered with canoes. They immediately flew to the bridges, and fell on us there, so that they entirely intercepted our line of march. As misfortunes do not come single, it also rained so heavily that some of the horses were terrified, and growing restive fell into the water, and the bridge was broken in at the same time. The enemy attacked us here now with redoubled fury, and our soldiers making a stout resistance, the aperture of water was soon filled with the dead and dying men, and horses, and those who were struggling to escape, all heaped together, with artillery, packs, and bales of baggage, and those who carried them. Many were drowned here, and many put into the canoes and carried off for sacrifice. It was dreadful to hear the cries of the unfortunate sufferers, calling for assistance and invoking the Holy Virgin or St. Iago, while others who escaped by swimming, or by clambering upon the chests, bales of baggage, and dead bodies, earnestly begged for help to get up to the causeway. Many who, on their reaching the ground, thought themselves safe were there seized or knocked in the head with clubs.

Away went whatever regularity had been in the march at first; for Cortes and the captains and soldiers who were mounted clapt spurs to their horses and galloped off, along the causeway; nor can I blame them, for the cavalry could do nothing against the enemy, of any effect; for when they attacked them, the latter threw themselves into the water on each side of the causeway, and others from the houses with arrows, or on the ground with large lances, killed the horses. It is evident we could make no battle with them in the water, and without powder, and in the night, what else could we do than what we did; which was, to join in bodies of thirty or forty soldiers, and when the Indians closed upon us, to drive them off with a few cuts and thrusts of our swords, and then hurry on, to get over the causeway as soon as we could. As to waiting for one another, that would have lost us all; and had it happened in the day time, things would have been even worse with us. The escape of such

as were fortunate enough to effect it, was owing to God's mercy, who gave us force to do so; for the very sight of the number of the enemy who surrounded us, and carried off our companions in their canoes to sacrifice, was terrible. About fifty of us, soldiers of Cortes, and some of those of Narvaez, went together in a body, by the causeway; every now and then parties of Indians came up, calling us Luilones, a term of reproach, and attempting to seize us, and we, when they came within our reach, facing about, repelling them with a few thrusts of our swords, and then hurrying on. Thus we proceeded, until we reached the firm ground near Tacuba, where Cortes, Sandoval, De Oli, Salcedo, Dominguez, Lares, and others of the cavalry, with such of the infantry soldiers as had crossed the bridge before it was destroyed, were already arrived. When we came near them, we heard the voices of Sandoval, De Oli, and De Morla, calling to Cortes who was riding at their head, that he should turn about, and assist those who were coming along the causeway, and who complained that he had abandoned them. Cortes replied that those who had escaped owed it to a miracle, and if they returned to the bridges all would lose their lives. Notwithstanding, he, with ten or twelve of the cavalry and some of the infantry who had escaped unhurt, countermarched and proceeded along the causeway; they had gone however but a very short distance when they met P. de Alvarado with his lance in his hand, badly wounded, and on foot, for his chestnut mare had been killed; he had with him three of our soldiers, and four of those of Narvaez, all badly wounded, and eight Tlascalans covered with blood. While Cortes proceeded along the causeway, we reposed in the enclosed courts hard by Tacuba. Messengers had already been sent out from the city of Mexico, to call the people of Tacuba, Ezcapuzalco, and Teneyuca together, in order to intercept us. In consequence they now began to surround and harass us with arrows, and stones, and to attack us with lances headed with the swords which had fallen into their hands on the preceding night. We made some attacks upon them, and defended ourselves as well as we could.

To revert to Cortes and his companions, when they learned from Alvarado that they were not to expect to see any more of our soldiers, the tears ran from their eyes, for Alvarado had with him in the rear guard, Velasquez de Leon, with above twenty more of the cavalry, and upwards of one hundred infantry. On enquiry Cortes was told that they were all dead, to the number of one hundred and fifty more. Alvarado also told them that after the horses had been killed, about eighty assembled in a body and passed the first aperture, upon the dead bodies and heaps of luggage; I do not perfectly recollect if he said that he passed upon the dead bodies, for we were more attentive to what he related to Cortes of the deaths of J. Velasquez and above two hundred more companions, those of Narvaez included, who were with him, and who were killed at that canal. He also said that at the other bridge God's mercy saved them, and that the whole of the causeway was full of the enemy.

Source: Díaz del Castillo, Bernal. *The True History of the Conquest of Mexico*. Translated by Maurice Keatinge. London: Harrap, 1927, pp. 249–52, 256–60.

21. Human Sacrifice in War

One of the deciding factors in the conflict between the Aztec empire and the Spanish conquistadors and their allies, led by Hernán Cortés, involved their different attitudes toward

war. As Bernal Díaz del Castillo (c. 1492–1583), a soldier in Cortés's expedition that conquered the Aztec empire, notes in the following extract, the Mesoamericans viewed war as an opportunity to take prisoners, some of whom would be sacrificed, whereas others would be enslaved or potentially ransomed back. Although European warfare in the Middle Ages also frequently involved the taking of prisoners for political and economic profit, by the sixteenth century, the emerging superpowers of Europe, with the increased firepower of the musket that allowed a simple soldier to defeat an aristocratic knight, increasingly shot to kill rather than to capture. The different goals of the Spaniards (killing) and the Aztecs (capturing) increased the technological imbalance between the two combatants: the Spanish wielded muskets, canon, metal swords, and mounted troops, whereas the Aztecs relied on obsidian blades, slings, and bows and arrows. These differences in approach and equipment in part resulted in the difference in kill ratios between the two groups: Spanish casualties frequently measured in the hundreds, whereas Aztec casualties measured in the thousands.

However, the Aztec practice of sacrificing captured prisoners to the Aztec gods did have powerful psychological effects. In this passage, Díaz del Castillo admits that witnessing the sacrifice of 72 captured Spaniards, in which their hearts were surgically ripped, pulsating, from their bodies and offered to the sun god, filled him with fear. According to Díaz, however, this fear did not turn him into a coward; instead, he continued to enter battle and to fight courageously despite the awareness of the fate that awaited him should he be captured and held by the enemy.

Now that I am past these furious combats, through which, praised be God he was pleased to conduct me safe, I have to mention a certain particularity relative to myself, and it is this. When I saw the sacrifice of our seventy-two countrymen, and their hearts taken out and offered to the war god of the Mexicans, I had a sensation of fear. Some may consider this as want of firmness; but if they weigh it duly, they will find that it was in truth the result of too much courage, which caused me to run into extreme and uncommon dangers; for in that day I considered myself a most valiant soldier, and was so esteemed by all; and was used to do that which was attempted by the boldest, and I was always under the eye of my captain. As I have before observed, when I saw my companions sacrificed, their hearts taken out palpitating, and their legs and arms cut off and eaten, I feared it might one day or other be my own lot, for they had me in their hands twice, but it was God's will that I should escape; but I remembered, and thought on what I had seen, and from this time I feared that cruel death; and this I mention, because before I went into battle, I felt a great depression and uneasiness about my heart, and then recommending myself to God and his blessed mother our Lady, the instant I was engaged with the enemy it left me. Still I am surprised that it came upon me when I should have felt more valiant than ever, on account of the many battles in which I had been engaged. But I declare I never



A depiction from the Codex Magliabicciano of Aztec temple sacrifice. Most victims were captured prisoners of war. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

knew what fear was, until I saw the massacre of the seventy two soldiers. Let those cavaliers who have been in desperate battles and mortal dangers now decide what was the cause of my fears; I say that it was excess of courage; and for this reason; that I knew the greatness of the danger into which I was determined to go, and knowingly, and voluntarily, encountered it. Many engagements are related in my history besides those I was at; but if my body were of iron, I could not have been at all; and I was much oftener wounded than whole.

I must observe, that the Mexicans did not kill our soldiers, but wounded, and carried them off, to sacrifice alive, to their gods.

Source: Díaz del Castillo, Bernal. *The True History of the Conquest of Mexico*. Translated by Maurice Keatinge. London: Harrap, 1927, pp. 359–60.

Part VII

RECREATIONAL LIFE

Recreational life is often viewed today as an escape from the working world. The Middle Ages and Renaissance, however, generally viewed recreation as preparation for the real world. The Games and Sports section presents several documents that discuss the pastime of hunting, which was surely the most popular sport among aristocratic males. As Margaret Cavendish makes clear, hunting served as preparation for war. Many of the same skills did indeed transfer over from hunting to war. Noblemen always hunted on horseback and they also fought on horseback. The deft horse-riding skills learned by chasing deer through woods undoubtedly equipped the gentlemen with the ability to control their horse adeptly when in the midst of battle. Hunting dangerous quarry like boar also helped to build up courage and a sense of confidence in the face of danger. Aristocrats owned all the land during this time period, and so were the only ones able to hunt animals, although the other social classes frequently helped in the hunt, serving as beaters (people who beat bushes to drive the wild animals in a certain direction), for example. The lower social classes turned to storytelling, music, and dancing to amuse themselves, but they had much less leisure time than the aristocrats, who prided themselves on doing no manual labor of any kind. The least wealthy and powerful in the social hierarchy had almost no leisure time; slaves in Anglo-Saxon England had only four days off during a calendar year, and even on those days many slaves went to markets to sell some of their own crafts in the hopes of securing some extra money.

The Performing Arts section examines how music, drama, and other intangible productions adorned daily life. In the absence of television and movies, performing arts were one of the most common pastimes during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The theatres in the London suburbs, for example, attracted a liberal cross-section of society. Everyone from the lower aristocracy to the tradesmen attended theatres and relished the comedy, pathos, and tragedy that frequently appeared in one and the same performance. The upper aristocrats also loved drama, but they often had private performances. The best of the plays presented to the public discussed important philosophical and political issues, as seen in the extract from Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. Music was perhaps the most widely available performing art. Peasants as well as aristocrats learned to sing, and everyone was expected to perform to help pass a long winter's evening. The Native Americans, just like Europeans, also used song to woo their lovers. Music was the language of passion.

The Visual Arts section shows that those arts also have a strong connection with nonrecreational life. Modern advertising, for example, frequently relies on finding just the right picture. According to Thomas Elyot, an ability to draw enabled the skilled individual to make maps and to design engines of war. Leon Battista Alberti, argued that a painting was an exercise in logic. Collecting the visual arts could also bring social prestige to the collector; Hsu Hsieh therefore warned that we should use ancient art to bring ourselves into contact with the great minds of the past, and instead of using art as a form of ostentatious display designed to show off.

Recreational life did offer an escape from the working world, but it ultimately developed skills, attitudes, and philosophies that helped the participants to do better in every area of their lives.

Games and Sports

Although play often appears to be an escape from the demands of daily life, it frequently serves in fact to prepare for the demands of “serious” life. An excellent example comes from hunting, the most esteemed pastime for aristocrats throughout almost the whole world. Usamah ibn-Munqidh (Document 5) enjoyed hunting partridges in Syria just as much as George Tuberville enjoyed hunting boar in England (Document 6). At least part of the central importance of hunting for aristocratic life derived from the sport’s close connection with war, a connection that Margaret Cavendish makes clear in Document 1. Both hunting and war demanded excellent horsemanship, a willingness to kill, and (depending on the prey) courage.

Throughout Europe in the Middle Ages and *Renaissance*, where almost all land was owned by an aristocrat, hunting remained the preserve of the upper classes, that is, the social class that owned the land. Social class played a wider role than simply controlling hunting, however. The possession of leisure time itself was largely the preserve of the wealthy alone—the lower social classes not only needed to work more but also were frequently *ordered* to work more. The laws of the ninth-century *Anglo-Saxon* king *Alfred the Great* (Document 2) spell out how different the allotments of leisure time among the social classes could be. Although the law code lays out a series of holidays and vacation periods, these days off are specifically not granted to slaves. Instead, slaves have only four days off, and even those days could not be spent on true relaxation; as the law code makes clear, enterprising slaves would use these days to hawk their goods in the hopes of eventually being able to buy themselves out of slavery. Although aristocrats could spend hours every day chasing boars through the forest, every day was a workday for slaves.

Even in play, Renaissance audiences were advised not to go overboard. A *Fool’s Complaint* (Document 3) criticizes those who, for example, wiggle while bowling or who absent-mindedly hit walls as they walk down the street. Such absent-minded activities destroyed credibility and diminished the performer’s social position. Self-control and dignified presence were necessary not just at work, but also in play. Nevertheless, people could still enjoy themselves and could even indulge in very physical pleasures legitimately. The Englishman Thomas Roe recounted with relish the Eastern practice of massage as a means to relax the mind and body (Document 4). Even in massage,

though, the themes of class and control remain: the aristocrat orders a subservient individual to give the massage; in return, of course, the masseur-barber receives a fee. Leisure time was not free.

1. Aristocratic Pastimes

Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, was one of the leading aristocratic English-women of the seventeenth century. Despite criticism and her own self-effacement, Cavendish nevertheless published frequently both imaginative fiction and creative philosophical arguments. Although, as an author, Cavendish broke into a realm that in her time was generally reserved for men, in the following extract from her autobiography, she reinforces the division between men and women in their pastimes. Whereas Margaret Cavendish and her sisters enjoyed taking walks and chatting, her brothers devoted their time principally to fencing, shooting, and wrestling. These “games” demonstrate clearly how the male aristocracy viewed military preparation as an all-consuming part of life. The price of war, after all, was high; as Margaret Cavendish notes, two of her brothers were killed in combat. Playing war needed to be serious.

Their practice was, when they met together, to exercise themselves with fencing, wrestling, shooting, and such like exercises, for I observed they did seldom hawk or hunt, and very seldom or never dance, or play music, saying it was too effeminate for masculine spirits; neither had they skill, or did use to play, for ought I could hear, at cards or dice, or the like games, nor given to any vice, as I did know, unless to love a mistress were a crime, not that I know any they had, but what report did say, and usually reports are false, at least exceed the truth.

As for the pastimes of my sisters when they are in the country, it was to read, work, walk, and discourse with each other; for though two of my three brothers were married, my brother the Lord Lucas to a virtuous and beautiful lady, daughter to Sir Christopher Nevile, son of the Lord Abergavenny, and my brother Sir Thomas Lucas to a virtuous lady of an ancient family, one Sir John Byron's daughter; likewise, three of my four sisters, one married Sir Peter Killegrew, the other Sir William Walter, the third Sir Edmund Pye, the fourth as yet unmarried, yet most of them lived with my mother, especially when she was at her country-house, living most commonly at London half the year, which is the Metropolitan city of England: but when they were at London, they were dispersed into several houses of their own, yet for the most part they met every day, feasting each other like Job's children. But this unnatural war came like a whirlwind, which felled down their houses, where some in the wars were crushed to death, as my youngest brother Sir Charles Lucas, and my brother Sir Thomas Lucas; and though my brother Sir Thomas Lucas died not immediately of his wounds, yet a wound he received on his head in Ireland shortened his life.

But to rehearse their recreations. Their customs were in winter time to go sometimes to plays, or to ride in their coaches about the streets to see the concourse and recourse of people; and in the spring time to visit the Spring-garden, Hyde-park, and the like places; and sometimes they would have music, and sup in barges upon the water;

these harmless recreations they would pass their time away with; for I observed, they did seldom make visits, nor never went abroad with strangers in their company, but only themselves in a flock together agreeing so well, that there seemed but one mind amongst them: and not only my own brothers and sisters agreed so, but my brothers and sisters in law, and their children, although but young, had the like agreeable natures and affectionable dispositions: for to my best remembrance I do not know that ever they did fall out, or had any angry or unkind disputes. Likewise, I did observe, that my sisters were so far from mingling themselves with any other company, that they had no familiar conversation or intimate acquaintance with the families to which each other were linked to by marriage, the family of the one being as great strangers to the rest of my brothers and sisters, as the family of the other.

But sometime after this war began, I know not how they lived.

Source: Cavendish, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle. *A True Relation of the Birth, Breeding, and Life of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle*. Edited by Sir Egerton Brydges. Kent: Johnson and Warwick, 1814, pp. 7–10.

2. Legal Holidays

Throughout medieval Europe, most holidays were religious holidays. Although the dates of many holidays demonstrate pre-Christian origins, by the Middle Ages the holidays had been thoroughly converted into Christian celebrations. The date of All Saints, for example, falls on the same day as the Irish samhain, our Halloween, which celebrated the harvest, the beginning of the Celtic new year, and a time of possibility in which the realms of the dead and the living were intermingled. The feast of All Saints (November 1) picked up on these pre-Christian themes of unity between the living and the dead to celebrate the unity of all Christians, dead or alive, in Christ.

In the following extract from the laws of the Anglo-Saxon king Alfred the Great, promulgated around A.D. 890, an interesting distinction is made between free men and slaves. The free men, not surprisingly, are granted many more holidays than the slaves. The work of slaves ultimately facilitated the rest of free men. The slaves, however, were granted four particular days in which they could sell wares that they had made or had been given. By selling enough on these, and other days, slaves might eventually be able to buy themselves out of slavery and finally have Christmas off.

43. The following days shall be granted as holidays to all free men, though not to slaves and hired labourers: twelve days at Christmas and the day on which Christ overcame the devil; the anniversary of St Gregory; seven days before Easter and seven days after; one day at the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul; and in autumn, the full week before St. Mary's mass; and one day at the celebration of All Saints. The four Wednesdays in the four Ember weeks shall be granted as holidays to all slaves whose chief desire is to sell anything which has been given to them in God's name, or which they are able to acquire by their labour in any portions of time at their disposal.

Source: Attenborough, F. L., ed. and trans. *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922, p. 85.

3. A Fool's Activities

Although the modern reader may associate "Gotham" primarily with the dark city of Batman fame, Renaissance England knew that Gotham was not, in fact, a big, gritty city; rather, Gotham was the home of fools—silly individuals who knew little and understood less. In the following extract from The Fool's Complaint to Gotham College, the anonymous author describes some activities that, in his own opinion, show that someone is a fool. Most of these activities, such as talking to yourself or playing with gates as you walk down the street, are simply forms of absent-mindedness or informality. Plenty of bowlers today can be seen in the midst of the gyrations that the author of The Fool's Complaint castigates so strongly.

The objections to these innocent diversions reveal some of the cultural assumptions and priorities of seventeenth-century England. The criticism of absent-minded behaviors emphasizes that anyone who wishes to appear sensible must, absolutely must, remain self-possessed, dignified, reserved, and in control at all times. Even when having fun (e.g., bowling), you should not "let your hair down."

- I. First of all, wherefore any person or persons that shall talk to themselves as they walk in the streets, or at any time when they are alone, or in a house private, may be censured for fools three months, within which term of time if they abstain therefrom, and reform this their foolery, their punishment then to be taken off; but in case that they shall not amend this fault, that some three terms of the said time, or thereabouts, may be peremptory set down to be inflicted upon them; within which limited time they shall bring a certificate of their reformation and amendment, upon pain of being held for approved attainted and converted fools, and accordingly to command your aforesaid elder brothers and ancients of the Company to find them guilty, and to see them afterwards severely punished, as violators and breakers of the laws.
- II. They who shall walk along the streets, casting their cloak under one arm, and stretching out their fingers, playing with the wall, and making indentures with their fingers' ends, let them be admitted Scholars of your house and College, provided always that they have six months of approbation granted unto them, in which you to command them to be reformed; otherwise in default thereof to ordaine that the Warden, Sub-Warden, or Dean of the College, and in their absence the Senior Fellow, put his coat upon him (according to the custom of the house) his cap and his bable, and other ornaments belonging to his degree, and ever afterwards be held a professed fool.
- III. Whosoever walking through any place paved with brick, or stone, shall pitch their toes or heels, walking by a direct line, stride or corner of the said brick or pavement, may be condemned to the same punishment as aforesaid.
- IV. That whosoever shall play at bowls, seeing the bowl run awry, shall wry their body with it, thinking to make the bowl run the more on that side, and govern itself as they direct it with these mimic gestures, if they should be seen to practice this their error, we must declare them for brothers already professed. And further, that the liibe be also understood of those who use the apish action, when they see something

fall down from some high place to the ground, shrinking their shoulders, wiping their mouths, or turning out the whites of their eyes, that the like censure may pass.

Source: *The Fooles Complaint to Gotham College*. London: Ridibundus [sic], 1643.

4. Leisure Time in East India

In the following extract from the seventeenth-century account of his travels in Muslim India, English ambassador Thomas Roe describes the pastimes and diversions of the wealthier inhabitants. Some of the recreational pursuits practiced by the Indian aristocracy resemble the pastimes of the European aristocracy of the same period. Like European nobles, Indian aristocrats enjoyed spending time in luxurious gardens, hunting wild game, and playing chess (a game that originated in India). Other Indian customs were impractical in northern Europe. Although India has the weather to render a swimming pool enjoyable, only brave individuals swim in non-heated pools in the British Isles. Thomas Roe was particularly impressed by Indian “jugglers,” who were, in fact, magicians. Roe particularly enjoyed their trick of making turkeys disappear in wicker baskets.

Perhaps the most striking pastime described by Thomas Roe is the custom of receiving massages. The custom was sufficiently new to the English ambassador that he did not have a way of expressing the concept quickly. The modern reader might not even recognize that Thomas Roe is describing a massage in his attempt to describe the process: “Thus taking their ease, they call for Barbers, who very gently gripe their arms, and shoulders, and other parts, they can in any measure grasp, and they strike likewise very softly those parts with the sides of their hands; it is very pleasing as they do it, and causeth their blood to stir in their veins; it is therefore very much used in those parts.”

Roe’s enthusiastic description (“it is very pleasing as they do it”) suggests that he missed his masseur once he had returned to England.

For their places of pleasure, they are in their Groves, where their curious Fruit-trees (before described) grow; but especially in their Gardens, wherein they plant little Vineyards that afford marvelous fair and sweet Grapes, which they cut green, for their eating, or make Raisons of them. But for Wine, they make none, because their Mahomet forbids the drinking thereof. In those Gardens likewise, they have many Pomegranate trees, with all other of the choicest fruits and flowers their Country affords; to which Nature daily yields such a supply, as that there is beauty to be seen in those Trees, and Plants, and that continually. In the middle of those Gardens, they have such Wells (as before are described) the tops whereof stand a good deal higher than the planted ground, which lies even, and flat below them, from whence water is conveyed in narrow open passages (they knowing not the use of Leaden-Pipes) to all the parts of them in the dry season of the year. In those Gardens likewise they have little round Tanks to bathe in; whose sides and bottoms are made firm and smooth with that plaster before named; they are filled by aquaducts from those Wells, and they can empty them when they please, as well as fill them. The water that is conveyed into those small Tanks, usually runs down broad stone Tables, that have many hollows made in them, like to

scallop-shells, which water in its passage makes such a pretty murmur, as helps to tie their senses with the bonds of sleep, in the hot seasons of the day when they constantly keep their houses, and then they lie down near them on their Carpets, to be lulled asleep. Those bathing places are within, or very near their Garden-houses, which usually are by far more neat, than any other of their dwelling.

In such a Garden-house, with all those accommodations about it, my Lord Ambassador lay with his company at Surat, the last three months before he left East-India. And further, in those hot seasons of the day; the people of better quality lying or sitting on their Carpets, or Pallats, have servants standing about them, who continually beat the air upon them with Flabellas, or Fans, of stiffened leather, which keeps off the flies from annoying them, and cool them as they lie. Thus taking their ease, they call for Barbers, who very gently gripe their arms, and shoulders, and other parts, they can in any measure grasp, and they strike likewise very softly those parts with the sides of their hands; it is very pleasing as they do it, and causeth their blood to stir in their veins; it is therefore very much used in those parts, to such as do not heat their blood by bodily motion.

For their pastimes within doors, they have Cards, but much different from ours in the figures made in them, and in their greater number of suits. Those Cards I have often seen; and have been more often told, that they have very good skill in that most innocent and ingenious game we call Chess.

They delight themselves sometimes with the Company of Mountebanks, and Jugglers. For their Mountebanks; they keep venomous Snakes in baskets, and will suffer themselves to be bitten or stung by them; which part thus bitten, or stung, presently swells, and immediately after that, they cure themselves again by Oils and Powders, which they apply unto the place, and then offer to sell them unto the people standing by.

Their Jugglers are the cunningest that ever I saw, to do strange things by sleight of hand, as in this trick I shall here name: where I have observed them to lay down scuttles or broad open Wicker-baskets upon the ground, three or four one upon another, all which appeared empty, as they laid them down; but taking them up again one after the other, in the bottom of them there would appear, three or four living Turtle-doves: which they would cover again with the same Scuttles, and tossing and turning them as they took them off, and up the second time, none of those pretty creatures were to be seen any more. But how they first conveyed them thither, and how after thence, we could not possibly discover.

For their Pastimes abroad they have Hawks of diverse kinds, greater and less, and Partridges, and other choice Fowl great store to fly at. They have Hares, and Antilopes, with other wild Beasts to hunt, and these not a few. Their dogs for chase are made somewhat like our Grey-hounds, but much less, who never open in the pursuit of their game. They hunt likewise with Leopards trained up and made fit for their sport, who by leaping seize on that they pursue: but by reason of the heat of the Country, those sports are not there much used. The Mogol when he hunts, carries Hawks and Dogs, and all things beside with him, to make him pastime; that if one sport fail, he may be pleased with another. They say, that they have a curious Device to take wild fowls that use the water; into which a fellow goes, with a fowl of that kind he desires to catch, whose skin is stuffed so artificially, as that with a noise he counterfeits that fowl, it appears to be alive, the man keeps all his body but head under water, on which he fastens that counterfeit

fowl to stand fore-right on the top thereof, and thus coming amongst them, he plucks them (as they say) by their legs under water at his pleasure. But this I have only by tradition.

For other pastimes abroad, this I am sure of, that when the weather is more temperate, they shoot much in their Bows, and are very excellent Marks-men, somewhat like those left-handed men spoken of Judg. 20.16. And with their Guns in which they shoot single bullets (for they have not the use of small-shot) they are somewhat long in taking their aim, but they will come very neer the mark.

Others delight themselves very much in managing their excellent Horses; But so shall not I delight my Reader, if I dwell too long in particulars.

Source: Roe, Thomas. *A Voyage into the East Indies*. In Pietro della Valle, *The Travels of Sig. Pietro della Valle, a Noble Roman, into East-India and Arabia Deserta in Which, the Several Countries, Together with the Customs, Manners, Traffique, and Rites Both Religious and Civil, of Those Oriental Princes and Nations, Are Faithfully Described*. London: Macock, 1665, pp. 404–06.

5. An Animal Lover in Arabia

Hunting, in part because of its similarity to war, dominated aristocratic leisure life throughout Eurasia. Not everyone, however, delighted in these blood sports. In the following extract from a twelfth-century memoir, the influential Syrian-born Muslim aristocrat Usamah ibn Munqidh describes the Koranic scholar Abu-Turab, who was a family friend. Abu-Turab would abstain from the hunt and one day even went so far as to lie about the location of a partridge that had taken refuge near him from the hunting falcons. The other hunter, however, did not take kindly to this deception; he found the partridge, broke its legs, and fed it to the falcon. Usamah ibn Munqidh himself, who fought against the European crusaders, took after the hunter, although his account of the animal-loving Abu-Turab reveals a much gentler side of Islamic civilization.

My father (may Allah's mercy rest upon his soul!) related to me the following in his own words:

I used to go out to the hunt accompanied by al-Ra'is abu-Turab Haydarah ibn-Qatramatar (may Allah's mercy rest upon his soul!), who was my father's sheikh and under whom my father memorized the Koran and studied Arabic. When we arrived at the hunting field, Abu-Turab would dismount from his mare, sit on a rock, and read the Koran while we would be hunting around him. With the chase done, he would ride along with us.

Abu-Turab related to me the following: "Sir, as I was sitting once on a rock a small partridge came all of a sudden trotting heavily along, because of exhaustion, towards the rock on which I was sitting. As soon as it took cover underneath the rock, a falcon appeared, coming after it, but was still at some distance from it. The falcon alighted opposite me while Lu'lu was screaming, 'Look out! Look out, O our master!' He then came galloping, while I was praying, 'O Allah, conceal the partridge so that he may not see it,' and said, 'Our master, where is the partridge?' I replied, 'I did not see anything. It did not come here.' He then dismounted from his mare and went around the rock

looking underneath it. There he saw the partridge and said, 'I thought the partridge was here, but thou dost insist that it is not.' He took it, sir, broke its legs and threw it to the falcon, as my heart was breaking for it."

Source: Usamah ibn-Munqidh. *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munqidh*. Translated by Philip Hitti. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929, p. 224.

6. Hunting Wild Boar

Hunting was the premier sport for aristocrats during the Middle Ages. Hunting demanded intensive training, quality horsemanship, and personal courage. In short, hunting demanded the same skills that warfare demanded. Hunting, therefore, formed the pastime of the aristocracy, the elite warrior class of society.

Many animals took part in the hunt. Hounds and dogs chased the prey, horses carried the main huntsmen, and deer, bears, and boars served as game. Of the prey, the boar particularly captured the medieval imagination. The late fourteenth-century heroic romance Gawain and the Green Knight depicts a series of hunts. Although the huntsmen chase the deer and the fox, only the boar puts up a genuine fight, and Bertilak ultimately must grapple with the boar hand to hand to vanquish this prey.

In the following extract from a sixteenth-century handbook on hunting, the author, George Tuberville, similarly recognizes the singular vigor of the boar as game. Tuberville notes, for example, that the boar alone can kill a hound with just one blow. In one episode, Tuberville witnessed a boar slay more than 35 hounds in one hunt. Tuberville therefore notes that boar mastiffs rather than hounds should be used in hunting the boar. Nevertheless, Tuberville recognized that hounds were frequently used for hunting boar, so he gives practical details on how to organize the chase. He recommends, for example, that placing bells around the hounds' necks may frighten the boar into flight, instead of attacking the hounds, and that horses may be further protected by having a cloak placed over them. Even then, however, the horses and riders should remain in constant motion around the boar to avoid the boar's effective attack.

Having described the hunting of an Hart, and all other deer according to my simple skill, I have thought good to set down here a little treatise of the hunting at the wild boar, and of his properties, although he ought not to be counted amongst the beasts of venerie which are chasable with hounds, for he is the proper pray of a mastiff and such-like dogs, for as much as he is a heavy beast, and of great force, trusting and affying himself in his tusks and his strength, and therefore will not lightly flee nor make chase before hounds, so that you cannot (by hunting of the boar) know that goodness or swiftness of them, and therewithal to confess a truth, I think it great pity to hunt (with a good kennel of hounds) at such chases, and that for such reasons and considerations as follow.

First, he is the only beast which can dispatch a hound at one blow, for though other beasts do bite, snatch, tear, or rend your hounds, yet there is hope of remedy if they be well attended; but if a boar do once strike your hound and light between the four

quarters of him, you shall hardly see him escape, and therewithal this subtilty he hath, that if he be run with a good kennel of hounds, which he perceiveth hold in round and follow him hard, he will flee into the strongest thicket that he can find, to the end he may kill them at leisure one after another, the which I have seen by experience oftentimes. And amongst others I saw once a boar chased and hunted with fifty good hounds at the least, and when he saw that they were all in full cry, and held in round together, he turned head upon them, and thrust amidst the thickest of them. In such sort that he slew sometimes six or seven (in manner) with twinkling of an eye: and of the fifty hounds there went not twelve sound and alive to their masters' houses. Again if a kennel of hounds be once used to hunt a boar, they will become lither, and will never willingly hunt, fleeing chases again. For as much as they are (by him) accustomed to hunt with more ease, and to find great scent. For a boar is a beast of very hot scent, and that is contrary to light fleeing chases, which are hunted with more pain to the hound, and yet therewith do not leave so great scent. And for these causes, whosoever meaneth to have good hounds for an hart, hare, or roe-deer, let him not use them to hunt the boar; but since men are of sundry opinions, and love to hunt such chases as lie most commodiously about their dwelling places, I will here describe the property of the boar, and how they may hunt him. And the manner of killing him either with the sword or boar-spear, as you shall also see it set you in a portraiture hereafter in his place. . . .

and by such means a huntsman being early in the woods may judge the subtlety or craft of the boar, and according to that which he shall perceive, he may prepare to hunt with hounds which are hot or temperate. For it be a great boar, and one that hath lain long at rest, he shall do well to hunt him with hounds that will stick to him; and the huntsmen on horseback be ever amongst them, charging the board, and forcing him as much as they may to discourage him: for if you hunt such a boar with four or five couple of hounds, he will make small account of them, and when they have a little chased him, he will take courage, and keep them still at bay, running upon any thing that he seeth before him; but if he perceive himself charged and hard laid unto with hounds and huntsmen, then he will become astonished, and lose courage, and then he is enforced to flee and to seek the country abroad. You must set relays also, but that must be of the staunchest and best old hounds of the kennel, for if you should make your relays with young hounds, and such as are swift and rash, then when a boar is any thing before the rest of the hounds in chase, he might easily kill them in their fury, at their first coming in to him. But if he be a boar which is accustomed to flee endways before the hounds, and to take a champayne countrey, then you shall cast off but four or five couple of hounds at the first and set all the rest at Relays, about the entry of the fields where you think likely that he will flee. For such a boar will seldom keep hounds at a bay, unless he be forced: and if he stand at bay, the huntsmen must ride in unto him as secretly as they can without much noise, and when they be near him, let them cast round about the place where he standeth, and run upon him all at once, and it shall be hard if they give him not one scoth with a sword, or some wound with a boar-spear; and let them not strike low, for then they shall commonly hit him on the snout, because he watcheth to take all blows upon his tusks or thereabouts. But let them lift up their hands high, and strike right down, and let them beware that they strike not towards their horses, but that other way, for on that side that a boar feeleth himself hurt, he turneth head

straightways whereby he might the sooner hurt or kill their horses, if they stroke towards them. And if they be in the plain, then let cast a cloak about their horses, and they may the better ride about the boar, and strike at him as they pass: but stay not long in a place. It is a certain thing experimented and found true, that if you hang bells upon collars and your hounds necks, a boar will not so soon strike at them, but flee endways before them, and seldom stand at Bay.

Source: Tuberville, George. *Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* (1576). In *Tuberville's Book of Hunting*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908, pp. 148–49, 157–59.

Performing Arts

Although the concept of “the performing arts” conveniently groups together diverse art forms such as music, drama, and dance, the continuum between these arts and any other leisure activity was much stronger in the Middle Ages. Although today most people listen to live music in a concert setting, with a strong divide between performer and audience, medieval and *Renaissance* music was frequently performed in settings in which every audience member was also a participant. Every aristocrat, following Thomas Elyot’s advice in *The Governour*, for example, (Document 7) would have some skill in music and would be able to play for friends in an informal gathering. A similar situation held true for Peru, as Garcilaso de la Vega demonstrates in Document 8. Music was so integrated into Inca society that tunes were used to convey personal messages.

Although music could be very participatory, drama conformed more closely to modern concepts of a “show.” Actors might be professionals or might be drawn from the ranks of the local clergy or the local trade guild, but during the performance, some were audience members, and others were performers. The performances, however, were rarely stuffy affairs. As the humorous Digby play about the tragic slaughter of the innocents (Document 9) demonstrates, European society could find humor in unlikely places. The humor, however, was a tool of moral criticism—not a flippant or disrespectful cheap laugh. The wildly popular plays of William Shakespeare, as seen in Document 10, reinforced and helped create both a dynamic sense of group identity and a sense of the corresponding evils of racial stereotypes. In all these productions, serious issues were discussed in entertaining ways. As these documents demonstrate repeatedly, recreational life informed continually the other dimensions of daily life.

7. *The Necessity of Music*

The Governour, by Thomas Elyot, was one of the most influential manuals of sixteenth-century England. In this work, Elyot laid out a comprehensive system for the education of aristocratic children. In the extract that follows, Elyot describes the proper role of music within that educational system. According to Elyot, music is necessary to give the mind a break from more serious academic pursuits. Music allows the mind

to recover the energies spent on more difficult material. Elyot also defends the practice of music by citing the examples of famous people from the Bible and Greek antiquity who enjoyed and played music. Although David, who was widely credited as being the author of the biblical psalms, seems like Elyot's strongest example, the author actually spends much more time describing the Greeks' love of music, focusing on the examples of Achilles and Alexander the Great. This preference for classical antiquity reflects the growing strength of the European-wide Renaissance, which rediscovered the pleasures of classical antiquity.

Elyot's need to defend music, however, reveals that the inclusion of music in the curriculum might cause controversy. There would, of course, be no need to defend music if all his audience clearly prized music. The last part of the following extract gives some insight into this potential resistance to music: public performance of music would shame an aristocrat because, just as if he were seen performing manual labor, the aristocrat would be engaging in the same activities as paid servants. Elyot therefore underlines the importance of never performing publicly—to do so turned a nobleman into a hired hand, albeit a professional musician. Music, then, however worthy, must remain a private hobby for the aristocracy, not a public show. Although Elyot's sixteenth-century language may pose a few difficulties for modern readers, the general argument will be clear.

IN WHAT WISE MUSIC MAY BE TO A NOBLEMAN NECESSARY: AND WHAT MODESTY OUGHT TO BE THEREIN

The discretion of a tutor consisteth in temperaunce; that is to say, that he suffer not the child to be fatigate with continual study or learning, wherewith the delicate and tender wit may be dulled or oppressed, but that there may be therewith interlaced and mixed some pleasant learning and exercise, as playing on instruments of music, which moderately used and without diminution of honor (that is to say, without wanton countenance and dissolute gesture) is not to be contemned. For the noble king and prophet David, king of Israel (whom almighty God said he had chosen as a man according to his heart or desire) during his life, delighted in music. And with the sweet harmony that he made on his harp, he constrained the evil spirit that vexed king Saul to forsake him, continuing the time that he harped.

The most noble and valiant princes of Greece oftentimes, to recreate their spirits and in augmenting their courage, embraced instruments musical.

Thus did the valiant Achilles (Homer sayeth) who after the sharp and vehement contention, between him and Agamemnon, for the taking away of his concubine; whereby he being set in a fury, had slain Agamemnon, emperor of the Greeks' army, had not Pallas the goddess withdrawn his hand. In which rage, he all inflamed, departed with his people to his own ships, that lay at road, intending to have returned to his country; but after he had taken to him his harp (whereon he had learned to pay of Chiron the Centaur, which also taught him feats of arms, with physic and surgery) and playing thereon, had sung the gests and acts martial of the ancient princes of Greece, as Hercules, Perseus, Perithous, Theseus, and his cousin Jason, and of diverse other of semblable value and prowess. He was therewith assuaged of his fury, and reduced into his first state of reason, in such wise that in redoubling his rage, and that thereby should not remain to him any note of reproach, he retaining his fierce and sturdy countenance, so tempered himself in the entertainment and answering the messengers

that came to him from the residue of the Greeks, that they reputed all that his fierce demeanor to be (as it were) a divine majesty, never embraided him with any inordinate wrath or fury.

And therefore the great king Alexander, when he had vanquished Ilion, where some time was set the most noble city of Troy, being demanded of one, if he would see the harp of Paris, who ravished Helen, he thereat gently smiling answered: it was not the thing that he much desired, but had rather see the harp of Achilles, whereto he sang, not the illecebrous delectations of Venus, but the valiant acts and noble affairs of excellent princes.

But in this commendation of music, I would not be thought to allure noble men to have so much delectation therein, that in playing and singing only, they should put their whole study and felicity, as did the emperor Nero, which all a long summer's day would sit in the theatre (an open place where all the people of Rome beheld solemn acts and plays) and in the presence of all the noble men and senators, would play on his harp and sing without ceasing. And if any man happened by long sitting to sleep, or by any other countenance, to show himself to be weary, he was suddenly bobbed on the face by the servants of Nero, for that purpose attending. Or if any person were perceived to be absent, or were seen to laugh at the folly of the emperor, he was forthwith accused, as it were of misprision, whereby the emperor found occasion to commit him to prison, or to put him to tortures. O what misery was it, to be subject to such a minstrel, in whose music was no melody but anguish and dolor?

It were therefore better that no music were taught to a noble man, than by the exact knowledge thereof, he should have therein inordinate delight; and by that be elected to wantonness, abandoning gravity and the necessary cure and office in the public weal to him committed.

King Philip, when he heard that his son Alexander did sing sweetly and properly, rebuked him gently, saying, "But Alexander, be ye not ashamed, that ye can sing so well and cunningly?" Whereby he meant that the open profession of that craft was but of a base estimation, and that it sufficed a noble man, having therein knowledge, either to use it secretly, for the refreshing of his wit, when he hath time of solace, or else only hearing the contention of noble musicians, to give judgment in the excellency of their cunning. These be the causes, whereunto having regard, music is not only tolerable, but also commendable. For as Aristotle sayeth: "Music in the old time was numbered among sciences, for as much as nature seeketh not only how to be in business well occupied, but also how in quietness to be commendably despoiled." And if the child be of a perfect inclination and towardness of virtue, and very aptly disposed to this science, and ripely doth understand the reason and concordance of tunes, the tutors office shall be to persuade him to have principally in remembrance his estate, which maketh him exempt from the liberty of using this science in every time and place; that is to say, that it only serveth for recreation, after tedious or laborious affairs. And to show him, that a gentleman playing or singing in a common audience appaireth his estimation, the people forgetting reverence when they behold him in similitude of a common servant or minstrel. Yet notwithstanding, he shall commend the perfect understanding of music, declaring how necessary it is for the better attaining the knowledge of a public weal, which, as I before said, is made of an order of estates and degrees, and by reason thereof containeth

in it a perfect harmony, which he shall afterward more perfectly understand, when he shall happen to read the books of Plato and Aristotle of public weals, wherein be written diverse examples of music and geometry. In this form may a wise and circumspect tutor, adapt the pleasant science of music to a necessary and laudable purpose.

Source: Elyot, Sir Thomas. *The Boke Named the Governour*. London: Thomas Berthelet, 1537, pp. 21–33. With adaptations by Lawrence Morris.

8. Inca Music

Garcilaso de la Vega, the author of the following extract, had a unique insight into the Peruvian culture of the sixteenth century. The illegitimate but loved son of a Spanish conquistador and an Inca princess, Garcilaso had access to both the Spanish and the Native American cultures, traditions, and perspectives. His testimony therefore carries particular importance.

In his discussion of Inca music, Garcilaso notes one of the instruments still associated with the Andes: panpipes. Throughout his account, Garcilaso's praise for Inca music reveals his admiration for the Native American culture. By noting that the Inca flautists could play any organ tune, for example, Garcilaso shows that the Native Americans are the equals of the European musicians. This equal ability, however, does not mean that the two musical traditions were the same. Garcilaso highlights the uniqueness of each Inca tune. Unlike the European popular musical tradition, in which the same musical notes might carry different words—and thus different meanings—each tune within the Inca repertoire carried only one meaning and interpretation. As a result, playing a tune could be as powerful a form of communication as literature. According to Garcilaso, love-struck youths in particular used the persuasion of traditional Inca tunes to woo their beloved.

In music they had acquired a knowledge of some tunes, which the Indians of the Collas district played on instruments made of hollow reeds, four or five being tied in a row, each one having the point higher than its neighbour, like an organ. These canes were fastened in fours, different one from another. One of them ran in high notes and the others each higher in the scale; so that the four natural voices, treble, tenor, contralto, and counter-bass were represented by the four sets of reeds. When an Indian played on one of these pipes, another answered on a fifth or any other note; then another played on another note, sometimes rising to the high notes, and at others going down, but always in tune. They did not understand accompaniments on different keys, but always played in one compass. The players were Indians instructed for the amusement of the king, and for the lords his vassals, and although their music was so simple, it was not generally practiced, but was learnt and attained to by study. They had *la* flutes with four or five notes, like those of shepherds; but they were not made on a scale, each one being of only one note. Their songs were composed in measured verses, and were for the most part written to celebrate amorous passions expressive now of joy now of sorrow, now of the kindness now of the cruelty of the fair.

Each song had its appropriate tune, and they could not put two different songs to the same tune. Thus the enamoured swain, playing his flute at night, with the

tune that belonged to it, apprised the lady and the whole world of the state of his feelings, arising from the smiles or frowns of the object of his love. But if two tunes were used for the same song, it could not be known what sentiment the lover wished to express; for it may be said that he talked with his flute. One night a Spaniard met an Indian girl of his acquaintance, and asked her to go with him to his lodging. The girl said, "Sir! let me go whither I desire; for know you not that that flute is calling me with much love and tenderness, so that it obliges me to go towards it. Leave me, then. I cannot help going, for love drags me to where the flute-player will be my husband, and I his wife."

They did not play the songs composed to celebrate their warlike deeds, because they were not fit to play before ladies, nor to express on their flutes. But they were sung at the principal festivals, in memory of their victories. When I departed from Peru in the year 1560, I left five Indians in Cuzco who played the flute very well, from any music book for the organ that was placed before them. They belonged to Juan Rodriguez de Villalobos, formerly a citizen of that town. At present, being the year 1602, they tell me that there are so many Indians expert in playing on instruments, that they may be met with in all directions. In my time the Indians did not use their voices, because, no doubt, they were not sufficiently good, and because they did not understand singing; but, on the other hand, many mestizos had very good voices.



An Andean woman weaves on a loom. From *History of the Inca Kingdom, Nueva Coronica y buen Gobierno*, c. 1587; manuscript with illustrations by Guaman Poma de Ayala, Peru. The Art Archive/Archaeological Museum Lima/Gianni Dagli Orti.

Source: El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*. Translated by Clements R. Markham. Vol. 1. London: Hakluyt Society, 1869, pp. 191–93.

9. Mystery Plays

Live drama thrived in medieval Europe. Traveling troupes of actors as well as locally based companies frequently delighted large crowds of spectators in pub courtyards and public squares. Many of the surviving scripts deal with religious themes, both because such themes were popular and because precious writing resources were more likely to be reserved for sacred themes. Although the plays are religious, they are not necessarily humorless. In fact, humor remains one of the most striking aspects of medieval religious drama. The extract from the Digby play, for example, deals with Herod's ordering the death of all infants in Israel, yet despite the tragic theme, the play aims for comic relief by inserting the non-biblical character of Watkin, a cowardly messenger who wants to be a knight. Watkin is eager to kill the children but is deathly afraid of women. The humor of Watkin's false courage, however, is by no means blasphemous. By emphasizing Watkin's cowardice, the play highlights how the proposed act itself—killing innocent and defenseless children—is itself cowardly. As a result, even though the play treats senseless slaughter humorously, the humor makes a serious point.

Watkin

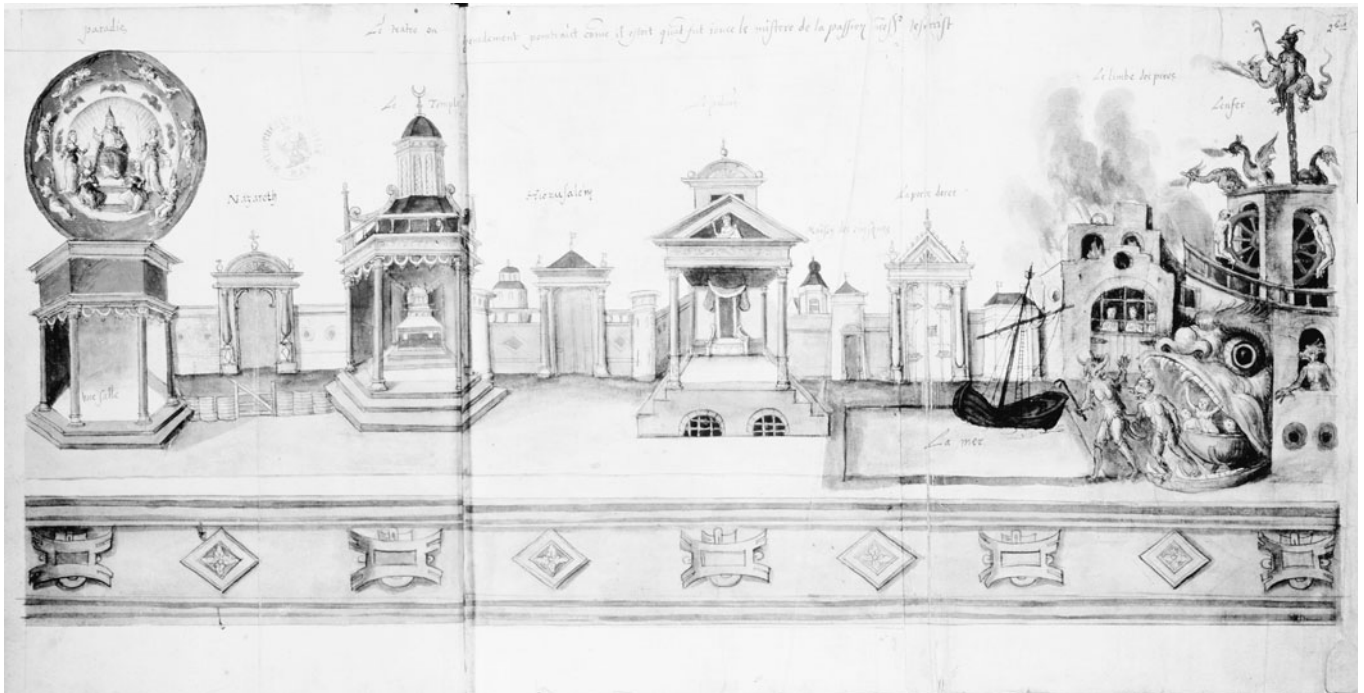
Now a largess, my lord: I am right well apaid,
If I do not well lay my head upon a stock;
I shall go show your knights how ye have said,
And arm myself manly, and go forth on the flock;
And if I find a young child, I shall chop it on a block,
though the mother be angry, the child shall be slain,
But yet I dread no thing more than a woman with a Rock,
For if I see any such, by my faith I return!

Herod

What, shall a woman with a Rock drive thee away?
Fie on thee traitor! Now I tremble for anger.
I have trusted thee long and many a day;
A bold man and an hardy I thought thou haddest been.

Watkin

So am I, my lord, and that shall be seen
That I am a bold man and best dare abide;
And there come an hundred women I will not flee,
But from tomorrow till night with them I dare chide.
And therefore my lord, ye may trust unto me,
for all the children of Israel your knights and I shall kill.
I will not spare one, but dead they shall be
If the father and mother will let me have my will.



An elaborate stage set. In the far right corner is a “hell mouth,” a common representation of the entrance to Hell. Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY.

Herod

Thou lord, take heed what I say thee til,
And high thee to my knights as fast as thou can;
Say, I command them everywhichwise that they spill blood
Around in every province, and spare for no man.

Watkin

Nay, Nay, my lord, we will spare for no man
Though there come a thousand in a rought;
For your knights and I will kill them all if we can.
But for the women, that is all my doubt.
And if I see any walking by,
I will take good heed until she be gone,
And as soon as I spy that she is out,
By my faith into the house I will go anon!
And thus I promise you, that I shall never sleep,
but evermore wait to find the children alone,
And if the mother come in, under the bench will I creap
And lie still there until she be gone.
Then manly I shall come out and her children slay,
And when I have done, I shall run fast away.
If she found her child dead, and took me there alone,
By my faith I am sure we should make a fray.

Herod

Nay, harlot, abide still with my knights, I command thee,
Until the children be slain all the whole rout,
And when thou comest home again, I shall advance thee
If thou quite thee like a man, while thou art one.
and if thou play the coward, I put thee out of dought,
Of me thou shalt neither have fee nor advantage.
Therefore I charge you the country be well sought,
And when thou comest home, shalt have thy wage.

Watkin

Yes, sire, by my troth, ye shall well know,
While I am out, how I shall acquit me,
For I purpose to spare neither high nor low,
If there be no man will smite me.
The most I fear: the women will beat me.
Yet shall I take good heart to me and look well about,
And look that your knights be not far from me,
For if I be alone, I may soon get a clout.

Herod

I say, hie thee hence! That thou were gone,
And unto my knights, look ye take the way,

And say, I charge them that my commandment be done
In all haste possible without more delay.
And if there be any that will say you “nay,”
Rid him of his life out of hand anon.
And if thou quite thee well unto my pay,
I shall make thee a knight adventurous when thou comest home.

Watkin

Sir knights, I must go forth with you—
Thus my lord commanded me for to do.
And if I quite me well while I am amoung you,
I shall be made a knight adventurous when I come home.
For one thing I promise you, I will fight anon,
if my heart fail not when I shall begin,
for they fight like devils with rocks when they spin.

First Soldier

Watkin, I love thee, for thou art ever a man.
If thou quit thee well in this great voyage,
I shall speak to my lord for thee that I can,
That thou shalt no more be neither groom nor page.

Second Soldier

I will speak for thee that thou shalt have better wage
If thou quite thee manly among the women,
For they be as fierce as a lion in a cage
When they are broken out, to reave men of their lives.

Source: *The Digby Plays*. Ed. by F. J. Furnivall. London: Early English Text Society, 1896, pp. 7–10. Minor linguistic modifications made by Lawrence Morris.

10. William Shakespeare Explores Race and Nationality

The Merchant of Venice, a play by England’s most famous playwright, William Shakespeare (1564–1616), demonstrates how drama could help create a sense of nation and race. In *The Merchant of Venice*, the Venetian merchant Antonio borrows money from the Jewish moneylender, Shylock, with a pound of flesh as collateral. When Antonio’s business enterprise fails unexpectedly, Shylock claims his pound of flesh in court. In the following extract from the court scene, racial terminology defines the characters and their ambitions. Antonio, for example, consistently uses merely the word “Jew” to refer to Shylock, rather than Shylock’s own name. As a result, Shylock is robbed of individuality and is made a representative of an entire race. Shylock’s negative aspects, comprising vengeance and a lack of mercy, are thus projected onto the entire Jewish race.

The play, as a result, is frequently interpreted as anti-Semitic, but Shakespeare’s work is more complex than that. Although a stereotypical presentation of Jewish people as

grasping and merciless does indeed pervade the play, the Venetians themselves are not absolved from all faults. In a convincing speech, for example, Shylock points out that the Venetians frequently mistreat their slaves; in fact, the entire Venetian state seems based on creating and enforcing discrepancies of class and power. The very anti-Semitism of the Venetian state in the play proves Shylock's point. Nonetheless, all of Renaissance society endorsed such national, racial, and class distinctions. Regardless of how unfair those distinctions may have been, Shakespeare's audience accepted them as a matter of course and entirely natural.

Duke

I am sorry for thee: thou art come to answer
A stony adversary, an inhuman wretch
Uncapable of pity, void and empty
From any dram of mercy.

Antonio

I have heard
Your Grace hath ta'en great pains to qualify
His rigorous course; but since he stands obdurate,
And that no lawful means can carry me
Out of his enemy's reach, I do oppose
My patience to his fury; and am armed
To suffer, with a quietness of spirit,
The very tyranny and rage of his.

Duke

Go one, and call the Jew into the court.

Sailor

He is ready at the door: he comes, my lord.
Enter Shylock.

Duke

Make room, and let him stand before our face.
Shylock, the world thinks, and I think so too,
That thou but lead'st this fashion of thy malice
To the last hour of act; and then 'tis thought
Thou'llt show thy mercy and remorse more strange
than is thy strange apparent cruelty;
And where thou now exact'st the penalty,
Which is a pound of this poor merchant's flesh,
Thou wilt not only loose the forfeiture,
But, touched with human gentleness and love,
Forgive a moiety of the principal;
Glancing an eye of pity on his losses,
That have of late so huddled on his back,

Enow to press a royal merchant down,
And pluck commiseration of his state
From brassy bosoms and rough hearts of flint,
From stubborn Turks and Tartars, never trained
to offices of tender courtesy.
We all expect a gentle answer, Jew.

Shylock

I have possessed your Grace of what I purpose;
And by our holy Sabbath have I sworn
To have the due and forfeit of my bond:
If you deny it, let the danger light
Upon your charter and your city's freedom.
You'll ask me, why I rather choose to have
A weight of carrion-flesh than to receive
Three thousand ducats: I'll not answer that:
But, say, it is my humour: is it answer'd?
What if my house be troubled with a rat,
And I be pleased to give ten thousand ducats
To have it baned? What, are you answered yet?
Some men there are love not a gaping pig;
Some, that are mad if they behold a cat;
And others, when the bagpipe sings in the nose,
Cannot contain themselves: for affection,
Mistress of passion, sways it to the mood
Of what it likes or loathes. Now, for your answer:
As there is no firm reason to be rendered,
Why he cannot abide a gaping pig;
why he, a harmless necessary cat;
Why he, a woolen bag-pipe; but of force
Must yield to such inevitable shame
As to offend, himself being offended;
So can I give no reason, nor I will not,
More than a lodged hate and a certain loathing
I bear Antonio, that I follow thus
A losing suit against him. Are you answered?

Bassianus

This is no answer, thou unfeeling man,
To excuse the current of thy cruelty.

Shylock

I am not bound to please thee with my answer.

Bassianus

Do all men kill the things they do not love?

Shylock

Hates any man the thing he would not kill?

Bassianus

Every offence is not a hate at first.

Shylock

What, wouldst thou have a serpent sting thee twice?

Antonio

I pray you, think you question with the Jew:
 You may as well go stand upon the beach,
 And bid the main flood bate his usual height;
 You may as well use question with the wolf,
 Why he hath made the ewe bleat for the lamb;
 You may as well forbid the mountain pines
 To wag their high tops, and to make no noise,
 When they are fretten with the gusts of heaven;
 You may as well do anything most hard,
 As seek to soften that—than which what's harder?—
 His Jewish heart: therefore, I do beseech you,
 Make no more offers, use no farther means,
 But with all brief and plain conveniency
 Let me have judgment and the Jew his will.

Bassianus

For thy three thousand ducats here is six.

Shylock

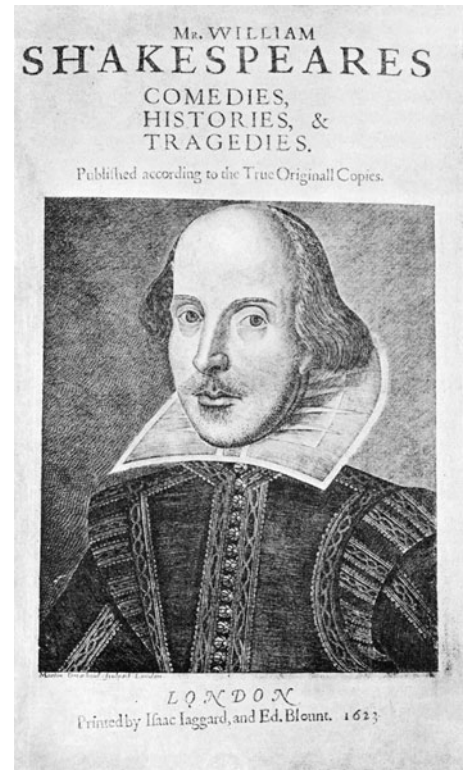
If every ducat in six thousand ducats
 Were in six parts and every part a ducat,
 I would not draw them; I would have my bond.

Duke

How shalt thou hope for mercy, rendering none?

Shylock

What judgment shall I dread, doing no wrong?
 You have among you many a purchased slave,
 Which, like your asses and your dogs and mules,
 You use in abject and in slavish parts,
 Because you bought them: shall I say to you,
 Let them be free, marry them to your heirs?



William Shakespeare, as depicted in the 1623 *First Folio* (the first collected works of Shakespeare's plays). The conservative dress presents the image of a serious, upstanding citizen, though his plays could cause controversy. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

Why sweat they under burdens? Let their beds
Be made as soft as yours, and let their palates
Be seasoned with such viands? You will answer
“The slaves are ours,” so do I answer you:
The pound of flesh, which I demand of him,
Is dearly bought; 'tis mine and I will have it.
If you deny me, fie upon your law!
There is no force in the decrees of Venice.
I stand for judgment: answer, shall I have it.

Source: Shakespeare, William. *The Merchant of Venice*. Edited by Robert Sharp. Richmond, VA: Johnson, 1903, pp. 101–05. With minor adaptations.

Visual Arts

The power of the visual arts is obvious. Dramatic photographs can capture buyers more easily than a product's name or a newspaper's headline. Photography, of course, is a modern art, but the Middle Ages and *Renaissance* still valued the visual arts highly. Renaissance intellectuals, such as Leon Battista Alberti (Document 13) or any pupil following Thomas Elyot's curriculum (Document 12), frequently counted painting among their list of accomplishments.

Medieval and Renaissance thinkers did not value the visual arts purely because of beauty—rather the arts frequently served as an aid to other skills. Elyot claims, for example, that a skill in drawing will prove invaluable for the construction of maps during military campaigns and in the design of new military weapons. The claim remains somewhat unconvincing, however, considering that few of his readers ever invented new military machines, although the ability to draw a diagram would indeed aid in the construction of such new technology. Alberti, on the other hand, values the visual arts in part because they are a study in logic. In the principles of good art that he lays out in this section (Document 13), Alberti stresses that a painting should be logical: if the centaurs have violently crashed a wedding, there should be no wine glasses left unbroken on the tables. Art similarly serves as a means of closely observing the natural world, especially animals and human beings.

Collecting art provided a pleasant pastime for those who could afford it. As Hsu Hsieh points out, however, many people collected art not for the art's sake, but to show off in front of their friends and acquaintances (Document 11). Expensive art had become a status symbol. Hsu Hsieh views this trend as ultimately debasing. According to Hsu Hsieh, the love of antiques should focus on encountering the great minds of the past, not on demonstrating ostentatious wealth. Hsieh, therefore, refuses to obsess about antiques and prefers instead to read the great writings of the past so that he can emulate the great men of history. By so doing, he aspires to become a great thinker himself, read by others in the future. Art, for Hsu Hsieh, offers a means of bettering oneself.

For all these thinkers, Elyot, Alberti, and Hsu Hsieh, the visual arts meant more than simple beauty or ornamentation. Art had the power to teach about the world, to change the course of history, and to transform the viewer.

11. Antiques and the Love of the Past in China

The following extract, from the seventeenth-century Chinese scholar Hsu Hsieh, examines the practice of antique hunting. According to Hsu Hsieh, collecting antiques was a popular pastime during his era, but not because people loved the objects themselves. Rather, people collected expensive antiques primarily to demonstrate that they were wealthier than others. These objects of art were prized not because they were beautiful, but because they were expensive.

Hsu Hsieh contrasts his own love of the past with this more common love of antiques. Hsu Hsieh views himself as a true antiquarian—a true lover of the past. Whereas his contemporaries love relics from the past because of their current price, Hsu Hsieh loves the men of the past—their objects he treats with simple respect, but he devours the ideas of the past. As a result, Hsu Hsieh prefers to read ancient books, where he can encounter the minds of antiquity directly. Instead of treasuring a thousand-year-old inkstand, he continues to view the inkstand primarily as just an inkstand. With that ink, however, Hsu Hsieh hopes to become an “antique” in his implied definition of the word: a thinker whose writings command respect and offer guidance in the future.

For some years I had possessed an old inkstand, left at my house by a friend. It came into ordinary use as such, I being unaware that it was an antique. However, one day a connoisseur told me it was at least a thousand years old, and urged me to preserve it carefully as a valuable relic. This I did, but never took any further trouble to ascertain whether such was actually the case or not. For supposing that this inkstand really dated from the period assigned, its then owner must have regarded it simply as an inkstand. He could not have known that it was destined to survive the wreck of time and come to be cherished as an antique. And while we prize it now, because it has descended to us from a distant past, we forget that then, when antiques were relics of a still earlier period, it could not have been of any value to antiquarians, themselves the moderns of what is antiquity to us!

The surging crowd around us thinks of naught but the acquisition of wealth and material enjoyment, occupied only with the struggle for place and power. Men lift their skirts and hurry through the mire; they suffer indignity and feel no sense of shame. And if from out this mass there arises one spirit purer and simpler than the rest, striving to tread a nobler path than they, and amusing his leisure, for his own gratification, with guitars, and books, and pictures and other relics of olden times—such a man is indeed a genuine lover of the antique. He can never be one of the common herd, though the common herd always affect to admire whatever is admittedly admirable. In the same way, persons who aim at advancement in their career, will spare no endeavour to collect the choicest rarities, in order, by such gifts, to curry favour with their superiors; who, in their turn, will take pleasure in ostentatious display of their collections of antiquities. Such is but a specious hankering after antiques, arising simply from a desire to eclipse one's neighbours. Such men are not genuine lovers of the antique. Their tastes are those of the common herd after all, though they make a great show and filch the reputation of true antiquarians, in the hope of thus distinguishing themselves from their fellows, ignorant as they are that what they secure is the name alone without the reality.

The man whom I call a genuine antiquarian is he who studies the writings of the ancients, and strives to form himself upon their model though unable to greet them in the flesh; who ever and anon, in his wanderings up and down the long avenue of the past, lights upon some choice fragment which brings him in an instant face to face with the immortal dead. Of such enjoyment there is no satiety. Those who truly love antiquity, love not the things, but the men of old; since a relic in the present is much what it was in the past—a mere thing. And so if it is not to things, but rather to men, that devotion is due, then even I may aspire to be some day an antique. Who shall say that centuries hence an antiquarian of the day may not look up at me as I have looked up to my predecessors? Should I then neglect myself, and foolishly devote my energies to trifling with things?

Such is the popular enthusiasm in these matters. It is shadow without substance. But the theme is endless, and I shall therefore content myself with this passing record of my old inkstand.

Source: *Gems of Chinese Literature: Prose*. 2nd ed. Ed. by Giles A. Herbert. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1923, pp. 228–29.

12. Painting for Noblemen

Although the European aristocracy enjoyed collecting the visual arts, including both contemporaneous and classical art, a career in the visual arts was nevertheless viewed as beneath the status of a nobleman. An aristocrat could purchase art, but he was expected not to become an artist himself.

Thomas Elyot, in his manifesto on education, *The Governour* (1537), attempts to counter these social class prejudices by highlighting how useful the visual arts are to a gentleman's "proper" role as general and governor. Elyot names a long list of famous kings and princes who painted or carved, and he claims that skill in drawing will help princes to produce more accurate military maps, which will in turn lead to greater military success, resulting ultimately in increased security for the prince's home country. Painting, Elyot claims, will increase homeland security. Elyot likewise suggests that the ability to diagram has aided kings in the past in the invention of new war-machines. The visual arts, in sum, are a tool of war.

Although the connection between skill in carving and success in war is tenuous at best, Elyot mentions other reasons to value artistic skill that remain convincing even today: visual imagery helps students learn and can move viewers more powerfully than written or spoken words. Elyot's claim that visual representations of historical events can be more memorable concurs with modern understandings of learning styles, in which reading material, auditory lectures, and visual diagrams all play a role. Few readers, moreover, will doubt how visual material—photographs, for example—can cut directly and emotionally to the heart of an issue.

Despite his attempts to demonstrate the utility of the visual arts to the upper classes, Elyot nevertheless relegates artistic skills to second place in his educational curriculum. Elyot states that pupils interested in the arts should receive art lessons only "in vacant times from other more serious learning," that is, outside of regular class times. The arts are meant

to supplement regular classes, not to supplant them. Because art will not be the nobleman's focus, he will never be a professional artist; hence, Thomas Elyot, contrary to his critics' claims, will not be turning noblemen into "masons or painters," terms used derisively to describe working-class craftsmen. Rather than non-aristocratic painters, who are "stained or embrewed with sundry colors," Elyot's students will be noblemen who also happen to be able to paint.

If the child be of nature inclined (as many have been) to paint with a pen, or to form images in stone or tree, he should not be therefrom withdrawn, or nature be rebuked, which is to him benevolent, but putting one to him, which is in that craft wherein he deliteth, most excellent, in vacant times from other more serious learning, he should be in the most pure wise instructed in painting or carving. And now perchance some envious reader will hereof take occasion to scorn me, saying that I had well hied me to make a noble man a mason or painter. And yet if either ambition or voluptuous idleness would have suffered that reader to have seen histories, he should have found excellent princes, as well in vespainting as in carving, equal to noble artificers. Such were Claudius Titus, the son of Vespasian, Hadrian, both Antonines, and diverse other emperors and noble princes, whose works of long time remained in Rome and other cities, in such places where all men might behold them, as monuments of their excellent wits and virtuous occupation, in eschewing of idleness.

And not without necessary cause, princes were in their childhood so instructed: for it served them afterward for devising of engines for the war; or for making them better that be already devised. For as Vitruvius (which writeth of building to the emperor Augustus) sayeth: "Al torments of war, which we call engines, were first invented by kings or governors of hosts, or if they were devised by other, they were by them made much better."

Also by the feat of portraiture or painting a captain may describe the country of his adversary, whereby he shall eschew the dangerous passages with his host or navy; also perceive the places of advantage, the form of embatailing of his enemies, the situation of his camp, for his most surety, the strength or weakness of the town or fortress, which he intendeth to assault. And that, which is most specially to be considered in visiting his own dominions, he shall set them out in figure in such wise that at his eye shall appear to him, where he shall employ his study and treasure, as well for the safeguard of his country as for the commodity and honor thereof, having at all times in his sight the surety and feebleness, advancement and hindrance of the same. And what pleasure and also utility is it to a man, which intendeth to edify himself, to express the figure of the work that he purposeth, according as he hath conceived it in his own fantasy. Wherein by often amending and correcting, he finally shall so perfect the work unto his purpose, that there shall neither ensure any repentance nor in the employment of his money he shall be by other deceived.

Moreover, the feat of portraiture shall be an elective to every other study or exercise. For the wit thereto disposed shall always covet congruent matter, wherein it may be occupied. And when he happeneth to read or hear any fable or history, forthwith he apprehendeth it more desirously and retaineth it better than any other that lacketh the said feat, by reason that he hath found matter apt to his fantasy. Finally, every thing that

portraiture may comprehend will be to him delectable to read or hear. And where the lively spirit and that which is called the grace of the thing is perfectly expressed that thing more persuadeth and steereth the beholder, and sooner instructeth him, than the declaration in writing or speaking doth the reader or hearer. Experience we have thereof in learning of geometry, astronomy, and cosmography, called in English the description of the world. In which studies I dare affirm a man shall more profit in one week by figures and charts, well and perfectly made, than he shall by the only reading or hearing the rules of that science, by the space of half a year at the least. Wherefore the late writers deserve no small commendation, which added to the authors of those sciences apt and proper figures.

And he that is perfectly instructed in portraiture and happeneth to read any noble and excellent history whereby his courage is inflamed to the imitation of virtue, he forthwith taketh his pen or pencil, and with a grave and substantial study, gathering to him all the parts of imagination, endeavoureth himself to express lively, and (as I might say) actually, in portraiture, not only the fact or affair, but also the sundry affections of every personage in the history recited, which might in any wise appear or be perceived in their visage, countenance, or gesture; with like diligence as Lysippus made in metal King Alexander, fighting and struggling with a terrible lion of incomparable magnitude and fierceness, whom, after long and difficult battle with wonderfull strength and clean might at the last he overthrew and vanquished. Wherein he so expressed the similitude of Alexander, and of his lords standing about him, that they all seemed to live. Among whom the prowess of Alexander appeared excelling all other, the residue of his lords after the value and estimation of their courage, every man set out in such forwardness, as they than seemed more prompt to the helping of their master, that is to say, one less afear'd than another.

Phidias the Athenian, whom all writers do commend, made of ivory the simulacrum or image of Jupiter, honored by the gentiles, on the high hill of Olympus, which was done so excellently, that Pandenus, a cunning painter, thereat admarveling, required the craftsman to show him where he had the example or pattern of so noble a work. Then Phidias answered that he had taken it out of three verses of Homer the poet: the sentence whereof ensueth as well as my poor wit can express it in English.

Then Jupiter, the father of them all
Thereto assented with his brows black,
Shaking his hair, and therewith did let fall
A countenance that made all heaven to quake.

Where it is to be noted that Thetis, the mother of Achilles, desired Jupiter to incline his favor to the part of the Trojans.

Now (as I have before said), I intend not by these examples to make of a prince or nobleman's son a common painter or carver, which shall present himself openly, stained or embrewed with sundry colors, or powdered with the dust of stones that he cutteth, or perfumed with tedious savours of the metals by him gotten; but verily mine intent and

meaning is only that a noble child, by his own natural disposition and not by coercion, may be induced to receive perfect instruction in these sciences.

Source: Elyot, Sir Thomas. *The Boke Named the Governour*. London: Thomas Berthelet, 1537, pp. 23–26.

13. Painting with the Renaissance Masters

Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) was a quintessential “Renaissance man,” in the sense that he was learned in a wide variety of intellectual and artistic fields. His writings, for example, span the gamut from advice on how to raise a family to the following extract from *Della pittura*, his famous treatise on the arts. In addition to being an accomplished writer, Alberti also found fame as a practical artist in the fields of architecture and painting.

Della pittura, the Italian version of his slightly earlier Latin work *De pictura*, remains Alberti’s most remembered work because it sets out the basic principles of linear perspective. The art of the Middle Ages was generally “flat,” with distance indicated by simply placing figures behind each other. Artists such as Giotto were rapidly moving to perspective, but it was Alberti who laid down the theoretical principles that are contained in the concept of a “vanishing point.” Although Alberti, like Giotto, was a pioneer in painting, he nonetheless made frequent allusions to the art of the ancient Greeks, a common practice throughout the self-styled “Renaissance,” which means “rebirth” and refers to the alleged rebirth of ancient Greek and Roman culture.

In this extract, Alberti describes what, in his view, are the most important parts of any painting: circumscription (the outlined drawing of figures) and composition (the placement of figures). He also discusses many subpoints, such as the need for logic in the painted scene (which he calls *istoria*). His guide offers an excellent insight into how educated Italians evaluated artwork. He also reveals some of the tricks of the trade, such as a translucent veil with a grid marked on it; the painter looks through the grid, notes where the lines of his subject fall on that grid, and then reproduces those lines exactly on this lightly (or mentally) gridded paper.

Therefore, painting is composed of circumscription, composition and reception of light. In the following we shall treat of them most briefly.

First we will treat of circumscription. Circumscription describes the turning of the outline in the painting. It is said that Parrhasius, the painter who talked with Socrates in Xenophon, was most expert in this and had examined these lines carefully. I say that in this circumscription one ought to take great pains to make these lines so fine that they can scarcely be seen. The painter Apelles used to practice this and to compete with Protogenes. Because circumscription is nothing but the drawing of the outline, which when done with too apparent a line does not indicate a margin of the plane but a neat cleavage, I should desire that only the movement of the outline be inscribed. To this, I insist, one must devote a great amount of practice. No composition and no reception of light can be praised where there is not also a good circumscription—that is, a good drawing—which is most pleasant in itself. Here is a good aid for whoever wishes to make use of it. Nothing can be found, so I think, which is more useful than that veil

which among my friends I call an intersection. It is a thin veil, finely woven, dyed whatever colour pleases you and with larger threads [marking out] as many parallels as you prefer. This veil I place between the eye and the thing seen, so the visual pyramid penetrates through the thinness of the veil. This veil can be of great use to you. Firstly, it always presents to you the same unchanged plane. Where you have placed certain limits, you quickly find the true cuspid of the pyramid. This would certainly be difficult without the intersection. You know how impossible it is to imitate a thing which does not continue to present the same appearance, for it is easier to copy painting than sculpture. You know that as the distance and the position of the centre are changed, the thing you see seems greatly altered. Therefore the veil will be, as I said, very useful to you, since it is always the same thing in the process of seeing. Secondly, you will easily be able to constitute the limits of the outline and of the planes. Here in this parallel you will see the forehead, in that the nose, in another the cheeks, in this lower one the chin and all outstanding features in their place. On panels or on walls, divided into similar parallels, you will be able to put everything in its place. Finally, the veil will greatly aid you in learning how to paint when you see in it round objects and objects in relief. By these things you will be able to test with experience and judgment how very useful our veil can be to you.

Nor will I hear what some may say, that the painter should not use these things, because even though they are great aids in painting well, they may perhaps be so made that he will soon be able to do nothing without them. I do not believe that infinite pains should be demanded of the painter, but paintings which appear in good relief and a good likeness of the subject should be expected. This I do not believe can ever be done without the use of the veil. Therefore, let us use this intersection, that is the veil, as we have said. Then, when a painter wishes to try his skill without the veil, he should note first the limits of objects within the parallels of the veil. Or he may study them in another manner by imagining a line intersected by its perpendicular wherever these limits are located. But since the outlines of the planes are frequently unknown to the inexpert painter—doubtful and uncertain as in the faces of man where he does not discern the distance between the forehead and the temples—it would be well to teach him how he can come to understand them.

This is clearly demonstrated by nature. We see in flat planes that each one reveals itself by its lines, lights and shades. Again spherical concave planes are divided into many planes as if chequered with spots of light and shade. Therefore each part with its highlights, divided by those which are dark, would thus appear as many planes. However, if one continuous plane, beginning shadowy, becomes little by little lighter, then note the middle of it with a very fine line so that the method of colouring it will be less in doubt.

Circumscription, which pertains not a little to composition, remains to be treated. For this it is well to know what composition is in painting. I say composition is that rule in painting by which the parts fit together in the painted work. The greatest work of the painter is the *istoria*. Bodies are part of the *istoria*, members are parts of the bodies, planes are parts of the members. Circumscription is nothing more than a certain rule for designing the outline of the planes, since some planes are small as in animals, others are large as those of buildings and colossi.

Concerning the small planes the precepts given up to here will be enough—precepts which we demonstrated when we learned how to use the veil. Perhaps we should find new rules for the larger planes. We must remember what has been said above in the instruction on planes, rays, the pyramid, the intersection, and on the parallels of the pavement, the centric point and line. On the pavement, drawn with its lines and parallels, walls and similar planes which we have called *jacent* are to be built. Here I will describe just briefly what I do. First I begin with the foundation. I place the width and the length of the wall in its parallels. In this laying out I follow nature. I note that, in any squared body which has right angles, only two on joined sides can be seen at one time. I observe this in describing the foundations of the walls. I always commence first of all with the nearest plane, the greatest of those which are equidistant from the cross-section. These I put before the others, describing their width and height in those parallels of the pavement in such a way that for as many *braccia* as I choose they occupy as many parallels. To find the middle of each parallel, I find where the diameters mutually intersect. And thus, as I wish, I draw the foundations. Then the height follows by not at all difficult rules. I know the height of the wall contains in itself this proportion, that as much as it is from the place where it starts on the pavement to the centric line, so much it rises upwards. When you wish this quantity of the pavement up to the centric line to be the height of a man, there will, therefore, be these three *braccia*. Since you wish your wall to be twelve *braccia*, you go up three times the distance from the centric line to that place on the pavement. With these rules we shall be able to draw all planes which have angles.

The way in which circles are drawn remains to be treated. Circles are drawn from angles. I do it in this manner. In a space I make a quadrangle with right angles, and I divide the sides of this quadrangle in the painting. From each point to its opposite point I draw lines and thus the space is divided into many small quadrangles. Here I draw a circle as large as I want it so the lines of the small quadrangles and the lines of the circle cut each other mutually. I note all the points of this cutting; these places I mark on the parallels of the pavement in my painting. It would be an extreme and almost never-ending labour to divide the circle in many places with new minor parallels and with a great number of points to complete the circle. For this reason, when I have noted eight or more intersections, I continue the circle in the painting with my mind, guiding the lines from point to point. Would it perhaps be briefer to derive it from a shadow? Certainly, if the body which made the shadow were in the middle, located by rule in its place.

We have considered in what way with the aid of the parallels the large angular and round planes are drawn. Since we have finished the circumscription, that is the way of drawing. Composition remains to be treated.

It would be well to repeat what composition is. Composition is that rule of painting by which the parts of the things seen fit together in the painting. The greatest work of the painter is not a colossus, but an *istoria*. *Istoria* gives greater renown to the intellect than any colossus. Bodies are part of the *istoria*, members are parts of the bodies, planes part of the members. The primary parts of painting, therefore, are the planes. That grace in bodies which we call beauty is born from the composition of the planes. A face which has its planes here large and there small, here raised and there depressed—similar to the

faces of old women—would be most ugly in appearance. Those faces which have the planes joined in such a way that they take shades and lights agreeable and pleasantly, and have no harshness of the relief angles, these we should certainly say are beautiful and delicate faces.

Therefore, in this composition of planes grace and beauty of things should be intensely sought for. It seems to me that there is no more certain and fitting way for one who wishes to pursue this than to take them from nature, keeping in mind in what way nature, marvelous artificer of things, has composed the planes in beautiful bodies. In imitating these it is well both to take great care and to think deeply about them and to make great use of our above-mentioned veil. When we wish to put into practice what we have learned from nature, we will always first note the limits to which we shall draw our lines.

Up to here we have talked of the composition of planes; members follow. First of all, take care that all the members are suitable. They are suitable when size, function, kind, colour and other similar things correspond to a single beauty. If in a painting the head should be very large and the breasts small, the hand ample and the foot swollen, and the body puffed up, this composition would certainly be ugly to see. Therefore, we ought to have a certain rule for the size of the members. In this measuring it would be useful to isolate each bone of the animal, on this add its muscles, then clothe all of it with its flesh. Here someone will object that I have said above that the painter has only to do with things which are visible. He has a good memory. Before dressing a man we first draw him nude, then we enfold him in draperies. So in painting the nude we place first his bones and muscles which we then cover with flesh so that it is not difficult to understand where each muscle is beneath. Since nature has here carried the measurements to a mean, there is not a little utility in recognizing them. Serious painters will take this task on themselves from nature. They will put as much study and work into remembering what they take from nature as they do in discovering it. A thing to remember: to measure an animate body, take one of its members by which the others can be measured. Vitruvius, the architect, measured the height of man by the feet. It seems a more worthy thing to me for the other members to have reference to the head, because I have noticed as common in all men that the foot is as long as from the chin to the crown of the head. Thus one member is taken which corresponds to all the other members in such a way that none of them is non-proportional to the others in length and width.

Then provide that every member can fulfill its function in what it is doing. A runner is expected to throw his hands and feet, but I prefer a philosopher while he is talking to show much more modesty than skill in fencing. The painter Demon represented hoplites in a contest so that you would say one was sweating while another, putting down his weapons, clearly seemed to be out of breath. Ulysses has been painted so that you could recognize his insanity was only feigned and not real. An *istoria* is praised in Rome in which Meleager, a dead man, weighs down those who carry him. In every one of his members he appears completely dead—everything hangs, hands, fingers and head; everything falls heavily. Anyone who tries to express a dead body—which is certainly most difficult—will be a good painter, if he knows how to make each member of a body flaccid. Thus, in every painting take care that each member performs its function so

that none by the slightest articulation remains flaccid. The members of the dead should be dead to the very nails; of live persons every member should be alive in the smallest part. The body is said to live when it has certain voluntary movements. It is said to be dead when the members no longer are able to carry on the functions of life, that is, movement and feeling. Therefore the painter, wishing to express life in things, will make every part in motion—but in motion he will keep loveliness and grace. The most graceful movements and the most lively are those which move upwards into the air.

Again we say that in composition the members ought to have certain things in common. It would be absurd if the hands of Helen or of Ophigenia were old and gnarled, or if Nestor's breast were youthful and his neck smooth; or Ganymede's forehead were wrinkled and his thighs those of a labourer; if Milo, a very strong man, were to have short and slender flanks; if a figure whose face is fresh and full should have muscular arms and fleshless hands. Anyone painting Achemenides, found by Aeneas on the island, with the face which Virgil describes and the other members not following such consumptiveness, would be a painter to laugh at. For this reason, all the members ought to conform to a certain appropriateness. I should also like the members to correspond to one colour, because it would be little becoming for one who has a rosy, white and pleasant face to have the breast and the other members ugly and dirty. Therefore, in the composition of members we ought to follow what I have said about size, function, kind and colour. Then everything has its dignity. It would not be suitable to dress Venus or Minerva in the rough wool cloak of a soldier; it would be the same to dress Mars or Jove in the clothes of a woman. The antique painters took care in painting Castor and Pollux to make them appear brothers, but in the one a pugnacious nature appeared and in the other agility. They also took pains to show under the robe of Vulcan his handicap of hobbling—so great was their diligence in expressing the function, kind and dignity of whatever they painted.

The fame of the painter and of his art is found in the following—the composition of bodies. Certain things said in the composition of members also apply here. Bodies ought to harmonize together in the *istoria* in both size and function. It would be absurd for one who paints the Centaurs fighting after the banquet to leave a vase of wine still standing in such tumult. We would call it a weakness if in the same distance one person should appear larger than another, or if dogs should be equal to horses, or better, as I frequently see, if a man is placed in a building as in a closed casket where there is scarcely room to sit down. For these reasons, all bodies should harmonize in size and in function to what is happening in the *istoria*.

The *istoria* which merits both praise and admiration will be so agreeably and pleasantly attractive that it will capture the eye of whatever learned or unlearned person is looking at it and will move his soul. That which first gives pleasure in the *istoria* comes from copiousness and variety of things. In food and in music novelty and abundance please, as they are different from the old and usual. So the soul is delighted by all copiousness and variety. For this reason, copiousness and variety please in painting. I say that *istoria* is most copious in which in their places are mixed old, young, maidens, women, youths, young boys, fowls, small dogs, birds, horses, sheep, buildings, landscapes and all similar things. I will praise any copiousness which belongs in that *istoria*. Frequently the copiousness of the painter begets much pleasure when the beholder stands

staring at all the things there. However, I prefer this copiousness to be embellished with a certain variety, yet moderate and grave with dignity and truth. I blame those painters who, where they wish to appear copious, leave nothing vacant. It is not composition but dissolute confusion which they disseminate. There the *istoria* does not appear to aim to do something worthy but rather to be in tumult.

Source: Alberti, Leon Battista. *On Painting*. Translated by John R. Spencer. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, © 1956, 67–73. Used by permission of Yale University.

Part VIII

RELIGIOUS LIFE

Religious life has stirred some of humankind's deepest emotions. Men and women have suffered hardship, persecution, and death for the sake of maintaining their religion. Missionaries have left their home countries and traveled great distances to introduce others to the beliefs they hold dear. The Deities and Doctrines section focuses on what some of these religious beliefs were during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Some religions were born during this time. Muhammad (A.D. 570–632) started the religion of Islam after he had visions of the angel Gabriel. Other religions continued to develop; Shinto produced *Kojiki*, the most important textual description of traditional Japanese religion. The Protestant Reformation in sixteenth-century Europe produced new forms of Christianity during this period. New religious beliefs could spread rapidly; during this time period, Christianity became the religion of Europe. Buddhism dug deeper roots into China and Japan, and Islam swept the Arab world and into Spain, Africa, and western Asia. Religious beliefs often spread peacefully. Other times, new religious beliefs were met with resistance. Sir John Oldcastle was executed for continuing to advocate a Lollard form of Christianity, while Confucianists criticized the growth of Buddhism in China.

Most religions worldwide have specialists who help and guide others in prayer. These specialists are usually called priests, and the ceremonies that priests, and other believers, perform are called rituals. The Priests and Rituals section discusses the roles that these professionals and ceremonies played during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Worship, in the form of oral prayer or physical actions, dominated religious rituals. The centrality of prayer in Muslim life so impressed the Englishman Thomas Roe that he used their example to rebuke the lax prayer lives of Europeans. Priests were natural leaders in their local and national communities, and, as a result, they could wield huge political, as well as religious, power. The Donation of Constantine, a medieval forgery, attempted to place a significant part of western Europe directly under the political power of the Pope. Kings attempted to resist the usurpation of their own political power by regulating religion and priests within their kingdom. Religious life often intersected directly with political life.

Most, but not all, religions explored the question of what happens after death. Eyewitness accounts of the afterlife appear frequently. What happens in the next life,

however, can vary greatly from one tradition to the other. One document from China, for example, describes a soul that is stuffed up a giant's sleeve until the soul calls for help from Buddha. Xibalba, the kingdom of the dead in Maya religion, is a place of torment, featuring a house of knives and a house of bats, among others. Most religions offer a chance to escape from the worst sufferings of the afterlife. Often, as the documents show in the Death and the Afterlife section, living a virtuous and kind life in this world will lead to a good life in the next world. Death, then, was not the end for most peoples, and the afterlife encouraged people to live kindly, generously, virtuously, and courageously. Sir John Oldcastle could go to his death calmly because he fully expected to enter Paradise. Of course, their lack of fear could also make religious enemies even more dangerous.

Religious life could inspire some of the noblest actions, but also could create tremendous conflict.

Deities and Doctrines

By the Middle Ages, many of the world's prominent religions—Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism, and Hinduism—were well established. Even so, all these religions continued to develop, and other major religions (Islam in particular) were born, while other religions developed their first written texts (*Shinto*, for example).

The birth of Islam from *Muhammad's* (A.D. 570–632) visionary experiences has had global consequences for the medieval and modern world. Islam grew out of the religious melting pot of early medieval Arabia, in which Jewish, Christian, and tribal religions mixed freely, and sometimes violently. Muhammad himself combined a gift for religious preaching with the skill of a military commander. Document 6 outlines some of the key principles of Islam and some of its religious origins.

Christianity underwent particularly dramatic changes during the *Renaissance*, as the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century created new Christian churches independent of the hierarchical governing systems headquartered in the Mediterranean. As Document 3 indicates, reformers such as John Calvin stressed that the Bible, rather than the pope or bishops, was the ultimate, or even the sole, authority in doctrinal matters. This reverence for the scriptures, however, frequently went hand in hand with less literal readings of the New Testament. Calvin, for example, held that the Eucharist was deeply symbolic of Christ's body and blood, whereas the Roman Catholic hierarchy had a more philosophically literal understanding of Christ's words: "This is my body." Early Catholic thinkers responded to the thirst for the gospel books by providing biblical paraphrases, some of them quite moving (e.g., Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* was particularly popular; see Document 2), but none of them were able to satisfy the laity's demand for direct access to the New Testament.

Change and innovation in religion have frequently caused strife and conflict. The challenge to medieval Christianity posed by the European reformers often resulted in violent interventions. Document 7, for example, relates the trial of Sir John Oldcastle, who in the early fifteenth century was tried for heresy, found guilty, and eventually punished with death. Such discord was hardly just a European phenomenon; Document 4 demonstrates resistance of *Confucianism* to the growing popularity in China

of Buddhism, which had spread from northern India and was considered foreign—and therefore bad—by thinkers such as Han Wen-Kung (A.D. 768–824).

Religion, however, was also frequently a force for compassion. The lynchpin of the mystic thought of Julian of Norwich (Document 1) was compassion. Influenced by the “affective piety” of the late Middle Ages, in which the believer focused on emotionally responding to Christ’s life and message, Julian argued that the suffering of Christ taught believers to have compassion for and mercy on their fellow sinners. According to Julian, sin caused the sinner suffering, and this suffering pulled compassion and mercy from Christ just as contemplation of Christ’s suffering pulled compassion from the Christian believer.

Indeed, one of the basic tenets of many religions, including Shinto (Document 5) in Japan, is that God (or the gods) created the universe. As a result, the physical world is in some sense divine and is in some sense divinely good. These religions are fundamentally optimistic. The world may be getting worse and worse, but it always has some chance of returning to its original pristine connection with the heavens. Paradise, or Eden, may be lost, but it can still be regained.

1. Julian of Norwich: A Mystic’s Vision of Christ

Mystic visions have played a role in Christianity since its earliest days. The biblical book of Revelation, for example, consists of an apocalyptic vision. Christians in the Middle Ages continued to experience visions of God. Some mystics, such as Bridget of Sweden, became famous internationally and were considered saints in their own lifetimes. Others, such as the author of the following extract, the English mystic Julian of Norwich (1342–c. 1416), achieved only a local celebrity; people from eastern England knew of Julian and visited her, but she did not become renowned outside of her local area.

Julian’s lack of international fame is partly due to the fact that she was not particularly unique. Several late medieval women experienced visions, and many more lived the same austere lifestyle as Julian of Norwich. These women, called anchorites, walled themselves into a room from which they never emerged for the rest of their lives. Food and other necessities were delivered to them in their room, and waste products were carted away. Although these anchorites never left the one room, they were not necessarily cut off from the outside world. Julian, for example, regularly received visitors seeking her advice about spiritual matters. Although these women were not priests, they were considered religious experts.

Julian used her renown to preach a simple, but meaningful, message focusing on compassion. As a result of a near-death experience that she underwent at the age of 30 (described in part in the extract), Julian came to realize fully that existence is radically dependent on God’s love. Julian described later in her work that God has compassion for sinners in the same way that people have compassion for Christ on the cross. Just as Christians cannot look at the cross and not feel sorry for Christ, so Christ cannot look at sinners and not feel compassion for them. As a result, sin does not tear us away from God—it is simply not that powerful. Instead, sin causes God to feel more compassion for, indeed to love, that sinner more. Although Julian’s theology is more complex than this summary can suggest, her message was one of peace, forgiveness, and trust in Christ.

As the following extract makes clear, meditating on the sufferings of Christ was key to Julian's visionary experience. Julian's vision begins in earnest when the curate (local priest) holds up a crucifix for the dying Julian to gaze on; seeing the cross triggers Julian's compassion for her dying Lord. This compassion then leads ultimately to further understanding of Christ's compassion for us. Although Julian's longing to feel Christ's pains, his "passion" in the sense of suffering, may strike some modern readers as odd, fascination with the suffering of Christ was common in the later Middle Ages. This form of piety, in which the believer seeks to become emotionally united with the suffering Christ, is called "affective piety."

And when I was thirty years old and a half, God sent me a bodily sickness in which I lay three days and three nights, and on the fourth night I took all the rites of Holy Church and expected not to live to daytime, but after this I languished for two days and two nights. And on the third night, I thought often that I was about to die, as did those who were with me. Since I was still young, I thought it a great pity to die, not because there was something on earth that I wanted to live for, nor because I was afraid of any pain (for I trusted in God's mercy), but rather because I wanted to live so that I might love God better and for a longer time, so that I might have more knowledge and love of God in the bliss of Heaven. For the time that I had lived here seemed so little and so short, as if it were nothing in comparison to the reward of endless bliss. Wherefore I thought, "Good Lord, may my living no longer be to Your worship?" And I understood by my reason and by feeling the pain that I was going to die, and I assented fully to it, that all my will should be in accordance with God's will. Thus I lasted until day, and by then my body was numb from the middle down. Then I was propped up in a sitting position, in order to have more freedom of heart to be at God's will, and to think on God while my life should last.

My curate was sent for to be at my death, and by the time he came my eyes had lost focus and I was unable to speak. He placed the cross before my face and said, "I have brought you the image of thy creator and Savior. Look upon it and take comfort." I thought I was fine already, because my eyes were looking up straight into heaven where I trusted to come by the mercy of God, but I nevertheless consented to look on the face of the Crucifix, if I could; and so I did, because I thought that I might be able to look straight ahead longer than I could upwards. After this my sight began to fail, and it was all dark around me in the chamber, as if it had been night, save on the image of the cross wherein I beheld a common light, and I knew not how. All that was beside the cross was ugly to me, as if it had been overrun with devils. After this, the other part of my body began to die, so that I had barely any feeling left, with shortness of breath; and then I expected to die shortly.

Suddenly all my pain was taken from me, and I was as healthy in all my body as I ever was before. I marveled at this sudden change, for I thought it was the mysterious working of God, and not of nature; but, despite this feeling of ease, I did not expect to live longer. Nor was this feeling of ease true ease for me, because I thought that I would rather be delivered out of this world. Then it suddenly came into my mind that I should desire the second wound of our Lord's gracious gift, that my body might be fulfilled with the thought and feeling of His blessed passion, for I wished that His pains would be my pains, with compassion and consequent longing for God. But in this I never desired

the bodily sight or showing of God, but compassion as a kind soul might have with our Lord Jesus that for love would become a mortal man; and therefore I desired to suffer with Him.

Then I suddenly saw the red blood trickle down from under the garland, hot and fresh and right plentifully, as if it were the time of His passion when the garland of thorns was pressed on His blessed head. Right so, both God and man, the same that suffered thus for me, I conceived truly and mightily that it was Himself showed me it without any go-between.

And in the same showing, suddenly the Trinity filled the heart utterly with great joy; and I understood that it would be like this in heaven without end, for everyone that will go there. For the Trinity is God, God is the Trinity. The Trinity is our maker and keeper, the Trinity is our everlasting lover, everlasting joy and bliss, by our Lord Jesus Christ; and this was shown first and foremost, for where Jesus appeareth, the blessed Trinity is understood, as I see it.

And I said, "Blessings, Lord." This I said for reverence in my meaning with a mighty voice, and full greatly was I astonished for wonder and marvel that I had, that He that is so reverend and dreadful would be so comfortable with a sinful creature living in wretched flesh. This I took to be the time of my temptation, for I thought that, by the permission of God, I would be tempted by devils before I died. With this sight of the blessed passion, with the Godhead that I saw in my understanding, I knew well that it was strong enough for me, yes, and to all creatures living, against all the devils of Hell and spiritual temptation.

Then He brought our blessed Lady to my understanding. I saw her spiritually in bodily likeness, a simple and meek maid, young of age and little grown beyond childhood, in the stature that she was when she conceived the child. Also God showed the wisdom and the truth of her soul, wherein I understood the reverent beholding with which she beheld her God and maker, marveling with great reverence that He would be born of her that was a simple creature of His own making. And this wisdom and truth, knowing the greatness of her maker and the littleness of herself, that is made, caused her to say full meekly to Gabriel, "Behold, I am God's handmaid." In this sight I understood truly that she is more than all that God made beneath her in worthiness and grace. For above her is nothing that is made but the blessed manhood of Christ, as I see it.

At this same time, our Lord showed to me a spiritual sight of His friendly loving. I saw that He is to us everything that is good and comfortable for us. He is our clothing, that for love wraps us up, covers us, and all surrounds us in tender love, that He may never leave us, being to us everything that is good, as I understand it. He then showed me also a little thing the size of a hazelnut in the palm of my hand, and it was as round as a ball. I looked thereupon with the eye of my understanding and thought, "What may this be?" And it was generally answered thus: "It is all that is made." I marveled how it might last, for it seemed to me that it might suddenly have fallen and been destroyed, because it was so small. And I was answered in my understanding: "It will always last because God loves it; and so does everything owe existence to the love of God."

Source: Julian of Norwich. *Shewings*. Chapters 3–5. Translated and adapted by Lawrence Morris for this encyclopedia. See also *A Book of Showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich*. 2 vols. Ed. by Edmund Colledge and James Walsh. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978.

2. Nicolas Love on the Benefits of Meditating on Christ's Life

Nicholas Love (d. c. 1424) was one of the leading English churchmen of the early fifteenth century. Love was particularly concerned with the proper religious education of the laity, and his influential *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (c. 1410) offered a model of Christian spirituality for the average Christian. In *The Mirror*, as the following excerpt shows, Love advocates meditation on the life of Christ as a means of making spiritual progress and of cultivating a virtuous life. *The Mirror* leads the reader through the life of Christ, while making useful observations about the spiritual significance of moments in Christ's life. Love also encourages an active use of the imagination; he urges the reader to imagine the scene so vividly that it actually comes to life before one's eyes.

Works such as *The Mirror* also highlight the divide between the clergy and the laity during the later Middle Ages. Bishops, priests, theologians, and the clergy in general were expected to read the Bible in Latin. Most laypeople, however, were unable to read Latin and therefore did not have direct access to biblical texts. Two movements developed to address the laity's hunger for information about Christ. One movement advocated translating the Bible into English, and the other movement created paraphrases of the Bible interspersed with commentary. Nicholas Love belonged to the latter movement; the first movement was viewed as potentially heretical by the early 1400s. Although officially sanctioned Bible translations did circulate, many translations were associated with the English Christian sect known as the Lollards, a group that was considered heretical by the Church hierarchy. For the most part, the clergy believed that laypeople did not have enough education to understand the Bible correctly, and therefore the hierarchy advocated the production of more explanatory texts instead of direct Bible translations. Although this position seems snooty by today's standards, it is true that the vast majority of the laity did not have a significant amount of formal schooling and were much less educated than the higher-ranking ecclesiastical clergy. Just as school officials today do not allow students free access to all chemicals in a science laboratory, Church officials thought it unwise to allow free access to all aspects of the Bible.

Among other virtuous commandments of the holy virgin Cecile, it is written that she always carried the gospel of Christ hidden in her breast; that is, she chose certain very devout passages out of the blessed life of our lord Jesus Christ written in the gospel, in which she set her meditation and her thought night and day with a clean heart and full attention. And when she had so fully gone over the whole manner of his life, she began again. And so, with a liking and sweet taste, spiritually chewing in that manner the gospel of Christ, she set and carried it always in the privacy of her breast. I counsel you to do the same. For, among all the spiritual exercises, I believe that this is the most necessary and the most profitable, and that it may bring to the highest degree of good living whoever greatly despises the world, with patience in the face of suffering and adversity, for gaining and increasing virtues. For truly, you will never find a better way than the blessed life of our lord Jesus, who was always perfect and without fault, to teach people first of all, to strengthen their hearts against vanities and the deceptive pleasures of the world, and to strengthen them in the midst of tribulations and adversities, and, furthermore to keep them from vices and to gain virtues.

First, as I say, the frequent and habitual meditation upon the blessed life of Jesus strengthens the soul and heart against vanities and the deceptive pleasures of the world. This is openly seen in the above-mentioned Cecile; when she filled her heart so fully

with the life of Christ, the vanities of the world were unable to enter into her. Indeed, amongst all the great pomp of weddings, where many vain things are done, such as songs and organ playing, she set her heart firmly in God, saying and praying: “Lord, let my heart and my body be clean and undefiled, so that I shall not be counfounded.”

Second, where would martyrs get their strength against the various tortures, except, as Saint Bernard says, that they set all their heart and devotion on the passion and the wounds of Christ. When a martyr’s body is torn to pieces, and he is nevertheless joyful and glad despite all his pain, where do you believe that his soul and heart are then? Truly, they are in the wounds of Christ; indeed the wounds are not closed, but rather open and wide so that they can enter in, or else the martyr would feel the hard iron and would not be able to bear the pain and the sorrow, but would soon fail and deny God. And not only martyrs, but also confessors, virgins, and all that live righteously, despising the world, keep patience, and are even joyful and glad in soul as we frequently see, despite tribulations, sicknesses, and penitential deeds. How so? Because their hearts, through devout meditation of Christ’s blessed life, are more in Christ’s body than in their own bodies.

Thirdly, that it keeps vices away and disposes one to gain virtues can be shown by the fact that the perfection of all virtues is to be found in Christ’s life. For where will you find so clear an example and setting forth of noble charity, of perfect poverty, of deep humility, of patience and other virtues, as in the blessed life of Jesus Christ. Wherefore Saint Bernard says that anyone who wishes to gain virtues does so in vain if he looks anywhere but to the lord of virtues, whose life is the mirror of temperance and all other virtues. Behold the great comfort and spiritual profit that is in the devout contemplation of Christ’s blessed life.

Wherefore, you who desire to feel truly the fruit of this book, you must with all your thought and effort make present in your soul those things that books record were said or done by our lord Jesus, and that busily, continually, and with pleasure, as if you heard them with your very own ears, or saw them with your eyes, all the while ignoring and leaving behind all other concerns and occupations.

And although the beginning of this book concerns the blessed life of Christ at his incarnation, nevertheless we may first devoutly imagine and contemplate some things done earlier, concerning God and his angels in heaven, and also about the blessed virgin, our Lady, Saint Mary on earth. And, since this book is divided and separated into seven sections, after the seven days of the week, those that wish should contemplate the proper section on that day. Therefore, on Monday, the first workday of the week, does this spiritual work begin, recounting first the devout desire of the holy angels in heaven for man’s restoring and for his salvation, so as to stir men to worship them especially on that day, since holy church keeps them especially in mind on that day. And the subjects in this book are pertinent and profitable for meditation on the aforementioned days, but also during special times of the year; for example, during advent, one can read and devoutly contemplate from the beginning the Nativity of our Lord Jesus, and so forth.

Source: Love, Nicholas. *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. Translated and modified by Lawrence Morris for this volume. See also Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. Ed. by Michael Sargent. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2004.

3. John Calvin on Scripture and Miracles

John Calvin (1509–1564) was a major leader of the Protestant Reformation, the religious movement that swept northern Europe in the sixteenth century. The Reformation sought to return the Christian Church to what the reformers thought were the original beliefs of Christianity, as outlined in the New Testament. According to the reformers, the medieval Church had allowed idolatrous practices to creep into Christian worship, and it was therefore necessary to strip the Church of such accretions. Tradition, therefore, was not a safe guide to valid Christian worship; instead, the sacred scriptures alone provided access to legitimate and divinely appointed Christianity.

Although Reformation rhetoric claimed to value scriptures more than did the official Catholic Church, in reality, both sides believed in the binding authority of scripture—they differed not in a reverence for the New Testament but rather in how to interpret the New Testament. The Roman Catholic hierarchy, for example, interpreted Christ's words at the last supper, "This is my body," in a much more literal way than Calvin, who thought that these words were richly symbolic but that the bread did not in any real way change into the body of Christ.

In the following extract, Calvin outlines and refutes some of the objections that Catholics made to his teachings. Judging from the space that Calvin allotted to each rebuttal, he found the Reformation Church's apparent lack of miracles to be the most troubling point raised by the Catholic hierarchy. Calvin's need to refute this point in depth suggests that his contemporaries found miracles to be convincing evidence of doctrinal orthodoxy.

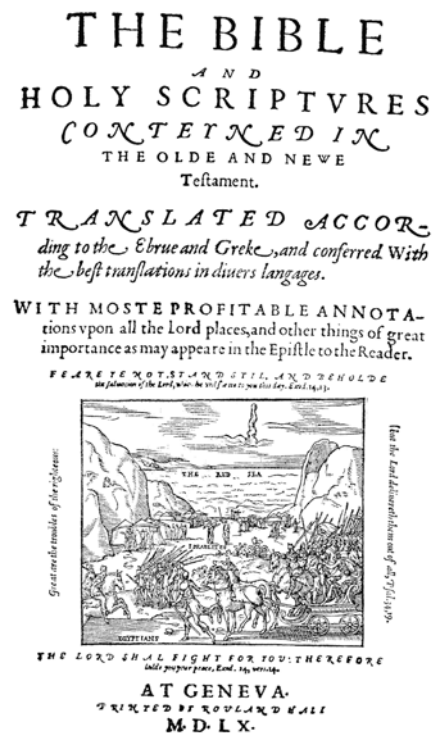
Calvin's mastery of biblical argument is clear in the extract, but in keeping with the times, Calvin did not limit his argument to academic concerns alone. He also included ad hominem attacks; in this extract, for example, he argues that priests resist the Reformation just because they want to keep their jobs in the Catholic Church so that they can continue to eat gourmet cuisine (a metaphor for excessive interest in earthly goods). Although some priests probably were motivated by financial incentives, the majority of Catholics were clearly sincere in their beliefs, and Calvin's attack seems underhanded by today's standards, especially when we consider that Calvin prefaced his work to King Francis I of France in an effort to secure political, and perhaps even financial, backing for his own Church system. Sixteenth-century standards of argument, however, were more permissive than modern academic standards.

Look not to our adversaries (I mean the priesthood, at whose beck and pleasure others ply their enmity against us), and consider with me for a little by what zeal they are actuated. The true religion which is delivered in the Scriptures, and which all ought to hold, they readily permit both themselves and others to be ignorant of, to neglect and despise; and they deem it of little moment what each man believes concerning God and Christ, or disbelieves, provided he submits to the judgment of the Church with what they call implicit faith; nor are they greatly concerned though they should see the glory of God dishonoured by open blasphemies, provided not a finger is raised against the primacy of the Apostolic See and the authority of holy mother Church. Why, then, do they war for the mass, purgatory, pilgrimage, and similar follies, with such fierceness and acerbity, that though they cannot prove one of them from the word of God, they deny godliness can be safe without faith in these things—faith drawn out, if I may so express it, to its utmost stretch? Why? Just because their belly is their God,

and their kitchen their religion; and they believe, that if these were away they would not only not be Christians, but not even men. For although some wallow in luxury, and others feed on slender crusts, still they all live by the same pot, which without that fuel might not only cool, but altogether freeze. He, accordingly, who is most anxious about his stomach, proves the fiercest champion of his faith. In short, the object on which all to a man are bent, is to keep their kingdom safe or their belly filled; not one gives even the smallest sign of sincere zeal.

Nevertheless, they cease not to assail our doctrine, and to accuse and defame it in what terms they may, in order to render it either hated or suspected. They call it new, and of recent birth; they carp at it as doubtful and uncertain; they bid us tell by what miracles it has been confirmed; they ask if it be fair to receive it against the consent of so many holy Fathers and the most ancient custom; they urge us to confess either that it is schismatical in giving battle to the Church, or that the Church must have been without life during the many centuries in which nothing of the kind was heard. Lastly, they say there is little need of argument, for its quality may be known by its fruits, namely, the large number of sects, the many seditious disturbances, and the great licentiousness which it has produced. No doubt, it is a very easy matter for them, in presence of an ignorant and credulous multitude, to insult over an undefended cause; but were an opportunity of mutual discussion afforded, that acrimony which they now pour out upon us in frothy torrents, with as much license as impunity, would assuredly boil dry.

1. First, in calling it new, they are exceedingly injurious to God, whose sacred word deserved not to be charged with novelty. To them, indeed, I very little doubt it is new, as Christ is new, and the Gospel new; but those who are acquainted with the old saying of Paul, that Christ Jesus “died for our sins, and rose again for our justification” (Rom. iv. 25), will not detect any novelty in us. That it long lay buried and unknown is the guilty consequence of man’s impiety; but now when, by the kindness of God, it is restored to us, it ought to resume its antiquity just as the returning citizen resumes his rights.
2. It is owing to the same ignorance that they hold it to be doubtful and uncertain; for this is the very thing of which the Lord complains by his prophet, “The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master’s crib; but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider” (Isaiah i. 3). But however they may sport with its uncertainty, had they to seal their own doctrine with their blood, and at the expense of life, it would be seen what value they put upon it. Very different is our confidence—a confidence which is not appalled by the terrors of death, and therefore not even by the judgment-seat of God.
3. In demanding miracles from us, they act dishonestly; for we have not coined some new gospel, but retain the very one the truth of which is confirmed by all the miracles which Christ and the apostles ever wrought. But they have a peculiarity which we have not—they can confirm their faith by constant miracles down to the present



The Geneva Bible. Produced under John Calvin’s auspices, this English-language Bible aimed to encourage the Protestant Reformation in England. The title page image of the Jews crossing the Red Sea symbolically represents Protestant believers resisting the Catholic Church.

day! Nay rather, they allege miracles which might produce wavering in minds otherwise well disposed; they are so frivolous and ridiculous, so vain and false. But were they even exceedingly wonderful, they could have no effect against the truth of God, whose name ought to be hallowed always, and everywhere, whether by miracles, or by the natural course of events. The deception would perhaps be more specious if Scripture did not admonish us of the legitimate end and use of miracles. Mark tells us (Mark xvi.20) that the signs which followed the preaching of the apostles were wrought in confirmation of it; so Luke also relates that he Lord “gave testimony to the word of his grace, and granted signs and wonders to be done” by the hands of the apostles (Acts xiv.3). Very much to the same effect are those words of the apostle, that salvation by a preached gospel was confirmed, “the Lord bearing witness with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles” (Heb ii. 4). Those things which we are told are seals of the gospels, shall we pervert to the subversion of the gospel? What was destined only to confirm the truth, shall we misapply to the confirmation of lies? The proper course, therefore, is, in the first instance, to ascertain and examine the doctrine which is said by the Evangelist to precede; then after it has been proved, but not till then, it may receive confirmation from miracles. But the mark of sound doctrine given by our Saviour himself is its tendency to promote the glory not of men, but of God (John vii. 18; viii. 50). Our Saviour having declared this to be test of doctrine, we are in error if we regard as miraculous, works which are used for any other purpose than to magnify the name of God. And it becomes us to remember that Satan has his miracles, which, although they are tricks rather than true wonders, are still such as to delude the ignorant and unwary. Magicians and enchanters have always been famous for miracles, and miracles of an astonishing description have given support to idolatry: these, however, do not make us converts to the superstitions either of magicians or idolaters. In old times, too, the Donatists (in Joan. Tract. 23), “The Lord put us on our guard against those wonder-workers, when he foretold that false prophets would arise, who, by lying signs and diverse wonders, would, if it were possible, deceive the very elect” (Matth. xxiv. 24). Paul, too, gave warning that the reign of antichrist would be “withal power, and signs and lying wonders” (2 Thess. ii. 9).

But our opponents tell us that their miracles are brought not by idols, not by sorcerers, not by false prophets, but by saints: as if we did not know it to be one of Satan’s wiles to transform himself “into an angel of light” (2 Cor. xi. 14). The Egyptians, in whose neighbourhood Jeremiah was buried, anciently sacrificed and paid other divine honours to him (Hieron. in Praef. Jerem). Did they not make an idolatrous abuse of the holy prophet of God? And yet, in recompense for so venerating his tomb, they thought that they were cured of the bite of serpents. What, then, shall we say but that it has been, and always will be, a most just punishment of God, to send on those who do not receive the truth in the love of it, “strong delusion, that they should believe a lie”? (2 Thess. ii. 11). We, then, have no lack of miracles, sure miracles, that cannot be gainsaid; but those to which our opponents lay claim are mere delusions of Satan, inasmuch as they draw off the people from the true worship of God to vanity.

Source: Calvin, John. *Institutes of Christian Religion*. Translated by Henry Beveridge. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1845, pp. 7–10. Reprinted 1989.

4. A Confucian Tract against Buddhism

Politics and religion have mixed throughout human history. Just as religious leaders such as John Calvin (Document 3) hoped to gain political support for their religious movements in sixteenth-century Europe, so too did Confucianists such as Han Wen-Kung (A.D. 768–824) attempt to gain imperial favor in Tang dynasty China. In the following extract, Han Wen-Kung urges the emperor to reject Buddhism in favor of traditional Confucianism.

Han Wen-Kung based his argument on two main points: (1) the emperors before the rise of Buddhism were longer-lived and enjoyed longer reigns than those emperors who embraced Buddhism, and (2) Buddhism is a fundamentally foreign religion that does not encapsulate traditional Chinese values. Although modern Western audiences associate the Far East strongly with Buddhism today, Han Wen-Kung's second point reflects a time in which Buddhism's origins in India were widely known and recognized. Han Wen-Kung achieved such prominence as a Confucian scholar that many serious Confucianists traditionally wash their hands in rose water before picking up his works.

ON A BONE FROM BUDDHA'S BODY

Your Majesty's servant would submit that Buddhism is but a cult of the barbarians, and that its spread in China dates only from the later Han dynasty, and that the ancients knew nothing of it.

Of old, Huang Ti sat on the throne one hundred years, dying at the age of one hundred and ten. Shao Hao sat on the throne eighty years and died at the age of a hundred. Chuan Hsu sat on the throne seventy-nine years and died at the age of a hundred and fifty. The Emperor Yao sat on the throne ninety-eight years and died at the age of a hundred and eighteen; and the Emperors Shun and Yu both attained the age of one hundred years. At that epoch the Empire was tranquil, and the people happy in the attainment of old age; and yet no Buddha had yet reached China. Subsequently, the Emperor T'ang of the Yin dynasty reached the age of a hundred years; his grandson T'ai Mou reigned for seventy-five years; and Wu Ting reigned for fifty-nine years. Their exact ages are not given in the annals, but at the lowest computation these can hardly have been less than a hundred years. Wen Wang of the Chou dynasty reached the age of ninety-seven, Wu Wang reached the age of ninety-three; and Mu Wang reigned for one hundred years; and as at that date likewise the Buddhist religion had not reached China, these examples of longevity cannot be attributed to the worship of the Lord Buddha.

The Buddhist religion was in fact introduced during the reign of Ming Ti of the Han dynasty; and that Emperor sat on the throne but eighteen years. After him came rebellion upon rebellion with short-lived monarchs.

During the Sung, Ch'i Liang, Ch'en, Yuan and Wei dynasties, and so on downwards, the Buddhistic religion gradually spread. The duration of those dynasties was comparatively short, only the Emperor Wu Ti of the Liang dynasty reigning for so long as forty-eight years. Thrice he devoted himself to the service of Buddha; at the sacrifices in his ancestral shrines no living victims were used; he daily took but one single meal, and that composed of fruits and vegetables; yet he was harassed by the rebel Ho Ching and died of hunger at T'ai-ch'eng, soon after which his dynasty

came to an end. He sought happiness in the worship but found misfortune instead; from which it must be clear to all that Buddha himself is after all but an incompetent god.

When Kao Tsu obtained the Empire he contemplated the extermination of this religion; but the officials of that day were men of limited capabilities; they did not understand the way of our rulers of old; they did not understand the exigencies of the past and present; they did not understand how to avail themselves of His Majesty's wisdom, and root out this evil. Therefore, the execution of this design was delayed, to your servant's infinite sorrow.

Now your present Majesty, endowed with wisdom and courage such as are without parallel in the annals of the past thousand years, prohibited on your accession to the throne the practice of receiving candidates, whether male or female, for priestly orders, prohibiting likewise the erection of temples and monasteries; which caused your servant to believe that the mantle of Kao Tsu had descended on Your Majesty's shoulders. And even should prohibition be impossible, patronage would still be out of the question. Yet your servant has now heard that instructions have been issued to the priestly community to proceed to Feng-hsiang and receive a bone of Buddha, and that from a high tower in the palace Your Majesty will view its introduction into the Imperial Palace; also that orders have been sent to the various temples, commanding that the relic be received with the proper ceremonies. Now, foolish though your



A scene from the life of Confucius. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

servant may be, he is well aware that your Majesty does not do this in the vain hope of deriving advantages therefrom; but that in the fullness of our present plenty, and in the joy which reigns in the hearts of all, there is a desire to fall in with the wishes of the people in the celebration at the capital of this delusive mummary. For how could the wisdom of Your Majesty stoop in participation in such ridiculous beliefs? Still the people are slow of perception and easily beguiled; and should they behold Your Majesty thus earnestly worshipping at the feet of Buddha they would cry out, "See! the Son of Heaven, the All-Wise, is a fervent believer; who are we, his people, that we should spare our bodies?" Then would ensue a scorching of heads and burning of fingers; crowds would collect together, and tearing off their clothes and scattering their money, would spend their time from morn to eve in imitation of Your Majesty's example. The result would be that by and by young and old, seized with the same enthusiasm, would totally neglect the business of their lives; and should Your Majesty not prohibit it, they would be found flocking to the temples, ready to cut off an arm or slice their bodies as an offering to the God. Thus would our traditions and customs be seriously injured, and ourselves become a laughing-stock on the face of the earth; truly, no small matter! For Buddha was a barbarian. His language was not the language of China; his clothes were of an alien cut. He did not utter the maxims of our ancient rulers, nor conform to the customs which they have handed down. He did not appreciate the bond between prince and minister, the tie between father and son. Supposing, indeed, this Buddha had come to our capital in the flesh, under an appointment from his own State, then your Majesty might have received him with a few words of admonition, bestowing on him a banquet and a suit of clothes, previous to sending him out of the country with an escort of soldiers, and thereby have avoided any dangerous influence on the minds of the people. But what are the facts? The bone of a man long since dead and decomposed, is to be admitted, forsooth, within the precincts of the Imperial Palace! Confucius said, "Pay all respect to spiritual beings, but keep them at a distance." And so, when the princes of old paid visits of condolence to one another, it was customary for them to send on a magician in advance, with a peach wand in his hand, whereby to expel all noxious influences previous to the arrival of his master. Yet now Your Majesty is about to causelessly introduce a disgusting object, personally taking part in the proceedings without the intervention either of the magician or of his peach wand. Of the officials, not one has raised his voice against such an act. Therefore our servant, overwhelmed with shame, implores Your Majesty that this bone may be handed over for destruction by fire or water, whereby the root of this great evil may be exterminated for all time, and the people know how much the wisdom of Your Majesty surpasses that of ordinary men. The glory of such a deed will be beyond all praise. And should the Lord Buddha have power to avenge this insult by the infliction of some misfortune, then let the vials of his wrath be poured out upon the person of your servant who now calls Heaven to witness that he will not repent him of his oath.

In all gratitude and sincerity your Majesty's servant now humbly resents, with fear and trembling, this Memorial for your Majesty's benign consideration.

Source: Giles, Herbert A. *Gems of Chinese Literature: Prose*. 2nd ed. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1923, pp. 124–28.

5. The Cosmic Beginning, as Told in the Japanese Text Kojiki

The Kojiki, written down from oral tradition in the year 712, is the oldest text in a form of the Japanese language and is a central sacred text for the Shinto religion. Shinto, the indigenous religion of Japan, is a loosely organized religion that consists of traditional rituals and folk beliefs—there is no recognized central governing body.

The start of the Kojiki, given here, outlines the creation of the earth. Much of this creation results from the sexual intercourse of two major deities, the Male-Who-Invites and the Female-Who-Invites, though some deities are created by other means. The deity Metal-Mountain-Prince, for example, was born from the vomit of the Female-Who-Invites.

Although this creation story is foreign to Western audiences, the basic principles of the Kojiki story are similar to those contained in the Judeo-Christian tradition: the divine creation of the physical world, the continued connection between heaven and earth, and divine justice. Of course, Shinto differs in so far as it is polytheistic, and it associates individual deities very closely with specific physical features (e.g., the Sea-Deity). In this regard, however, Shinto resembles other polytheistic religions, such as Greek paganism (e.g., Poseidon as sea-god). Similar to other religions, the Kojiki cosmogony also establishes gender roles—the gods produce bad offspring when the woman speaks before the man and good offspring when the man speaks before the woman.

THE BEGINNING OF HEAVEN AND EARTH

The names of the Deities that were born in the Plain of High Heaven when the Heaven and Earth began were the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven, next the High-August-Producing-Wondrous Deity, next the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity. These three Deities were all Deities born alone, and hid their persons. The names of the Deities that were born next from a thing that sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot when the earth, young and like unto floating oil, drifted about medusa-like, were the Pleasant-Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder Deity, next the Heavenly-Eternally-Standing-Deity. These two Deities were likewise born alone, and hid their persons.

The five Deities in the above list are separate Heavenly Deities.

THE SEVEN DIVINE GENERATIONS

The names of the Deities that were born next were the Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity, next the Luxuriant-Integrating-Master-Deity. These two Deities were likewise Deities born alone, and hid their persons. The names of the Deities that were born next were the Deity Mud-Earth-Lord next his younger sister the Deity Mud-Earth-Lady; next the Germ-Integrating-Deity, next his younger sister the Life-Integrating-Deity; next the Deity Elder-of-the-Great-Place, next his younger sister the Deity Elder-Lady-of-the-Great-Place; next the Deity Perfect-Exterior, next his younger sister the Deity Oh-Awful-Lady; next the Deity the Male-Who-Invites, next his younger sister the Deity the Female-Who-Invites. From the Earthly-Eternally-Standing Deity down to the Deity the Female-Who-Invites in the previous list are what are termed the Seven Divine Generations.

THE ISLAND OF ONOGORO

Hereupon all the Heavenly Deities commanded the two Deities His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, ordering them to “make, consolidate, and give birth to this drifting land.” Granting to them an heavenly jewelled spear, they [thus] deigned to charge them. So the two Deities, standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven, pushed down the jewelled spear and stirred with it, whereupon, when they had stiffed the brine till it went curdle-curdle, and drew [the spear] up, the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear was piled up and became an island. This is the Island of Onogoro.

COURTSHIP OF THE DEITIES THE MALE-WHO-INVITES AND THE FEMALE-WHO-INVITES

Having descended from Heaven onto this island, they saw to the erection of an heavenly august pillar, they saw to the erection of an hall of eight fathoms. Then the August Male-Who-Invites asked his younger sister the August Female-Who-Invites, “How is your body made?” She responded, “My body grew by growing, but there is one part that did not grow fully.” Then the August Male-Who-Invites said, “My body grew by growing, but there is one part that grew too much. Therefore, would it be good for me to insert this part that grew too much into your part that did not grow fully, so that I will generate regions?” “It would be good.” Then the August Male-Who-Invites said, “Since this is so, let us place together our august parts, running around this celestial column.” Having made this agreement, the August Male-Who-Invites said, “Run around from the right, and I’ll run from the left.” When they had run around, the August Female-Who-Invites said, “O pleasant and lovable youth!” and the August Male-Who-Invites said, “O pleasant and lovely maiden!” When they finished, the August Male-Who-Invites said to his sister, “A woman should not speak first.” Nevertheless, they began the work of creation in bed, and they produced a son named Hirudo. This child they placed in a boat of reeds, and let it float away. Next they gave birth to the Island of Aha. This likewise is not reckoned among their children.

BIRTH OF THE EIGHT LANDS

Hereupon the two Deities took counsel, saying: “The children to whom we have now given birth are not good. It will be best to announce this in the august place of the Heavenly Deities.” They ascended forthwith to Heaven and enquired of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly Deities. Then the Heavenly Deities commanded and found out by grand divination, and ordered them, saying: “They were not good because the woman spoke first. Descend back again and amend your words.” So thereupon descending back, they again went round the heavenly august pillar as before. Thereupon his Augustness the Male-Who-Invites spoke first: “Ah! what a fair and lovely maiden! Afterwards his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites spoke: “Ah! what a fair and lovely youth!” When they had finished speaking in this way, they lay together and they produced a child, the Island of Ahaji, Ho-no-sa-wake. Next they gave birth to the Island of Futa-no in Iyo. This island has one body and four faces, and each face has a name. So the Land of Iyo is called Lovely-Princess; the Land of Sanuki is called Prince-Good-Boiled-Rice; the Land of Aha

is called the Princess-of-Great-Food; the Land of Tosa is called Brave-Good-Youth. Next they gave birth to the Islands of Mitsu-go near Oki, another name for which [islands] is Heavenly-Great-Heart-Youth. This island likewise has one body and four faces and each face has a name. So the land of Tsukushi is called White-Sun-Youth; the Land of Toyo is called Luxuriant-Sun-Youth; the Land of Hi is called Brave Sun-Confronting-Luxuriant-Wondrous-Lord-Youth; the Land of Kumaso is called Brave-Sun-Youth. Next they gave birth to the Island of Iki, another name for which is Heaven's One-Pillar. Next they gave birth to the Island of Tsu, another name for which is Heavenly-Hand-net-Good-Princess. Next they gave birth to the Island of Sado. Next they gave birth to Great-Yamato-the-Luxuriant-Island-of-the-Dragon-Fly, another name for which is Heavenly-August-Sky-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Lord-Youth. The name of "Land-of-the-Eight-Great-Islands" therefore originated in these eight islands having been born first. After that, when they had returned, they gave birth to the Island of Ko[-shima] in Kibi, another name for which [island] is Brave-Sun Direction-Youth. Next they gave birth to the Island of Adzuki, another name for which is Oho-Nu-De-Hime. Next they gave birth to the Island of Oho [-shima], another name for which is Oho-Tamaru-Wake. Next they gave birth to the Island of Hime, another name for which is Heaven's-One-Root. Next they gave birth to the Island of Chika, another name for which is Heavenly-Great-Male. Next they gave birth to the Island[s] of Futa-go, another name for which is Heaven's-Two-Houses, (Six islands in all from the Island of Ko, in Kibi to the Island of Heaven's-Two-Houses).

BIRTH OF THE VARIOUS DEITIES

When they had finished giving birth to countries, they began afresh giving birth to Deities. So the name of the Deity they gave birth to was the Deity Great-Male-of-the-Great-Thing; next they gave birth to the Deity Rock-Earth-Prince; next they gave birth to the Deity Rock-Nest-Princess; next they gave birth to the Deity Great-Door-Sun-Youth; next they gave birth to the Deity Heavenly-Blowing-Male; next they gave birth to the Deity Great-House-Prince; next they gave birth to the Deity Youth-of-the-Wind-Breath-the-Great-Male; next they gave birth to the Sea-Deity, whose name is the Deity Great-Ocean-Possessor; next they gave birth to the Deity of the Water-Gates, whose name is the Deity Prince-of-Swift-Autumn; next they gave birth to his younger sister the Deity Princess-of-Swift-Autumn. (Ten Deities in all from the Deity-Great-Male-of-the-Great-Thing to the Deity Princess-of-Autumn.) The names of the Deities given birth to by these two Deities Prince-of-Swift-Autumn and Princess-of-Swift-Autumn from their separate dominions of river and sea were: the Deity Foam-Calm; next the Deity Foam-Waves; next the Deity Bubble-Calm; next the Deity Bubble-Waves; next the Deity Heavenly-Water-Divider; next the Deity Earthly-Water-Divider; next the Deity Heavenly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor; next the Deity Earthly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor. (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Foam-Prince to the Deity Earthly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor.) Next they gave birth to the Deity of Wind, whose name is the Deity Prince-of-Long-Wind. Next they gave birth to the Deity of Trees, whose name is Deity Stem-Elder, next they gave birth to the Deity of Mountains, whose name is the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor. Next they gave birth to the Deity of Moors, whose name is the Deity Thatch-Moor-Princess, another name for whom is the Deity Moor-Elder. (Four Deities in all from

the Deity Prince-of Long-Wind to Moor-Elder.) The names of the Deities given birth to by these two Deities, the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor and the Deity Moor-Elder from their separate dominions of mountain and moor were: the Deity Heavenly-Elder-of-the-Passes; next the Deity Earthly-Elder-of-the-Passes; next the Deity Heavenly-Pass-Boundary, next the Deity Earthly-Pass-Boundary; next the Deity Heavenly-Dark-Door; next the Deity Earthly Dark-Door; next the Deity Great-Vale-Prince; next the Deity Great-Vale-Princess. (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Heavenly-Elder-of-the-Passes to the Deity Great-Vale-Princess.) The name of the Deity they next gave birth to was the Deity Bird's-Rock-Camphor-tree-Boat, another name for whom is the Heavenly-Bird-Boat. Next they gave birth to the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food. Next they gave birth to the Fire-Burning-Swift-Male-Deity, another name for whom is the Deity Fire-Shining-Prince, and another name is the Deity Fire-Shining-Elder.

RETIREMENT OF HER AUGUSTNESS THE PRINCESS-WHO-INVITES

Through giving birth to this child her august private parts were burnt, and she sickened and lay down. The names of the Deities born from her vomit were the Deity Metal-Mountain-Prince and next the Deity Metal-Mountain-Princess. The names of the Deities that were born from her feces were the Deity Clay-Viscid-Prince and next the Deity Clay-Viscid-Princess. The names of the Deities that were next born from her urine were the Deity Mitsuhanome and next the Young-Wondrous-Producing-Deity. The child of this Deity was called the Deity Luxuriant-Food-Princess. So the Deity the Female-Who-Invites, through giving birth to the Deity-of-Fire, at length divinely retired. (Eight Deities in all from the Heavenly-Bird-Boat to the Deity Luxuriant-Food-Princess.) The total number of islands given birth to jointly by the two Deities the Male-Who-Invites and the Female-Who-Invites was fourteen, and of Deities thirty-five. (These are such as were given birth to before the Deity Princess-Who-Invites divinely retired. Only the Island of Onogoro, was not given birth to, and moreover the Leech-Child and the Island of Aha are not reckoned among the children).

So then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites said: "Oh! Thine Augustness my lovely younger sister! Oh that I should have exchanged thee for this single child!" And as he crept round her august pillow, and as he crept round her august feet and wept, there was born from his august tears the Deity that dwells at Konomoto near Unewo on Mount Kagu, and whose name is the Crying-Weeping-Female-Deity. So he buried the divinely retired Deity the Female-Who-Invites on Mount Hiba at the boundary of the Land of Idzumo and the Land of Hahaki.

THE SLAYING OF THE FIRE-DEITY

Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites, drawing the ten-grasp sabre that was augustly girded on him, cut off the head of his child the Deity Shining-Elder. Here-upon the names of the Deities that were born from the blood that stuck to the point of the august sword and bespattered the multitudinous rock-masses were: the Deity Rock-Splitter, next the Deity Root-Splitter, next the Rock-Possessing-Male-Deity. The names of the Deities that were next born from the blood that stuck to the upper part of the august sword and again bespattered the multitudinous rock-masses were: the

Awfully-Swift-Deity, next the Fire-Swift-Deity, next the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, another name for whom is the Brave-Snapping-Deity, and another name is the Luxuriant-Snapping Deity. The names of the Deities that were next born from the blood that collected on the hilt of the august sword and leaked out between his fingers were: the Deity Kura-okami and next the Deity Kura-mitsuha. All the eight Deities in the above list, from the Deity Rock-Splitter to the Deity Kura-mitsuha, are Deities that were born from the august sword. The name of the Deity that was born from the head of the Deity Shining-Elder, who had been slain was the Deity Possessor-of-the-True-Pass-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his chest was the Deity Possessor-of-Descent-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his belly was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Innermost-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his private parts was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Dark-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his left hand was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Dense[ly-Wooded]-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his right hand was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outlying, Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his left foot was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Moorland-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his right foot was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outer-Mountains. (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Possessor-of-the-True-Pass-Mountains to the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outer-Mountains). So the name of the sword with which [the Male-Who-Invites] cut off [his son's head] was Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended, and another name was Majestic Point-Blade-Extended.

Source: Chamberlain, Basil Hall. *Translation of "Ko-ji-ki": or "Records of Ancient Matters."* Kobe: Asiatic Society of Japan, 1919, pp. 15–37. Chamberlain's Latin passages translated by Lawrence Morris.

6. Islamic Tradition

The sacred text of Islam is the Koran, which contains the teachings of Muhammad (A.D. 570–632). Muslims believe that Muhammad received the text directly from God, although non-Muslim scholars trace the influence of contemporaneous Christian and Jewish traditions on the text. In common with Judeo-Christianity, for example, Islam shares a conception of life after death. In this extract, for example, the righteous will be awarded with delicious fruit, refreshing non-inebriating drink, and beautiful companions. The evil-doers shall be forced to eat the fruit of the tree Ez-zakkoum, which grows from the depths of hell, and will have boiling water for the drink.

The connection of Islam with Judeo-Christianity, which Islam considers also to be "religions of the book" and therefore having some contact with God, can be seen in the list of prophets named in this extract. The passage cites as warners (i.e., prophets) many of the chief characters of the Hebrew scriptures: Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Moses, Aaron, Elijah (Elias), and Jonah (Jonas). Within this rhetoric, Muhammad becomes the last and greatest in a line of men sent by God to correct and teach the human race.

Sura 37—The Ranks

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
By the angels who range themselves in rank for Songs of Praise,

And by those who repel demons,
 And by those who recite the Koran for warning,
 Truly your God is One,
 Lord of the Heavens and of the Earth, and of all that is between them, and Lord of the East.
 Verily We have adorned the lower heaven with the adornment of the stars;
 They serve also as a guard against every rebellious Satan,
 That they overhear not the exalted Chiefs, for they are darted at from every side,
 Driven off and consigned to a lasting torment;
 While, of one steal a word by stealth, then a glistening flame pursueth him.
 Ask the Meccans then, Are they, or the angels whom We have made, the stronger creation?
 Ay, of adhesive clay have We created them.
 But thou marvellest and they mock;
 And when they are warned, no warning do they take;
 And when they see a sign, they fall to mocking,
 And say, "Lo, this is no other than clear sorcery;
 What! when dead, and become dust and bones, shall we indeed be raised?
 Our sires also of olden time?"
 Say, Yes; and ye shall be of no account,
 For, one shout only, and lo! they gaze around them
 And say, "Oh! woe to us! this is the day of reckoning;
 This is the day of decision which ye gainsaid as an untruth."
 "Gather together those who have acted unjustly, and their consorts, and the gods whom they
 worshipped
 Beside God; and guide them to the road for Hell.
 Set them forth: verily they shall be questioned."
 "How now, that ye help not one another?"
 But on this day they shall submit themselves to God,
 And shall turn towards one another with mutual questionings;
 They say, "In sooth, ye came to us in well-omened sort:"
 But they answer, "Nay, it was ye who would not believe; and we had no power over you. Nay,
 ye were people given to transgress;
 Just, therefore, is the doom which our Lord hath passed upon us. We shall surely taste it—
 And we made you err, for we had erred ourselves."
 Partners therefore shall they verily be in punishment on that day.
 Lo, thus will We deal with the wicked
 Who, when it was said to them, "There is no God but God," were proudful
 And exclaimed, "Shall we in sooth abandon our gods for a crazed poet?"
 Nay rather, he cometh with the Truth and confirmeth the Sent Ones of old.
 Ye shall verily taste the painful punishment,
 And ye shall not be rewarded but as ye have wrought,
 But the sincere servants of God
 Shall have a stated provision
 Of fruits; and honoured shall they be
 In the gardens of delight,
 Upon couches face to face;
 A cup shall be borne round among them from a fountain,
 Limpid, delicious to those who drink;
 It shall not oppress the sense, nor shall they therewith be inebriated,
 And they shall address one another with mutual questions.
 Saith one of them, "I truly had a bosom friend,
 Who said, 'Art thou indeed of those who credit it?
 When we are dead, and become dust and bones, shall we indeed be judged?'"

He shall say to those around him, "Will ye look down?"
And he shall look down, and see him in the midst of hell.
He shall say to him, "By God, thou hadst almost brought me to destruction;
And, but for the favour of my Lord, I had surely been of those given over into torment."
"Are we not then liable to die," say the blessed,
"Any other than our first death? and have we escaped the torment?"
Lo, this is indeed the great felicity!
For the like of this should the travailers travail!
Is this the better repast or the tree Ez-zakkoum?
Verily We have made it for a subject of discord to the wicked:
Lo, it is a tree which cometh up from the bottom of hell;
Its fruit is as it were the heads of Satans;
And, lo! the damned shall surely eat of it and fill their bellies with it:
then verily shall they have thereupon a mixture of boiling water;
Then verily shall they return to hell.
Lo, they found their fathers erring,
And they hastened on in their footsteps;
Also before them the greater number of the ancients had erred,
Though We had sent warners among them;
See then what was the end of these warned ones,
Except of God's sincere servants.
Noah called on Us of old, and We returned a gracious answer,
And we saved him and his family out of the great distress,
And We made his offspring the survivors;
And We left for him with posterity,
"Peace be on Noah throughout the worlds!"
Thus verily do We reward the well-doers;
Verily he was one of our believing servants;
Then the rest We drowned.
And truly, of his fellowship was Abraham,
When he brought to his Lord a perfect heart,
When he said to his father and to his people, "What is this ye worship?
Prefer ye with falsehood gods to God?
And what deem ye of the Lord of the worlds?"
So gazing he gazed towards the stars,
And said, "In sooth I am ill:"
And they turned their back on him and departed.
Then he went aside to their gods and said, "Do ye not eat?
What aileth you that ye do not speak?"
Then he turned upon them, with the right hand striking:
Then his tribesmen rushed on him with hurried steps—
He said, "Worship ye what ye carve,
When God hath created you, and the idols ye make?"
They said, "Build up a pyre for him and cast him into the glowing flame,"
And they chose to plot against him, but We brought them very low.
And he said, "Verily, I repair to my Lord who will guide me:
O Lord give me a son, of the righteous,"
So We announced to him a gracious youth.
And when he attained to such an age that he could assist him in work
His father said to him "My son, I have seen in a dream that I should sacrifice thee; consider
therefore what thou seest right."
He said, "My father, do what thou art bidden; of the patient, if God please, shalt thou find me."

And when they had surrendered themselves to the will of god, he laid him down upon his forehead:

Then cried We unto him, "O Abraham!

Now hast thou satisfied the vision." Lo, thus do We recompense the righteous!

This was indeed a clear trial,

And we ransomed his son with a costly victim,

And we left for him among posterity,

"Peace be on Abraham!"

Thus do We reward the well-doers;

Verily he was of our believing servants.

And We announced Isaac to him—a righteous Prophet—

And on him and on Isaac We bestowed our blessing. And among their offspring was a righteous man and one to his own hurt an undoubled sinner.

And of old, to Moses and to Aaron showed We favours:

And both of them, and their people, We rescued from the great distress:

And We succoured them, and they became the conquerors:

And We gave them (Moses and Aaron) each the lucid book:

And We guided them each into the right way:

And We left for them among posterity,

"Peace be on Moses and Aaron."

Lo, thus do We reward the well-doers;

Verily they were two of our believing servants.

And Elias truly was of our Sent Ones,

When he said to his people, "Fear ye not God?

Invoke ye Baal and forsake ye the most skilful Creator,

God your Lord, and Lord of your sires of old?"

But they treated him as a liar, and shall surely be consigned to punishment,

Except the servants of God who kept the true faith.

And We left for him among posterity,

"Peace be on Elias!"

Lo, thus do We reward the well-doers;

Verily he was one of our believing servants.

And Lot truly was of our Sent Ones,

When We rescued him and all his family,

Save an aged woman among those who tarried;

Afterward We destroyed the others.

And, lo! ye pass by their ruined dwellings in the morning

And at night: will ye not then understand?

And verily Jonas was one of the Apostles,

When he fled unto the laden ship,

And lots were cast, and he was doomed,

and the fish swallowed him, for he was blameworthy.

But had he not been of those who praise Us,

In its belly had he surely remained, till the day of resurrection.

And We cast him on the bare shore—and he was sick;

And We caused a gourd-plant to grow up over him,

And We sent him to a hundred thousand persons, or even more,

And because they believed, We continued their enjoyments for a season.

Inquire then of the Meccans whether thy Lord hath the daughters, and they, the sons?

Have We created angels females? and were they witnesses?

Is it not truly a falsehood of their own when they say,

"God hath begotten"? and they verily are the liars.

Hath He preferred daughters to sons?
What reason have ye for thus judging?
Will ye not then receive this warning?
Have ye a clear authority?
Bring forth your Book if ye speak truth.
And they make him to be of kin with the Djinn: but the Djinn know that these idolaters shall
 be brought up before God:
High be the glory of God above what they impute to Him,
Except his servants, who are pure in their faith.
“Verily then, ye and what ye worship
Shall not stir up any against God,
Save him who shall burn in Hell.
And not one of us but hath his appointed place,
And verily we do range ourselves in order,
And verily we do celebrate His praises.”
But the infidels say,
“Had we a warning from our forefathers,
We had surely been God’s servants, pure in faith.”
Yet they believe not the Koran—But they shall know its truth at last.
And our word came of old to our servants the Sent Ones,
That they should surely be the succoured,
And that verily our armies should gain victory for them.
Turn aside therefore from the unbelievers for a time,
And behold them, for they too shall in the end behold their doom.
Would they then hasten our vengeance?
But when it shall come down into their courts, an evil morning shall it be to those who have
 had their warning:
Turn aside from them therefore for a time,
And behold them; for they too shall in the end behold their doom.
Far be the glory of thy Lord, Lord of greatness, above what they impute to Him!
And peace be on His Sent Ones!
And praise be to God, Lord of the worlds!

Source: *El-Koran; or, The Koran*. 2nd ed. Translated by J. M. Rodwell. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1876, pp. 67–73 (verses 1–182).

7. Sir John Oldcastle: *The Inquisition of a Protestant Layman*

In its origins, the word inquisition means simply “inquiry.” In its technical sense, the Inquisition refers to the various legal procedures by which perceived heretics were investigated and interrogated. Although the Spanish Inquisition, established in 1478, is well known for the torture used on some suspects, most inquisitions in other places and time periods were decidedly less violent in their interrogations, if not in their punishments. In the following extract, which records the investigation of Sir John Oldcastle in England in 1413, the investigators simply ask the accused heretic to clarify his opinions on certain contentious theological issues. In fact, when Oldcastle fails to satisfy the inquisitors with his initial replies, they give him a delay in which he can review the precise theological opinions with which they wish him to agree. Only when he refuses to agree with these opinions is he confirmed as a heretic. But although the trial was decidedly nonviolent, the punishment was not. Oldcastle

was eventually burned in 1417. Although he could have avoided this fate by simply agreeing with the theological opinions presented to him, he preferred death to false agreement.

Lollardy was the heresy of which Sir John Oldcastle was accused, and the investigators, as the extract highlights, focused on the topics most associated with Lollard heresy: the Eucharist, Church authority, penance, and the cult of the saints. Whereas Lollardy held that the bread and wine in the Eucharist were symbolically Christ, orthodox Christianity held that the bread and wine in the Eucharist were materially Christ. “Material” here was a technical term meaning “in essence” or “in actuality.” To use a trivial example, a chair in the shape of a toadstool might look like a toadstool, but it would be “materially” a chair. According to orthodox Catholics, therefore, the Eucharist might look like bread and wine, but it was materially Christ’s body and blood.

Oldcastle, like other Lollards, held that Church officials held no authority; according to Lollards, God, who spoke primarily through the Bible, was the sole religious authority. Orthodox Catholicism, while recognizing that God was the ultimate head of religion, believed that the pope, bishops, and priests had been appointed by God to serve as administrators and judges of theological opinions. Partly as a result, Lollards contended that people did not have to confess their sins to a priest—God forgave sins directly. Orthodox Catholicism held that confession to a priest was necessary for forgiveness under normal circumstances.

Finally, Lollards, including Sir John Oldcastle, believed that orthodox Catholicism paid too much attention to the saints (deceased holy men and women) and that this attention to saints distracted from the worship of God. As a result, they rejected the honoring of statues or crosses and felt that pilgrimages to the graves of the saints were essentially wastes of time and money. All these beliefs conflicted with standard Catholic teaching. In the end, although Lollards viewed themselves as Catholics, the Church hierarchy viewed them as heretics.

Sir John Oldcastle was one of the most prominent Lollards ever convicted. The nobleman was a friend of both Henry IV and Henry V, and that special relationship underlies William Shakespeare’s depiction of Sir John Falstaff in the Henry IV plays. Nevertheless, Henry V brought Oldcastle reluctantly to trial when his heretical leanings became obvious. Although Oldcastle was convicted in 1413, he escaped from the Tower of London and led a Lollard uprising in January 1414, which failed disastrously. Oldcastle escaped the field of battle, however, and remained at large, fomenting dissent when possible, until 1417, when he was captured and executed. Sir John Oldcastle would later become a hero to sixteenth-century Protestants, who formed the core audience of Foxe’s Acts and Monuments, from which the following extract is taken.

THE CATHOLIC FAITH AND CONFESSION OF THE LORD COBHAM

I John Oldcastle knight, Lord of Cobham, desire to make manifest unto all Christians, and God to be taken to witness, that I never thought otherwise or would think otherwise (by God’s help) than with a steadfast & undoubted faith to embrace all those his Sacramentes which he hath instituted for the use of his Church.

Furthermore that I may the more plainly declare my mind in these 4 points of my faith:

First of all I believe the Sacrament of the altar to be the body of Christ under the form of bread, the very same body which was borne of his mother Mary, crucified for us, dead and buried, rose again the third day, sitteth on the right hand of his immortal father, now being a triumphant partaker with him of his eternal glory.

Then as touching the Sacrament of penance, this is my belief: that I do think the correction of a sinfull life to be most necessary for all such as desire to be saved and that they ought to take upon them such repentance of their former life by true confession, unfeigned contrition, and lawful satisfaction, as the word of God doth prescribe unto us. Otherwise there will be no hope of salvation.

Thirdly, as touching images, this is my opinion, that I do judge them no point of faith, but brought into the world after the faith of Christ by the sufferance of the Church, and so grown in use that they might serve for a calendar for the lay people and ignorant. By the beholding whereof they might the better call to remembrance the godly examples and martyrdom of Christ and other holy men: but if any man do otherwise abuse this representation, and give the reverence unto those Images, which is due unto the holy men whom they represent, or rather unto him whom the holy men themselves owe all their honor, setting all their trust and hope in them which ought to be referred unto God; or if they be so affected toward the dumb Images, that they do in any behalf addict unto them, either be more addicted unto one Saint than another, in my mind they do little differ from Idolatry, grievously offending against God the author of all honor.

Last of all I am thus persuaded that there be no inhabitants here in earth, but that we shall pass straight either to life or punishment; for whosoever doth so order his life that he stumble at the commandments of God, which either he knoweth not, or he will not be taught them, it is but in vain for him to look for salvation, although he ran over all the corners of the world. Contrarywise, he which observeth his commandments cannot perish, although in all his life time he walked no pilgrimage, neither to Rome, Canterbury, nor Compostella, or to any other place, whither as the common people are accustomed to walk.

This Schedule with the articles therein contained being read (as is aforesaid) by the said sir John, we with our fellow brethren aforesaid, and many other doctors and learned men had conference upon the same. And at the last by the counsel and consent of them, we spoke these words following unto the said sir John there present. Behold sir John, there are many good and catholic things contained in this schedule. But you have this time to answer unto other matters which savor of errors & heresies. Whereunto, by the contents of this schedule, it is not fully answered, and therefore you must answer thereunto & more plainly express and declare your faith and opinions as touching those points in the same bill. That is to say, whether you hold, believe and affirm, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration rightly done, there remaineth material bread or not. Item, whether you hold, believe, and affirm, that it is necessary in the sacrament of penance for a man to confess his sins unto a priest appointed by the church.

The which articles in this manner delivered unto him, amongst many other things he answered plainly, that he would make no other declaration or answer thereunto than was contained in the said Schedule. Whereupon we favoring the said sir John, with benign & gentle means, we spoke unto him in this manner. "Sir John, take heed, for if you do not plainly answer to these things, which are objected against you within a lawful time now granted you by the Judges, we may declare you to be an heretic," but the said sir John persevered as before, and would make no other answer. Consequently notwithstanding, we together with our said fellow brethren and others of our counsel

took advice, and by their counsel declared unto the said sir John Oldcastle, that the said holy Church of Rome in this matter, following the saying of blessed S. Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, and other holy men, hath determined, the which determinations every catholic ought to observe.

Whereupon the said sir John answered, that he would believe and observe whatsoever the holy Church determined, and whatsoever god would he should observe and believe. But that he would in no case affirm that our Lord the Pope, the cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops or other prelates of the church have any power to determine any such matters. Whereunto, we yet favoring him, under hope of better advisement promised the said sir John; that we would give him in writing certain determinations upon the matter aforesaid. Whereunto he should more plainly answer, written in Latin, and for his better understanding, translated into English: whereupon, we commanded and heartily desired him that against Monday next following, he should give a plain and full answer, the which determinations we caused to be translated the same day and to be delivered unto him the Sunday next following. The tenor of which determinations here follow in this manner.

The faith and determination of that holy Church upon the holy Sacrament of the altar is this: that after the consecration done in the mass by the priest, the material bread shall be changed into the material body of Christ, and the material wine into the material blood of Christ. Therefore after the consecration there remaineth no more any substance of bread and wine, which was there before. What do you answer to this article?

Also the holy church hath determined that every christian dwelling upon earth ought to confess his sins unto a priest ordained by the Church, if he may come unto him. How think you by this article?

Christ ordained St. Peter his Vicar in earth, whose seat is in the Church of Rome, giving and granting the same authority which he gave unto Peter also to his successors which are now called Popes of Rome, in whose power it is to ordain and institute prelates in particular churches, as Archbishops, bishops, curates, and other ecclesiastical orders, unto whom the Christian people owe obedience according to the tradition of the church of Rome. This is the determination of the holy church. What think you by this article?

Besides this, the holy Church hath determined, that it is necessary for every christian to go on pilgrimage to holy places, & there specially to worship the holy relics of the Apostles, Martyrs, confessors, & all saints, whosoever the church of Rome hath allowed. What think you of this article?

Upon which Monday being the 25th day of the said month of September, before us and our fellow brethren aforesaid, having also taken unto us our reverend brother, Benedict, by the grace of God Bishop of Bangor, and by our commandment our counsellors and ministers: Master Henry official of our court of Cant., Philip Morgan D. of both laws, Dowell Kissin Doctor of the decretals, John Kempe and William Carlton Doctors of law, John Witnan, Thomas Palmer, Rob Wombewell, John Withe and Robert Chamberlayne, Richard Dotington & Thomas Walden professors of divinity, also James Cole, & I. Stevens our notaries appointed on this behalf. They all and every one being sworn upon that holy gospel of god, laying their hands upon the book that they

should give their faithfull counsel in, and upon the manner aforesaid, and in every such cause and to the whole world. By and by, appeared sir Robert Morley Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and brought with him the foresaid Sir John Oldcastle, setting him before us. Unto whom we gently and familiarly rehearsed the acts of the day before passed. And as before we told him that he both is and was excommunicate, requiring and entreating him that he would desire and receive in due form the absolution of the Church. Unto whom the said Sir John then and there plainly answered, that in this behalf he would require no absolution at our hands, but only of God. Then afterward by gentle and soft means, we desired and required him to make plain answer unto the articles which were laid against him.

And first of all, as touching the Sacrament of the altar, to the which article, besides other things he answered and said thus: that as Christ being here in earth had in him both Godhead & manhood, notwithstanding the Godhead was covered and invisible under the humanity, the which was manifest and visible in him: so likewise in the sacrament of the altar there is the very body and very bread, bread which we do see, the body of Christ hidden under the same which we do not see. And plainly denied, that the faith as touching the said Sacrament determined by the Romish church and holy doctors and sent unto him by us in the said Schedule, to be the determination of the holy Church. But if it be the determination of the Church, he said that it was done contrary unto the scriptures, after the church was endowed, and that poison was poured into the Church and not afore.

Also as touching the Sacrament of penance and confession, he plainly said and affirmed then and there that if any man were in any grievous sin, out of the which he knew not how to rise, it were expedient and good for him to go unto some holy and discreet priest to take

counsel of him. But that he should confess his sin to any proper Priest, or to any other although he might have the use of him, it is not necessary to salvation, for so much as by only contrition such sin can be wiped away, and the sinner himself purged.

As concerning the worshipping of the cross, he said and affirmed that only the body of Christ which did hang upon the cross is to be worshipped. And being demanded what honor he would do unto the Image of the cross. He answered by express words that he would only do it that honor that he would make it clean and lay it up safe.

As touching the power and authority of the keys, the Archbishops, Bishop, and other prelates, he said that the Pope is very Antichrist, that is the head: the Archbishops, Bishops and other prelates to be his members, and the Friars to be



Burning Heretics on Isle of Garnsey. This image from John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* uses propaganda to depict the Church hierarchy as cruel and sadistic. In this scene, a baby bursts from a mother's womb as she is executed, naked, for heresy. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

his tail. The which Pope, Archbishops and bishops a man ought not to obey, but so far forth as they be followers of Christ and of Peter, in their life, manners and conversation, and that he is the successor of Peter, which is best and purest in life & manners. Furthermore, the said sir John spreading his hands with a loud voice, said thus to those which stood about him. “These men which judge and would condemn me, will seduce you all and themselves, and will lead you unto hell, therefore take heed of them.”

When he had spoken those words, we again as oftentimes before with lamentable countenance, spoke unto the said sir John, exhorting him with as gentle words as we might that he would return to that unity of the church, to believe and hold that which the church of Rome doth believe and hold. Who expressly answered that he would not believe or hold otherwise than he had before declared. Wherefore, we perceiving as it appeared by him that we could not prevail: at the last with bitterness of heart, we proceeded to the pronouncing of a definitive sentence in this manner.

Source: Foxe, John. *Actes and Monuments of Matters Most Speciall and Memorable*. London: John Daye, 1583, p. 567. Spelling slightly modified by Lawrence Morris.

Priests and Rituals

Like any other sphere of life, religion has its own specialists and procedures. These specialists are generally called priests, monks, or ministers, and the procedures are called rituals. These two—priests and rituals—go together; priests perform rituals.

Within Christianity, the Eucharist (Document 12) is the central ritual. The Eucharist re-creates or memorializes Christ’s last supper, in which Jesus gave his disciples bread and wine, calling it his body and blood. Although the Eucharist is specific to Christianity (other religions do have similar, though not identical, rituals), most religions do have some form of prayer. Thomas Roe was so struck by Muslim prayer (Document 13), for example, that he upbraided English Christians for not being as assiduous. Medieval Christianity, as seen in the *Rule of St. Benedict* (Document 8), also prized the ideal of frequent and constant prayer.

In addition to stressing constant prayer, the *Rule of St. Benedict* also strives to create an ideal community. According to the *Rule*, the monks have no personal possessions—everything is owned by the community and distributed as need arises. This ideal of personal poverty contrasts starkly with the forged *Donation of Constantine* (Document 9), which claimed that Emperor Constantine, who had converted to Christianity in the fourth century, essentially placed western Europe under the political, as well as spiritual, control of the pope. Far from being poor, as a result, the pope would be one of the largest landowners in Europe.

The tension between secular and religious hierarchies seen in *The Donation of Constantine* played out in small ways across Europe. In many Protestant countries, such as England, the king came to control the Church. As Document 10 shows, royal authority could control who became a preacher and what those preachers were allowed to preach about. The state controlled the Church, or at least attempted to control the Church. Religious officials, like other people, were not easy to control. Indeed, scandals involving churchmen were commonplace throughout the history of religion. Document 11 offers some advice to the minister who finds himself at the heart of a scandal: say nothing

and look busy. Religious life easily moved from the heights of heaven to the mud of earth.

8. Monastic Life According to the Rule of St. Benedict

St. Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–c. 547) is often called the father of Western monasticism. Although Benedict was by no means the originator of monasticism—men and women, Christians and non-Christians, had long been forming separatist religious communities dedicated to religious rigor—Benedict did create a “rule,” or set of monastic guidelines, that spread rapidly and became the veritable standard for Christian monastic life in western Europe throughout the Middle Ages.

The following extracts from the Rule of St. Benedict highlight the essential principles of Benedictine monasticism: community, prayer, work. Community is central to monastic life; what separates a hermit from a monk is precisely the monk's intimate fellowship with other monks, whereas the hermit explicitly seeks isolation from all others. Clauses 3 and 33 show the ideal of community put into practice. Clause 3 stipulates that the abbot should consult all the monks about any important decisions instead of making the decision himself, although at the same time no individual monk is to believe that his own opinion is necessarily the best. Decisions, therefore, are made jointly; the individual's opinions yield to the community's decision. Clause 33, moreover, expands the concept of community to the arena of material property: no monk is allowed to own anything. Instead, all possessions are held by the monastic community as a whole. In the ideal Benedictine monastery, therefore, there is no “mine” or “yours,” merely “ours.” The singular of possessiveness yields to the plural of community. Although a monk could not own anything himself, this restriction did not necessarily make him poor; frequently, monastic communities, thanks to gifts from kings and others, could become quite rich, but the wealth remained in the hands of the community as a whole instead of in the hands of one individual.

Ora et labora, Latin for “pray and work,” served as a motto for monastic communities, and clause 48 demonstrates how this ideal worked in practice. As the clause indicates, most of the daylight hours were spent in manual labor, such as farming or similar tasks. The hottest part of the day, roughly 10 A.M. until 3 P.M., was given over in equal parts to study and slumber. The provisions for disciplining monks who were not reading suggest that many monks would take advantage of the study time to chitchat and simply to “hang out.” The clause, however, does not mention the large amount of time spent in formal prayer both during the workday and during the night.

CLAUSE 3. ABOUT CALLING IN THE BROTHERS TO TAKE COUNSEL

Whenever anything of importance is to be done in the monastery, the abbot shall call together the whole congregation, and shall himself explain the matter in question, and, having heard the advice of the brothers, he shall do what he considers most advantageous. And for this reason, moreover, we have said that all ought to be called to take counsel, because often it is to a younger person that God reveals what is best. The brethren, moreover, with all subjection of humility, ought so to give their advice

that they do not presume boldly to defend what seems good to them; but it should rather depend on the judgment of the abbot, so that, whatever he decides to be best, they should all agree to it. But even as it behooves the disciples to obey the master, so it is fitting that he should arrange all matters with care and justice. In all things, indeed, let every one follow the Rule as his guide; and let no one rashly deviate from it. Let no one in the monastery follow the inclination of his own heart. And let no one boldly presume to dispute with his abbot, within or without the monastery. But, if he should so presume, let him be subject to the discipline of the Rule.

CLAUSE 8. CONCERNING THE DIVINE OFFICES AT NIGHT

In the winter time, that is from the Calends of November until Easter, according to what is reasonable, they must rise at the eighth hour of the night, so that they rest a little more than half the night, and rise when they have already digested. But let the time that remains after vigils be kept for meditation by those brothers who are in any way behind hand with the psalter or lessons. From Easter, moreover, until the aforesaid Calends of November, let the hour of keeping vigils be so arranged that, a short interval being observed in which the brethren may go out for the necessities of nature, the matins, which are always to take place with the dawning light, may straightway follow.

CLAUSE 16. HOW DIVINE SERVICE SHALL BE HELD THROUGH THE DAY

As the prophet says: “Seven times in the day do I praise Thee.” Which sacred number of seven will thus be fulfilled by us if, at matins, at the first, third, sixth, ninth hours, at vesper time and at “completorium” we perform the duties of our service; for it is of these hours of the day that he said: “Seven times in the day do I praise Thee.” For concerning nocturnal vigils, the same prophet says: “At midnight I arose to confess unto thee.” Therefore, at these times, let us give thanks to our Creator concerning the judgments of his righteousness; that is, at matins, etc.

CLAUSE 33. WHETHER THE MONKS SHOULD HAVE ANYTHING OF THEIR OWN

More than anything else is this special vice to be cut off root and branch from the monastery, that one should presume to give or receive anything without the order of the abbot, or should have anything of his own. He should have absolutely not anything, neither a book, nor tablets, nor a pen—nothing at all. For indeed it is not allowed to the monks to have their own bodies or wills in their own power. But all things necessary they must expect from the Father of the monastery; nor is it allowable to have anything



Monk seated, writing with a stylus and eraser. Bible, Vulgate version. Northern France, ca. 1250–1300. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

which the abbot has not given or permitted. All things shall be held in common; as it is written, "Let not any man presume to call anything his own." But if any one shall have been discovered delighting in this most evil vice, being warned once and again, if he do not amend, let him be subjected to punishment.

CLAUSE 48. CONCERNING THE DAILY MANUAL LABOR

Idleness is the enemy of the soul. And therefore, at fixed times, the brothers ought to be occupied in manual labor; and again, at fixed times, in sacred reading. Therefore we believe that both seasons ought to be arranged after this manner, so that, from Easter until the October 1, going out early, from 6 a.m. until 10 a.m. they shall do what labor may be necessary. From 10 a.m. until about noon, they shall be free for reading. After the meal at noon, rising from the table, they shall rest in their beds with all silence, or, perchance, he that wishes to read may read to himself in such a way as not to disturb another. And the second meal shall be moderate and eaten about 2:30pm; and again they shall work at what is to be done until evening prayer. But, if the emergency or poverty of the place demands that they be occupied in picking fruits, they shall not be grieved; for they are truly monks if they live by the labors of their hands, as did also our fathers and the apostles. Let all things be done with moderation, however, on account of the faint-hearted.

In days of Lent they shall receive separate books from the library, which they shall read entirely through in order. These books are to be given out on the first day of Lent. Above all there shall be appointed without fail one or two elders, who shall go round the monastery at the hours in which the brothers are engaged in reading, and see to it that no troublesome brother be found who is given to idleness and trifling, and is not intent on his reading, being not only of no use to himself, but also stirring up others. If such a one (may it not happen!) be found, he shall be reproved once and a second time. If he does not amend, he shall be subject under the Rule to such punishment that the others may have fear. Nor shall brother join brother at unsuitable hours. Moreover, on Sunday all shall engage in reading, excepting those who are assigned to various duties. But if anyone be so negligent and lazy that he will not or can not read, some task shall be imposed upon him which he can do, so that he be not idle. On feeble or delicate brothers such a task or art is to be imposed, that they shall neither be idle nor so oppressed by the violence of labor as to be driven to take flight. Their weakness is to be taken into consideration by the abbot.

Sources: Ogg, Frederic Austin. *A Source Book of Mediaeval History*. New York: American, 1908, pp. 85–89.
With slight modifications. Henderson, Ernest F. *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*. London: Bell, 1921, pp. 281–83.

9. Papal Power: The Donation of Constantine

The document known as The Donation of Constantine, which is reproduced here, played an important role in the development of ecclesiastical power in the Middle Ages. Modern scholars consider the document to be a forgery, but several medieval popes used the

document, which first came to light in the ninth century, to justify the extension of their political influence. Urban II (d. 1099), for example, used The Donation to claim Corsica, and Adrian IV (d. 1159), the only English pope, granted Ireland to England using The Donation as evidence for his own personal ownership of Ireland. Although these popes used The Donation to strengthen papal power, other medieval thinkers such as Otto III (d. 1002) and Arnold of Brescia (fl. 1140) considered the document an outright lie. Just like the popes, however, these individuals had their own personal motivations: Otto was the Holy Roman Emperor, and an increase in papal power meant a decrease in his own authority, and Arnold of Brescia was a radical reformer who severely condemned clerical wealth in general.

The document itself depicts the Roman emperor Constantine (d. A.D. 337) granting political control of the western Roman Empire to Pope Sylvester I (d. A.D. 335). Although the story of this gift is fictional, Constantine was in fact the first emperor to profess Christianity, and he explicitly allowed the open practice of Christianity with the Edict of Milan (A.D. 313). With this edict, Christianity was transformed from a secret, sometimes severely persecuted religion, to a cult favored by the emperor himself. Within years, many high-ranking Romans were Christians, and they granted the Church both wealth and power. Although The Donation of Constantine is not a true grant, it does recognize the pivotal role that Emperor Constantine played in transforming the Christian Church from a popular but outlawed group of believers into a major political force.

According to The Donation, Constantine was motivated to favor the Church through being healed miraculously from a leprosy-like disease. This miraculous cure, effected by a regimen of penance imposed by Pope Sylvester, resulted in substantial rewards for the Church. The pope is allowed to wear the same symbolic garments as the emperor—thereby equating their status—and the pope is granted explicit control over the Western Empire while the emperor changes his capital to Byzantium in the East. Constantine did in fact move his capital from Rome to Byzantium, although the major motivation was the greater wealth of the eastern empire. Although this arrangement does recognize a division between church and state, in practice, the Church becomes state in western Europe in the rhetoric of the document. The highest power is held not by the emperor, but by the pope.

Hereupon that same most blessed Sylvester our father, bishop of the city of Rome, imposed upon us a time of penance—within our Lateran palace, in the chapel, in a hair garment, so that I might obtain pardon from our Lord God Jesus Christ our Saviour by vigils, fasts, and tears and prayers, for all things that had been impiously done and unjustly ordered by me. Then through the imposition of the hands of the clergy, I came to the bishop himself; and there, renouncing the pomps of Satan and his works, and all idols made by hands, of my own will before all the people I confessed: that I believed in God the Father almighty, maker of Heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible; and in Jesus Christ, His only Son our Lord, who was born of the Holy Spirit and of the virgin Mary. And the font having been blessed, the wave of salvation purified me therewith at triple immersion. For there I, being placed at the bottom of the font, saw with my own eyes a hand from Heaven touching me; whence rising, clean, know that I was cleansed from all squalor of leprosy. And, I being raised from the venerable font—putting on white raiment, he administered to me the sign of the seven-fold holy Spirit, the unction of the holy oil; and he traced the sign of the holy cross on my brow, saying: God seals thee with the seal of His faith in the name of the Father and the Son

and the Holy Spirit, to signalize thy faith. All the clergy replied: "Amen." The bishop added, "peace be with thee."

And so, on the first day after receiving the mystery of the holy baptism, and after the cure of my body from the squalor of leprosy, I recognized that there was no other God save the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; whom the most blessed Sylvester the pope doth preach; a trinity in one, a unity in three. For all the gods of the nations, whom I have worshipped up to this time, are proved to be demons; works made by the hand of men; inasmuch as that same venerable father told to us most clearly how much power in Heaven and on earth He, our Saviour, conferred on his apostle St. Peter, when finding him faithful after questioning him He said: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock (petram) shall I build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Give heed ye powerful, and incline the ear of your hearts to that which the good Lord and master added to His disciple, saying: "and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven; and whatever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound also in Heaven, and whatever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed also in Heaven." This is very wonderful and glorious, to bind and loose on earth and to have it bound and loosed in Heaven.

And when, the blessed Sylvester preaching them, I perceived these things, and learned that by the kindness of St. Peter himself I have been entirely restored to health: I—together with all our satraps and the whole senate and the nobles and all the Roman people, who are subject to the glory of our rule—considered it advisable that, as on earth he (Peter) is seen to have been constituted vicar of the Son of God, so the pontiffs, who are the representatives of that same chief of the apostles, should obtain from us and our empire the power of a supremacy greater than the earthly clemency of our imperial serenity is seen to have had conceded to it, we choosing that same prince of the apostles, or his vicars, to be our constant intercessors with God. And, to the extent of our earthly imperial power, we decree that his holy Roman church shall be honoured with veneration; and that, more than our empire and earthly throne, the most sacred seat of St. Peter shall be gloriously exalted; we giving to it the imperial power, and dignity of glory, and vigour and honour.

And we ordain and decree that he shall have the supremacy as well over the four chief seats Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople and Jerusalem, as also over all the churches of God in the whole world. And he who for the time being shall be pontiff of that holy Roman church shall be more exalted than, and chief over, all the priests of the whole world; and, according to his judgment, every thing which is to be provided for the service of God or the stability of the faith of the Christians is to be administered. It is indeed just, that there the holy law should have the seat of its rule where the founder of holy laws, our Saviour, told St. Peter to take the chair of the apostleship; where also, sustaining the cross, he blissfully took the cup of death and appeared as imitator of his Lord and Master; and that there the people should bend their necks at the confession of Christ's name, where their teacher, St. Paul the apostle, extending his neck for Christ, was crowned with martyrdom. There, until the end, let them seek a teacher, where the holy body of the teacher lies; and there, prone and humiliated, let them perform the service of the heavenly king, God our Saviour Jesus Christ, where the proud were accustomed to serve under the rule of an earthly king.

Meanwhile we wish all the people, of all the races and nations throughout the whole world, to know: that we have constructed within our Lateran palace, to the same Saviour our Lord God Jesus Christ, a church with a baptistery from the foundations. And know that we have carried on our own shoulders, from its foundations, twelve baskets weighted with earth, according to the number of the holy apostles. Which holy Church we command to be spoken of, cherished, venerated and preached of, as the head and summit of all the churches in the whole world—as we have commanded through our other imperial decrees. We have also constructed the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, chiefs of apostles, which we have enriched with gold and silver; where also, placing their most sacred bodies with great honour, we have constructed their caskets of electrum, against which no force of the elements prevails. And we have placed a cross of purest gold on each of their caskets, and fastened them with golden keys. And on these churches, for the providing of the lights, we have conferred estates, and have enriched them with different objects; and through our sacred imperial decrees, we have granted them our gift of land in the east as well as in the west; and even on the northern and southern coast; namely in Judea, Greece, Asia, Thrace, Africa, and Italy and the various islands: under this condition indeed, that all shall be administered by the hand of our most blessed father the pontiff Sylvester and his successors.

For let all the people and the nations of the races in the whole world rejoice with us; we exhorting all of you to give unbounded thanks, together with us, to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. For He is God in Heaven above and on earth below, who, visiting us through His holy apostles, made us worthy to receive the holy sacrament of baptism and health of body. In return for which, to those same holy apostles, my masters, St. Peter and St. Paul; and, through them, also to St. Sylvester, our father, the chief pontiff and universal pope of the city of Rome, and to all the pontiffs his successors, who until the end of the world shall be about to sit in this seat of St. Peter: we concede and, by this present, do confer, our imperial Lateran palace, which is preferred to, and ranks above, all the palaces in the whole world; then a diadem, that is, the crown of our head, and at the same time the tiara; and, also, the shoulder band, that is, the collar that usually surrounds our imperial neck; and also the purple mantle, and crimson tunic, and all the imperial raiment; and the same rank as those presiding over the imperial cavalry; conferring also the imperial scepters, and, at the same time, the spears and standards; also the banners and different imperial ornaments, and all the advantage of our high imperial position, and the glory of our power.

And we decree, as to those most reverend men, the clergy who serve, in different orders, that same holy Roman church, that they shall have the same advantage, distinction, power and excellence by the glory of which our most illustrious senate is adorned; that is, that they shall be made patricians and consuls, we commanding that they shall also be decorated with the other imperial dignities. And even as the imperial soldiery, so, we decree, shall the clergy of the holy Roman church be adorned. And even as the imperial power is adorned by different offices—by the distinction, that is, of chamberlains, and door keepers, and all the guards, so we wish the holy Roman church to be adorned. And in order that the pontifical glory may shine forth more fully, we decree this also: that the clergy of this same holy Roman church may use saddle cloths of linen of the whitest colour; namely that their horses may be adorned and so be ridden, and

that, as our senate uses shoes with goats' hair, so they may be distinguished by gleaming linen; in order that, as the celestial beings, so the terrestrial may be adorned to the glory of God. Above all things, moreover, we give permission to that same most holy one our father Sylvester, bishop of the city of Rome and pope, and to all the most blessed pontiffs who shall come after him and succeed him in all future times—for the honour and glory of Jesus Christ our Lord, to receive into that great catholic and apostolic church of God, even into the number of the monastic clergy, any one from the whole assembly of our nobles, who, in free choice, of his own accord, may wish to become a clerk; no one at all presuming thereby to act in a haughty manner.

We also decreed this, that this same venerable one our father Sylvester, the supreme pontiff; and all the pontiffs his successors, might use and bear upon their heads—to the praise of God and for the honor of St. Peter—the diadem; that is, the crown which we have granted him from our own head, of purest gold and precious gems. But he, the most holy pope, did not at all allow that crown of gold to be used over the clerical crown which he wears to the glory of St. Peter; but we placed upon his most holy head, with our own hands, a tiara of gleaming splendour representing the glorious resurrection of our Lord. And, holding the bridle of his horse, out of reverence for St. Peter we performed for him the duty of groom; decreeing that all the pontiffs his successors, and they alone, may use that tiara in processions.

In imitations of our own power, in order that for that cause the supreme pontificate may not deteriorate, but may rather be adorned with power and glory even more than is the dignity of an earthly rule: behold we—giving over to the oft-mentioned most blessed pontiff, our father Sylvester the universal pope, as well our palace, as has been said, as also the city of Rome and all the provinces, districts and cities of Italy or of the western regions; and relinquishing them, lay our inviolable gift, to the power and sway of himself or the pontiffs, his successors—do decree, by this our godlike charter and imperial constitution, that it shall be so arranged; and do concede that they (the palaces, provinces, etc.) shall lawfully remain with the holy Roman church.

Wherefore we have perceived it to be fitting that our empire and the power of our kingdom should be transferred and changed to the regions of the East; and that, in the province of Byzantium, in a most fitting place, a city should be built in our name; and that our empire should there be established. For, where the supremacy of priests and the head of the Christian religion has been established by a heavenly Ruler, it is not just that there an earthly ruler should have jurisdiction.

And we decree, moreover, that all these things which, through this our imperial charter and through other godlike commands, we have established and confirmed, shall remain uninjured and unshaken until the end of the world. Wherefore, before the living God, who commanded us to reign, and in the face of his terrible judgment, we conjure through this our imperial decree, all the emperors our successors, and all our nobles, the satraps also and the most glorious senate, and all the people in the whole world now and in all times previously subject to our rule: that no one of them, in any way, allow himself to oppose or disregard, or in any way seize, these things which, by our imperial sanction, have been conceded to the holy Roman church and to all its pontiffs. If anyone, moreover, which we do not believe, prove a scorner or despiser in this matter, he shall be subject and bound over to eternal damnation; and shall feel that the holy

chiefs of the apostles of God, Peter and Paul, will be opposed to him in the present and in the future life. And, being burned in the nethermost hell, he shall perish with the devil and all the impious.

The page, moreover, of this our imperial decree, we, confirming it with our own hands, did place above the venerable body of St. Peter chief of the apostles; and there, promising to that same apostle of God that we would preserve inviolably all its provisions, and would leave in our commands to all the emperors our successors to preserve them, we did hand it over, to be enduringly and happily possessed, to our most blessed father Sylvester the supreme pontiff and universal pope, and, through him, to all the pontiffs his successors—God our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ consenting.

And the imperial subscription: May the Divinity preserve you for many years, oh most holy and blessed fathers.

Source: Henderson, Ernest F., ed. and trans. *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*. London: Bell, 1921, pp. 323–29.

10. Licensed to Preach in England

Although the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century prized the individual's access to the Christian scriptures, these same Churches, once they had come to power, sought to control biblical interpretation. For example, the seventeenth-century document reproduced here, issued during the reign of the English King James I (r. 1603–1625), carefully outlines what a preacher can and cannot talk about. In essence, a priest lower than the rank of bishop can read homilies only from the approved two-volume collection. In particular, the lower-ranking priests are forbidden from discussing controversial issues such as predestination and from engaging in strenuous arguments about Catholicism or Puritanism. In fact, all higher-level theology is left in the hands of the bishops and theologians, so that the discussions will have the least impact on the common believer.

Behind much of this legislation lies the desire for political protection. As king, James I was head of the Anglican Church, and both the Catholic Church and the Puritan movement were potential threats to the Anglican Church and therefore to the king's preeminence. The king's orders, therefore, seek to create a stable theological environment that avoids contentious arguments, therefore promoting harmony. Such harmony built on extreme censorship proved impossible, and religious discontent continued to dominate the English political scene throughout the seventeenth century: two kings—Charles I and his son James II—were deposed in part because of their religious sympathies. Just as the Catholic hierarchy's attempts to contain heterodox theology through licensing preachers failed, the monarchy's attempts likewise proved ineffective.

THE KING'S MAJESTY'S LETTER TO THE LORDS . . . , TOUCHING PREACHING, AND PREACHERS

Most Reverend Father in God, Right trusty and right entirely beloved Counselor,
We greet you well.

Forasmuch as the abuse and extravagancies of Preachers in the Pulpit, have been at all times repressed in this Land, by some Act of Council or State, with the advise and resolution of Grave and Reverend Preachers, insomuch as the very licensing of Preachers, had beginning by order in the Star-Chamber, the eighth of July, in the nineteenth year of King Henry the Eight, Our Noble Predecessor: And whereas at this present, diverse young Students, by reading of late Writers and ungrounded Divines, do preach many times unprofitable, unseasonable, seditious and dangerous doctrine, to the scandal of the Church, and disquieting of the State and present Government: We, upon humble presentation unto Us of these ill inconveniencies by your Self, and sundry other Grave and Reverend Prelates of this Church; as of our Princely care and desire, for the extirpation of Schism and Dissention growing from these seeds; and for the settling of a Religious and Peaceable Government both of Church and State: Do by these Our special Letters straightly charge and command you, to use all possible care and diligence, that these limitations and cautions herewith sent you concerning Preachers, be duely and strictly from henceforth observed, and put in practice by the several Bishops in their several Dioceses within your Jurisdiction. And to this end Our Pleasure is, that you send them forth several Copies of these Directions, to be by them speedily sent and communicated to every Parson, Vicar and Curate, Lecturer and Minister, in every Cathedral and Parish Church within their several Dioceses; and that ye earnestly require them, to employ their utmost endeavours for the per-

formance of this so important a business: Letting them know, We have an especial eye to their proceedings, and expect a strict account thereof both from you and every of them, and this Our Letter shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf.

Given under Our Signet at Our Castle of Windsor, the fourth day of August, in the twentieth year of Our Reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland. . . .



James I, King of England, bearing symbols of office and victory: a sceptre and laurel wreath. © 2008 Jupiter-images Corporation.

DIRECTIONS CONCERNING PREACHERS

1. That no Preacher, under the degree and calling of a Bishop, or Dean of a Cathedral or Collegiate Church, and they upon the King's days, and set Festivals, do take occasion by the expounding of any text of Scripture whatsoever, to fall into any set discourse or Commonplace (otherwise then by opening the coherence and division of his Text) which shall not be comprehended and warranted, in essence, substance and effect, or natural inference, within some one of the Articles of Religion set forth 1562, or in some of the Homilies set forth by authority in the Church of England, not only for a help for the Non-preaching, but withal for a pattern and a boundary (as it were) for the preaching Ministers, and for their further instructions: for the performance hereof, that they forthwith peruse over, and read diligently the said Articles, or the two books of Homilies.

2. That no Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer, shall preach any Sermon or Collation upon Sunday and Holy Days in the afternoon in any Cathedral or Parish Church throughout the Kingdom, but upon some part of the Catechism, or some text taken out of the Creed, ten Commandments, or Lords Prayer, (funeral Sermons only excepted) and that those Preachers be most encouraged and approved of, who spend these afternoon Exercises in examining the children in their Catechism, and in expounding of the several points and heads of the Catechism, which is the most ancient and laudable custom of teaching in the Church of England.
3. That no Preacher of what title soever, under the degree of a Bishop or Dean at the least, do from henceforth presume to preach in any populous auditory, the deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation; of the Universality, Efficacy, Resistability, or Irresistability of Gods grace, but leave those Themes to be handled by the learned men, and that moderately, and modestly, by way of use and application, rather then by way of positive doctrine, as being fitter for the Schools and University's, then for simple auditories.
4. That no Preacher of what title or denomination soever, shall presume from hence forth in any auditory in this Kingdom, to declare, limit, or bound out by positive doctrine, in any Lecture or Sermon, the Power, Prerogative, Jurisdiction, Authority, or Duty of Sovereign Princes; or otherwise meddle with these matters of State, and the references between Princes and the People, then as they are instructed and presided in the Homily of obedience, and in the rest of the Homilies and Articles of Religion, set forth as is before mentioned by public authority; but rather confine themselves for those two heads, Faith and good Life, which are the subject of ancient Sermons and Homilies.
5. That no Preacher of what title or denomination soever, shall causelessly, and without invitation from the Text, fall into bitter invectives, and indecent railing speeches, against the persons of either Papist or Puritan, but modestly, and gravely when they are invited or occasioned thereunto by their text of Scripture, free both the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, from the aspersion of either Adversary, especially where the auditory is suspected to be tainted with the one or the other infection.
6. Lastly, the Archbishops and Bishops of this kingdom (whom his Majesty hath good cause to blame for their former remissness) be more wary and choice in licensing Preachers, and revoke all grants made to any Chancellor, Official, or Commissary to license in this kind. And that all the Lecturers throughout the kingdom (a new body severed from the ancient Clergy of England, as being neither Parson, Vicar, nor Curate) be licensed henceforth in the Court of faculties, only upon recommendation of the party from the Bishop of the Diocese, under his hand and seal with a Fiat from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and a confirmation of the great seal of England and that such as transgress any of these directions, be suspended by the Lord Bishop of the Diocese; in his default by the Lord Archbishop of the province, *ab Officio et Beneficio*, for a year and a day, until his Majesty by advice of the next Convocation shall prescribe some further punishment.

Source: Abbott, George. *The Coppie of a Letter Sent from My Lords Grace of Canterburie Shewing the Reasons Which Induced the Kings Majestie to Prescribe Directions for Preachers*. 1622. Spelling adapted by Lawrence Morris.

11. How a Minister Should Behave to Avoid Scandal

Scandals in the Church are hardly a new phenomenon. Geoffrey Chaucer in the fourteenth century was part of a long tradition of anti-clerical writing that portrayed monks and friars as sinful, but fun-loving villains and rascallions. Throughout the Middle Ages, being Christian did not mean thinking that the local clergyman was a saint! In the following extract, an anonymous seventeenth-century author gives advice to any clergyman who may find himself at the center of a scandal.

According to this advice, the best course of action open to the clergyman is to avoid responding openly to the attack—denying the charges will just draw more attention to him. Instead, the pamphlet recommends that the clergyman throw himself even more into his work and avoid excessive socializing. In effect, the author is recommending a seventeenth-century method of image management—the clergyman must appear to be a serious, conscientious clergyman. The text, however, is not cynical; in those circumstances in which the scandal sticks to the clergyman, the pamphlet recommends that the minister be patient and think about the ways in which Christ himself was unjustly persecuted. The scandal, therefore, draws the minister closer to Christ. The language of the document is so close to modern English that the spelling of only a few words has been adjusted.

Dirt while it is green will not be struck off clear, but the very wiping of it fastens some stain, and spreads it further: Industrious Apologies, in such cases, beget suspicions, and raise more scandal: And 'tis a scandalous thing to have so much appearance of guilt, as to seem greatly concerned to clear ones Innocence; such lewd Reproaches will dye of themselves when they are let alone, and despised; but they are revived, and kept alive by much ado of answering, and refuting: The best way for any man to confute a slander, is to do it by the greater strictness of his Life: And if I was to counsel any Clergy man that was fallen under such circumstances of misfortune, I'll tell you how I would Advise.

1. I would perswade him to examine strictly, what occasion he may have given by any appearance of the vices with which he is reproach'd. 'Tis not sufficient for the Clergy to avoid evil, but they must stand off out of the shadow of it. Many things are lawful and harmless, that yet are not expedient, especially for men of sacred Character: And therefore if such a one find, that though his Conscience be clear, yet his prudence hath been defective; and that he hath not been enough cautious, and watchful in the midst of so many enemies; He ought to blame his own unwariness, and to resolve for the future upon more strictness in observing the Rules of expedience, as well as those of Duty: And not to content himself to fly from vice, but to get at what distance he can from any thing that looks like it.
2. If he be clear of the things imputed to him, He ought then to consider narrowly of what other sins he is guilty, that may be the reason of Gods leaving him to the fury of malicious Revilers. David did so when Shimei curst; He considered the permission of such an abuse as a judgement from Him, without discharging his rage on his railing enemy: And certainly when a man is exposed to causeless infamy, there is something more than malice, and misfortune in the case; God is to be remembred in it, and the provocations he hath received from our unquestionable sins. These he ought to call over in his thoughts, and to humble himself before the Divine Majesty under the

sense and apprehension of them. He should consider these as the main Adversaries that have hurt him, and execute his revenge here, in destroying, without mercy, these enemies of his soul, as well as of his credit: He should resolve to be more careful that his wayes please the Lord, and then his enemies will be at peace with him.

3. I would have him tie himself to a greater, and more severe Industry in the Duties of his place: And though he were constant, and laborious in those offices before; yet should he study to double his diligence, and be more assiduous (if possible) after such usage. He should joyn constant Catechising to constant Preaching, and frequent Sacraments to both; And study how otherwise to promote the spiritual advantage of his people; and endeavour to do it with all Conscience both towards God, and them. He should punctually perform all that his Rule requires, without deviations, or omissions; and not content with doing but just what is required of him, He should imploy himself in all those particular Industries (that the Law allows) that he judgeth tending to the Glory of God, the Honour of Religion, and the Edification of his charge: And take example for his practice from the strictest and most laborious Divines, yea and strive even to exceed them, in all painful and faithful diligence.
4. It is further adviseable, in my Opinion, That such an injured Minister, betake himself to great Privacy and Retiredness of living; That he be not frequent in unnecessary visits; that he mingle not ordinarily with common, and promiscuous companies; That he be not seen much abroad, but when he is about urgent affairs, and those especially that relate to his Office; That he go not without great cause to publick Houses, or places of resort: But that he stick close to his studies, and the preparations that are requisite for the due discharge of his great, and important business.

However severe these Rules may be thought, I judge they are exceedingly expedient, if not necessary, for a person in the Circumstances we suppose. And really there is so much wickedness, folly, and trifling in the ordinary conversations of the world, That methinks no serious, intelligent man should endure to be much in it. And as to the Clergy, There is so much captiousness, and malicious watching upon their words and actions; so much of what will give them just offence, and which they ought not to hear without reproof; And so much offence ready to be taken at them, and so many affronts ready to follow that, if they do reprove; That I see not how they can honestly and safely converse, except with a few known friends, though the malice of false reports hath not yet touch'd them. And in my judgement 'tis most adviseable for all the Clergy, in this evil Generation, to draw up (as far as is possible) into privacy, and retirement; For the Sea is too rough for them to be abroad upon it: But especially those on whom Envy, and ill-will have fastened any slanderous imputations, are of all Ministers, and all men, the most concern'd to live in as much silence, and reservedness, as their publick Office will permit.

These things, I know, (and by some experience) will contribute very much to the quiet and vindication of such an injured person, and more than all the verbal Apologies in the world: Or if they succeed not to clear his name, and restore him to the good opinion of men; There is yet no doubt but they will give him peace and approbation with God, and Conscience, which is infinitely better.

And if after all this, malice and Infamy should persecute him still; If it should continue upon him the old slanders, and out of nothing, and no appearance raise new

ones to disquiet him, He need not, He ought not be concern'd, but may despise those impudent falshoods, and scorn to trouble himself to disprove them. He should not yield his enemies the satisfaction of having vexed, and discomposed him: But rest himself contented with his Innocence, and the Testimony of his Conscience; blessing God that he is not such a person as they would render him to the world, and praying Him to give them a due sense of this their sin, and to pardon them upon their Repentance. In order to which excellent temper, He should frequently consider Him who with much long-suffering endured the contradictions of all sorts of sinners, and was reproach'd and vilified in his name, as well as injuriously treated in his person: And since they call'd Him, our Lord, Beelzebub, and publish'd him for a Wine-Bibber, a Glutton, and a Friend of Publicans and Sinners, why should we care what they call us; or be at all moved at the Reproaches, which we have not deserv'd? Mens Tongues are their own, and they will speak; and let them say what they will, they cannot hurt us, while we are innocent, if our own niceness, and vicious tenderness of our names, do not assist their malice. This all good and wise men should endeavour to overcome, and outgrow; But chiefly the Clergy, and those of them especially of whom we are now speaking, ought to be well fortified against this weakness; That they may avoid the temptations to discouragement, impatience, and many other sins, and follies, that an over great concernment for Reputation doth expose men to: That they may go on with courage, and an equal mind, through good Report, and ill Report, in doing of their duty: That they may gain the noble height of wisdom, and Religion to count it a small thing to be approved and applauded by the judgement, and voices of men; and may attain the generosity of despising popular Fame, otherwise than as it may facilitate their doing good; considering, that This is most commonly given to the foolish and worst of men, and things; while infamy and reproach is usually bestowed upon the worthiest and the best.

By such Exercises, and such Considerations as these; the scandal'd person shall either wipe off the slanders that are upon him: Or strengthen himself so as not to be hurt by them.

Thus I have let my pen run on as the humour of writing bad me: If to no other purpose; Yet the employment hath given a little present diversion to my self: And I know you can be content that I should sometimes write for the little end of venting my own thoughts, in declaring my opinion, which I have now given you freely, in this matter . . .

Source: Anonymous. *An Apology and Advice for Some of the Clergy, Who Suffer under False and Scandalous Reports Written on the Occasion of the Second Part of the Rehearsal Transpos'd, in a Letter to a Friend, and by Him Publish'd.* London: A.E., 1674, pp. 8–12.

12. Preparing for Eucharistic Communion

The central ritual of most forms of Christianity is the Eucharist, the memorial of the Last Supper in which Jesus called bread and wine his body and blood and gave them to his disciples. Different denominations interpret this scene, and the corresponding ritual, in different ways. In traditional Catholicism, the bread and wine are viewed as substantially the body

and blood of Christ. In other words, the substance—but not the appearance—of the bread and wine becomes the body and blood of Christ. This doctrine is called “transubstantiation.” The word substance, however, is used in a philosophical sense—it does not mean atoms or raw materials; rather, it refers to the essence of a thing, regardless of what it looks like or what it is made out of. To use a comparison mentioned earlier, a chair in the shape of a mushroom and made out of plastic still has the essence or substance of a chair, although it looks like a mushroom and although it is made out of plastic; just so, the transubstantiated bread and wine have the essence of Christ’s body and blood, although they continue to look like bread and wine.

Most Reformation theologians, such as John Calvin (see Document 3), did not interpret Christ’s words so literally. According to these reformers, the Eucharist is a complex and effective symbol. The bread and wine do not literally become the body and blood of Christ, but they may have significant spiritual effects. The following document, written by two seventeenth-century Protestant Anglicans (members of the Church of England) with Puritan leanings, reflects this Reformation theology.

Throughout the document, the authors, William Bradshaw and Arthur Hildersam, stress that the Eucharist is a deep “mystery” that has considerable spiritual effects. Because the ritual is so closely bound up with Christ’s death and the spiritual effects of that sacrifice, Christians must be certain to prepare themselves to receive the ritual bread and wine. They must think carefully about the meaning of the ritual and call to mind Christ’s suffering and death, rather than thoughtlessly and distractedly receiving the Eucharist.

The very circumstance of time wherein our Saviour did administer it, sheweth us, that this bread and wine, this eating and drinking, hath in this place a more than ordinarie use or end. Wee eat bread commonly to satisfie hunger, and to feed and nourish our bodies; and wee drinke wine to quench our thirst, and to revive and refresh our heavy spirits: but this is not the proper end of the eating of this bread, or of the drinking of this wine. For then Christ would never have administred it immediately after supper, and that a festivall supper, when they that were to receive it, were full of bread and wine before. And therefore in the receiving of this Sacrament, wee must not so much looke (as wee doe in other eatings and drinkings) to satisfie our hunger, to fill our bellies, and to quench our thirsts; but in this eating and drinking, wee must looke to satisfie and fill our souls with some heavenly and spirituall matters, shadowed in these outward signs, and conveyed unto our soules in the due receiving of them.

The mysteries then contained under these signs, and expressed by them, are the greatest that can be imagined, even the great and high mysterie of our redemption and salvation by Jesus Christ; our faith and belief whereof, we doe professe in the use of them, and the fruit whereof is sealed and confirmed unto us in the due receiving of them.

The breaking of the bread signifieth, in a mysterie, the breaking of Christ’s body, that is, all the unspeakable torments that hee suffered in his own person for our sins, which were greater than if his living body had been rent and torn into a thousand pieces, and all his bones broken and beaten to dust and powder, Heb. 5.7. Esai 53.16.11. Matth. 27.46.

The eating of the bread thus broken, and the drinking of this wine, signifieth the speciall fruit that commeth unto all beleeuers, by the passion and sufferings of Jesus Christ. For Christ saith; This Bread is my Body which was broken for you: And this

Cuppe is the New Testament in my Blood. Or as hee speakes more plainly, Matt. 26.28. This is my Blood in the New Testament that was shed for many for the remission of their sins. And therefore hee bids them take and eat the one, and drinke the other; as though hee should more plainly say unto them: This bread, so broken as you see, shall bee a sign unto you, and unto all them that beleeue in my name, of that which I have suffered in my flesh for you. The wine in this Cuppe shall bee a sign even of the blood that in my Sacrifice upon the crosse was shed for you, to procure the pardon and remission of your sins, and of all their sins that shall beleeue in me, which is not the blood of Oxen and sheepe, such as were offered in the Old Testament, but is in very deed the blood of God and man, whereby the new Testament is sealed and ratified, which offreth salvation unto al which shall beleeue in mee, and in the merits of this my blood: Therefore take ye and eat yee this mysticall bread, and drink this holy wine; and therein let it be a pledge unto you and to all the faithfull that shall in like manner receive the same, that the fruit of that which is shadowed thereby, belongs unto you; so that as verily as you eat this bread, and drinke this wine with your bodilie mouths, so verily shall your soules taste of, and, as it were, eat and drinke of the fruits of my death and passion, even the remission of sins, and life everlasting.

Is not this Sacrament then a mysterie to bee trembled at and adored? Is it not a great indignitie, that men should brutishly, without all preparation, come unto the same, as an horse to the manger, or a swine to the trough? If it were but a bare and simple eating of bread and drinking of wine for bodily necessity or pleasure, we ought not like beasts, without any show of reverence, seize upon them; but ought in the receiving of them, in some degree, lift up our hearts to God for them: Much more when there is such an heavenly use of these creatures, over and besides that naturall and common use, which cannot bee separated from them. It were a great indignitie offered to the worke of our redemption, but occasionally to speake or thinke of it without due reverence: but to deny reverence and honour unto it then when under such a speciall mysterie it is presented unto us, and when we are thereby called to a speciall consideration of it; yea wherein it is of purpose represented to our senses, that we might the better behold it, and be stirred up to praise and magnifie God for it: and which is more, when in a reverend use of this mysterie wee may spiritually partake even of all heavenly things that are shadowed by it, what a sin must this needs be, unreverently to rush upon these holy Rites? And what a forcible argument must it bee, to stirre us up to a worthy receiving of this Sacrament?

The fifth point of doctrine is concerning the consecration of this Sacrament, set down in these words: And when he had giuen thanks, hee brake it. This consecration was a speciall dedication of the elements in this Sacrament unto this mysticall and holy use, by prayer, and invocation upon the name of God, and specially by thanksgiving: wherein this thanksgiving specially consisted, is not revealed; most probable it is, that it was principally for our sake, to wit, for the great fruit of this Sacrament, that should redound unto all the worthie receivers thereof.

This sheweth, that speciall thanks are due unto GOD from us for this Sacrament: For if Christ found cause to thank God for it, much more cause have wee, who reap all the fruit and benefit of it. And if the worthinesse of this Sacrament did draw thanks

from Christ, it may challenge a worthy and reverend acceptance of us; yea it much more concerns us to administer and receive the same with prayer and thanksgiving. And it is great prophanes for us to presse unreuerently upon that which Christ himselfe would not enter upon, without speciall prayer; whereby hee sufficiently declareth, that this Sacrament is a speciall holy Ordinance, and therefore to bee used holily, and not in a prophane and unreuerent manner. If Christ had but simply ordained it without any such speciall thanksgiving or prayer, it had beene our dutie notwithstanding, to receive it with all due reverence: But when he shall in this manner, by speciall prayer, institute and administer it, it must needs be great impietie for us to despise and contemne it, and not to make an high account and reckoning of it.

The Evangelist Matthew sayeth, Hee blessed the bread: By prayer and thanksgiving obtained a speciall blessing from God upon it. For that which Balac said of Balaam may bee more truly said of Christ, That which he blesseth, is blessed; and that which hee curseth, is cursed: So that this is a blessed Sacrament, which Christ Jesus, with his owne mouth, hath after such a speciall manner blessed: And the more hee hath blessed it, the more it will bee a means of blessing to the worthy receiver of it; and the more blessed it is of itself, the greater curse will it bring upon the prophane and unreuerent abuser thereof. The sixth and last point of doctrine is concerning the main and most generall ends of this Sacrament, which are two; the first, respecting our selves: the second, others. That respecting our selves, is in these words; This doe ye in remembrance of mee: So that wee are to receive this Sacrament to this end and purpose, that in and by it we might be stirred up in a speciall manner to remember, and in remembring to meditate of Christ, and of his infinite love and mercy towards us, in the great work of our Redemption, which is shadowed and set forth by this Sacrament: When our speciall friends, upon their departure from us, bestow upon us a token of remembrance, they do it to this end, that so often as we looke upon the same, or use it, wee should call to minde the many loves they have showed unto us: And this is written in our nature, that when an occasion onely is offered unto us of remembring a friend departed from us, we use to show a speciall affection. Hence it is, that ignorant and superstitious persons will so heartily, upon every occasion of remembrance, pray the Lord to have mercy of their soules that are departed this life, whom they love and have been beholding unto. But when they behold a speciall memoriall of them in some token of their love, which brings to their minde some extraordinarie favours, then they use to be extraordinarily affected with the remembrance thereof; yea, and they use to show part of that love, affection, and honour, to the token and memoriall itselfe, which they beare to the person. They will carefully lay it up in their deskes and cabinets: They will (it may be) sometimes kisse it, and doe a kinde of honour unto it: So much do we use to be affected with any thing that brings into our minde the loves and favours of a deceased friend. And therefore seeing this Sacrament that was not only left unto us by the greatest friend that ever we had, but left of purpose to be a remembrance & a pledge unto us, of the greatest love that ever was showed to mortall creatures, and which hath the very effects and fruits of the love written upon it, nay ingraven in it, yea in some sort contained in it; is it a thing credible, that any that love and beleeve in Christ Jesus, should prophane and lightly regard this Sacrament?

But heere by the way we may observe how strangely forgetfull even those that are faithful, be of the great & unspeakable love of Christ, that they stand in need of such a remembrance: for unto them is this Sacrament given, as a helpe to bring to their mindes the consideration of this love. Is it possible that a man should forget the love of such a Lord and Master, that hath with a great price of money redeemed him from being a perpetuall Galley-slave, yea who for to redeem him, hath made himself a slave, yea hath purchased his servants libertie with his own death, and hath bestowed upon him all the honours and dignities that himselfe had, and even all that himselfe possessed? Were it not wonderfull that he should need a speciall remembrance when hee can no wayes cast his eyes, but hee shall behold the effects of his Lords love? Would not one thinke that hee should rather need some means to make him forget this love, and to put it out of his head, rather than to bring it unto his remembrance? This is the state and condition of all Christians; though Christ Jesus hath done a thousand times more for us than is possible for one man to doe for an other, though whatsoever wee have, we have it by his mercie and love, our soules, our bodies, our senses, our wit, our beautie, our wealth, our life; so that wee are compassed about with memorials of his kindnesse: and we cannot see, feele, heare, taste, or smell any thing, but it may put us in minde of his love, yea of his death and passion, by which the free use of these things have been purchased unto vs: yet for all this, wee stand in need, you see, of speciall remembrances; yea and yet (O sinfull wretches that we are!) wee are ready to prophane these speciall remembrances; yea, and which exceedeth all wonder, are prone, even in the midst of them, most of all to forget the love of Christ, and to dishonour him.

Source: Bradshaw, William, and Arthur Hildersam. *A Direction for the Weaker Sort of Christians Shewing in What Manner They Ought to Fit and Prepare Themselves to the Worthy Receiuing of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ: With a Short Forme of Triall or Examination Annexed*. London: Hall, 1609, pp. 28–44.

13. A European Visitor Is Struck by the Zeal of Muslim Prayer

By the seventeenth century, when the following document was written, the Islamic world and the Christian world had been living side by side for centuries. Up until the late fifteenth century, for example, Muslims ruled much of the Spanish peninsula. In eastern Europe, moreover, Muslim governments had taken over the remains of the Byzantine Empire. Trade and crusading, meanwhile, had brought Muslims and Christians into frequent peaceful and violent contact. Nonetheless, the literature of the Middle Ages demonstrates that the average western European knew very little about authentic Muslim practices.

With the global expansion of west European empires (e.g., England, Spain, Portugal), however, increased contact with the Islamic world led to more informed discussions of Muslim practices. In this extract, the British ambassador Thomas Roe (c. 1581–1644), who had spent much of his life in Muslim lands, describes contemporary Muslim practices with an accuracy uncommon before this time period. Roe points out some of the major features of Muslim practice, which are still features of the faith today: praying five times per day, removing shoes before entering a mosque, using Arabic in prayer, and so on.

These ethnographic descriptions were not given, however, just to satisfy interest in foreign peoples. Writers like Roe interrogated their own cultures by comparing their home culture with the foreign culture. In this case, although Roe accuses the Muslims (whom he calls Mahometans) of practicing a false faith, he notes that their zeal in prayer puts to shame many so-called Christians who barely pray five times in a year. According to Roe, such Christians should not expect any more divine favor than the Muslims. Christian England, then, has something to learn from the Muslim East.

The Mahometans have a set form of prayer in the Arabian Tongue, not understood by many of the common people, yet repeated by them as well as by the Moolaas: they likewise rehearse the Names of God and of their Mahomet certain times every day upon Beads, like the miss-led Papists, who seem to regard more the Number, then the weight of prayers.

But for the carriage of that people in their devotions, before they go into their Churches they wash their feet, and entring into them put off their shooes. As they begin their devotions they stop their ears, and fix their eyes, that nothing may divert their thoughts; then in a soft and still voice they utter their prayers, wherein are many words most significantly expressing the Omnipotency, and Greatness, and Eternity, and other Attributes of God. Many words likewise that seem to express much humiliation, they confessing in divers submissive gestures, their own unworthiness, when they pray casting themselves low upon their Face sundry times, and then acknowledge that they are burdens to the Earth, and poison to the Air, and the like, being so confounded and ashamed as that they seem not to dare so much as to lift up their eyes towards Heaven; but after all this, comfort themselves in the mercies of God, through the mediation of Mahomet.

If this people could as well conclude, as they can begin and continue their prayers, in respect of their expressions, and carriages in them, they might find comfort; but the conclusion of their devotions mars all. Yet this, for their commendation (who doubtless, if they knew better would pray better) that what diversions, and impediments soever they have arising either from pleasure or profit, the Mahometans pray five times a day. The Mogul doth so, who sits on the Throne; the Shepherd doth so that waits on his flock in the field (where, by the way, they do not follow their flocks; but their flocks, them) all sorts of Mahometans do thus whether fixed in a place or moving in a journey, when their times, or hours of prayer come, which in the morning are at Six, Nine, and Twelve of the clock; and at three and six in the afternoon.

When they pray, it is their manner to set their Faces that they may look towards Medina near Mecca in Arabia where their great Seducer Mahomet was buried, who promised them after one thousand years, to fetch them all to Heaven; which term, when it was out, and the promise not fulfilled, the Mahometans concluded that their Fore-fathers mis-took the time of the promise of his coming; and therefore resolve to wait for the accomplishment of it one thousand years more. In the mean time they do so reverence that place where the body of Mahomet was laid up, that whosoever hath been there (as there are divers which flock yearly thither in Pilgrimage) are for ever after called, and esteemed Hoggees, which signifies Holy men.



Muslim pilgrims attempting to touch the Kaba stone in Mecca. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

And here the thing being rightly and seriously considered; it is a very great shame that a Mahometan should pray five times every day, that Pagans and Heathens should be very frequent in their devotions, and Christians (who only can hope for good answers in prayer) so negligent in that great prevailing duty. For a Mahometan to pray five times every day, what diversions soever he hath to hinder him, and for a Christian to let any thing interrupt his devotion; for a Mahometan to pray five times a day, and for one that is called a Christian not to pray (some believing themselves above this and other Ordinances) five times in a week, a month, a year!

But this will admit less cause of wonder if we consider how that many bearing the Names of Christians cannot pray at all, those I mean which are prophane and filthy, and who live as if there were no God to hear, or no judge, and no Hell to punish. Such as these can but babble, they cannot pray, for they blaspheme the Name of God, while they may think they adore it.

Source: Pietro della Valle. *The Travels of Sig. Pietro della Valle, a Noble Roman, into East India and Arabia Deserta in Which, the Several Countries, Together with the Customs, Manners, Traffique, and Rites Both Religious and Civil, of Those Oriental Princes and Nations, Are Faithfully Described: In Familiar Letters to His Friend Signior Mario Schipano: Whereunto Is Added a Relation of Sir Thomas Roe's Voyage into the East-Indies.* Translated by George Havers. London: J. Macock, 1665, pp. 423–24.

Death and the Afterlife

Stories of life after death are among the most prevalent worldwide. The human species seems to have almost unanimously rejected the idea that death is the end of independent conscious existence. That continued existence, however, may not always be happy. Xibalba (the Maya underworld), for example, contains houses of torment, such as the house of knives in which thrashing blades torture the inhabitants, but no houses of reward (Document 19). The *Anglo-Saxons*, likewise, envisioned souls of the dead leaping back and forth between a valley of intense cold and a land of fire, as the souls awaited Judgment Day (Document 18). One account from China depicts the souls of the dead being collected by a giant, who keeps them stuffed up his sleeve in unbearably cramped conditions; only devoted followers of Buddha could escape (Document 14).

Frequently, negative outcomes in the afterlife are the result of evildoing in this life. Dante's Italian lovers, punished by an eternal whirlwind in hell, have merited their lot in the afterlife because they allowed themselves to give in to carnal temptations in this life (Document 17). A Chinese gentleman, who witnessed his life flashing before his eyes on his deathbed, felt his blood boil painfully. Likewise, positive outcomes result from lives of goodness. The Chinese gentleman, for example, felt a sense of peace and calm when he recalled any virtuous act, and the souls of the righteous Anglo-Saxon dead await Judgment Day in a beautiful walled garden that is filled with a delicious and satisfying aroma. Good Muslims will be rewarded with beautiful maidens and feasting, according to the *Koran*, and the unrighteous will eat the bitter fruit of the Zakkoum

tree (Document 16). Occasionally, however, the link between this life and the afterlife is less clear. The Japanese *Kojiki* does not present any clearly positive aspects about the *Shinto* underworld (Document 15), and there are no redeeming features to Xibalba.

Life and death are nevertheless still connected even in such grim underworlds as those of the Maya and the *Kojiki*. In the *Kojiki* account, His Augustness the Male Who Invites drops fruit to delay the pursuit of the servants of Her Augustness the Female Who Invites, who controls the underworld. The gendered difference of the gods—male and female—emphasizes the role of the underworld in fertility, which role is explicitly highlighted by the fruit in the story. Just as the dead crops of the previous autumn enrich the soil and provide the seeds for the next year's harvest, the land of death—the underworld—is a necessary component of life in general. Hun-Hunahpú in the Maya *Popul Vuh* may die, but his head becomes the fruit of the calabash tree. Death brings forth new life.

14. A Chinese Story of Resurrection

P'u Sung-ling, the seventeenth-century author of the following extract, spent much of his life working as a tutor, during which time he also collected the tales of fantasy that make up his Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio, published in 1679. P'u Sung-ling is famous for his literary style and has been called the "Last of the immortals."

In the following account, P'u Sung-ling sketches the afterlife experiences of one T'ang T'ing. Although we can assume that P'u Sung-ling elaborated what may have been a real experience, the details included indicate what a seventeenth-century Chinese audience expected the afterlife to be like. According to this description, the dead undergo a review of their good and evil actions in life and are punished with a boiling of their blood for evil actions and rewarded with a sense of peace for good actions. Once the soul passes out of the body, however, it is the subject of capricious beings. T'ang T'ing's soul, for example, is captured by a giant, who stores the soul in a coat sleeve, until T'ang T'ing is released by calling on the Buddha. After several more adventures, including a conversation with Confucius, the soul is returned to T'ang T'ing's body by a Bodhisatva (a monk who has reached nirvana) who throws clay over the soul. This recreation results in T'ang T'ing waking up in his coffin, returned once more to life. Ultimately, T'ang T'ing's perseverance, more than any other factor, results in his resurrection from the dead.

RAISING THE DEAD

Mr. T'ang T'ing, who took the highest degree in the year 1661, was suffering from a protracted illness, when suddenly he felt, as it were, a warm glow rising from his extremities upwards. By the time it had reached his knees, his feet were perfectly numb and without sensation; and before long his knees and the lower part of his body were similarly affected. Gradually this glow worked its way up until it attacked his heart, and then some painful moments ensued. Every single incident of Mr. T'ang's life from his boyhood upwards, no matter how trivial, seemed to surge through his mind, borne along on the tide of his heart's blood. At the revival of any virtuous act of his, he experienced a delicious feeling of peace and calm; but when any wicked deed passed before his mind, a painful disturbance took place within him, like oil boiling and fretting in a cauldron.

He was quite unable to describe the pain he suffered; however, he mentioned that he could recollect having stolen, being only seven or eight years old, some young birds from their nest, and having killed them; and for this alone, he said, boiling blood rushed through his heart during the space of an ordinary meal-time. Then when all the acts of his life had passed one after another in panorama before him, the warm glow proceeded up his throat, and entering the brain, issued out at the top of his head like smoke from a chimney. By-and-by Mr. T'ang's soul escaped from his body by the same aperture, and wandered far away, forgetting all about the tenement it had left behind. Just at that moment a huge giant came along, and seizing the soul, thrust it into his sleeve, where it remained cramped and confined, huddled up with a crowd of others, until existence was almost unbearable. Suddenly Mr. T'ang reflected that Buddha alone could save him from this horrible state, and forthwith he began to call on his holy name. At the third or fourth invocation he fell out of the giant's sleeve, whereupon the giant picked him up and put him back; but this happened several times, and at length the giant, wearied of picking him up, let him lie where he was. The soul lay there for some time, not knowing in which direction to proceed; however, it soon recollected that the land of Buddha was in the west, and westwards accordingly it began to shape its course. In a little while the soul came upon a Buddhist priest sitting by the roadside, and hastening forwards, respectfully inquired of him which was the right way. "The Book of Life and Death for scholars," replied the priest, "is in the hands of the God of Literature and Confucius; any application must receive the consent of both." The priest then directed Mr. T'ang on his way, and the latter journeyed along until he reached a Confucian temple, in which the Sage was sitting with his face to the south. On hearing his business, Confucius referred him to the God of Literature; and proceeding onwards in the direction indicated, Mr. T'ang by-and-by arrived at what seemed to be the palace of a king, within which sat the God of Literature precisely as we depict him on earth. "You are an upright man," replied the God, in reply to Mr. T'ang's prayer, "and are certainly entitled to a longer span of life; but by this time your mortal body has become decomposed, and unless you can secure the assistance of a Bodhisatva, I can give you no aid." So Mr. T'ang set off once more, and hurried along until he came to a magnificent shrine standing in a thick grove of tall bamboos; and entering in, he stood in the presence of the Bodhisatva, on whose head was the ushnisha, whose golden face was round like the full moon, and at whose side was a green willow-branch bending gracefully over the lip of a vase. Humbly Mr. T'ang prostrated himself on the ground, and repeated what Wen Ch'ang had said to him; but the Bodhisatva seemed to think that it would be impossible to grant his request, until one of the Lohans who stood by cried out. "O Bodhisatva, perform this miracle. Take earth and make his flesh; take a sprig of willow and make his bones." Thereupon the Bodhisatva broke off a piece from the willow-branch in the vase beside him; and pouring a little water on the ground, he made clay, and casting the whole over Mr. T'ang's soul, he bade an attendant lead the body back to the place where his coffin was. At that instant Mr. T'ang's family heard a groan come from within his coffin; and on rushing to it and helping out the lately deceased man, they found that he had quite recovered. He had then been dead seven days.

Source: Giles, Herbert A. *Gems of Chinese Literature: Prose*. 2nd ed. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1923, pp. 236–39.

15. The Japanese Land of the Dead

The Kojiki, from which the following extract is taken, contains an early-medieval Japanese story of creation and is a central text of the traditional Shinto religion. In this extract, the primal male deity goes in search of his younger sister, who has been transformed by death into the Great Deity of Hades. The word Hades (the name of the Greek underworld) is, of course, the translator's choice—the original Japanese account does not refer to the Greek underworld. When His Augustness the Male Who Invites sees his sister full of maggots and of Thunder Deities as a result of death, he flees. Her Augustness the Female Who Invites sends warriors in pursuit of the brother, who escapes ultimately by throwing down objects that turn into fruit.

The connections between gender, food, and the underworld are seen in many cultures. Whereas a brother visits a sister in Kojiki, "Good looks the playboy" goes in search of the fertility goddess Ishtar in Mesopotamian legend, and Hades snatches Persephone in Greek legend. Persephone cannot return permanently to the land of the living because she has eaten food in the underworld; food similarly detains the denizens of the underworld in the Kojiki, and in Irish folklore, people who have eaten food with the fairies cannot leave the fairy realm. These legends, ultimately concerned with fertility, reflect a widespread cultural understanding that death is a part of life and that life ultimately comes from death. The realm of the dead and the realm of the living are intricately connected. The emphasis on food in the underworld may also reflect rituals in which food was offered to the souls of the departed.

Thereupon [His Augustness the Male Who-Invites], wishing to meet and see his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, followed after her to the Land of Hades. So when from the palace she raised the door and came out to meet him, His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites spoke, saying: "Thine Augustness my lovely younger sister! The lands that I and thou made are not yet finished making; so come back!" Then Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites answered, saying: "Lamentable indeed that thou earnest not sooner! I have eaten of the furnace of Hades. Nevertheless, as I reverence the entry here of Thine Augustness my lovely elder brother, I wish to return. Moreover, I will discuss it particularly with the Deities of Hades. Look not at me!" Having thus spoken, she went back inside the palace; and as she tarried there very long, he could not wait. So having taken and broken off one of the end-teeth of the multitudinous and close-toothed comb stuck in the august left bunch [of his hair], he lit one light and went in and looked. Maggots were swarming, and [she was] rotting, and in her head dwelt the Great-Thunder, in her breast dwelt the Fire-Thunder, in her left hand dwelt the Young-Thunder, in her right hand dwelt the Earth-Thunder, in her left foot dwelt the Rumbling-Thunder, in her right foot dwelt the Couchant-Thunder; altogether eight Thunder-Deities had been born and dwelt there. Hereupon His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites, overawed at the sight, fled back, whereupon his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites said: "Thou hast put me to shame," and at once sent the Ugly-Female-of-Hades to pursue him. So His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites took his black august head-dress and cast it down, and it instantly turned into grapes. While she picked them up and ate them, he fled on; but as she still pursued him, he took and broke the multitudinous and close-toothed comb in the right bunch [of his hair] and cast

it down, and it instantly turned into bamboo-sprouts. While she pulled them up and ate them, he fled on. Again later [his Younger sister] sent the eight Thunder-Deities with a thousand and five hundred warriors of Hades to pursue him. So he, drawing the ten-grasp sabre that was augustly girded on him, fled forward brandishing it in his back hand; and as they still pursued, he took, on reaching the base of the Even Pass of Hades, three peaches that were growing at its base, and waited and smote [his pursuers therewith], so that they all fled back. Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites announced to the peaches: "Like as ye have helped me, so must ye help all living people in the Central Land of Reed-Plains when they shall fall into troublous circumstances and be harassed!" And he gave [to the peaches] the designation of Their Augustnesses Great-Divine-Fruit. Last of all, his younger sister Her Augustness the Princess-Who-Invites came out herself in pursuit. So he drew a thousand-draught rock, and [with it] blocked up the Even Pass of Hades, and placed the rock in the middle; and they stood opposite to one another and exchanged leave-takings; and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites said: "My lovely elder brother, thine Augustness! If thou do like this, I will in one day strangle to death a thousand of the folks of thy land." Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites replied: "My lovely younger sister, Thine Augustness! If *thou* do this, I will in one day set up a thousand and five hundred parturition-houses. In this manner each day a thousand people would surely be born." So Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites is called the Great-Deity-of-Hades. Again it is said that, owing to her having pursued and reached [her elder brother], she is called the Road-Reaching-Great-Deity. Again the rock with which he blocked up the Pass of Hades is called the Great-Deity-of-the-Road-Turning-back, and again it is called the Blocking-Great-Deity-of-the-Door-of-Hades. So what was called the Even-Pass-of-Hades is now called the Ifuya-Pass in the Land of Idzumo.

Source: Chamberlain, Basil Hall. *Translation of "Ko-ji-ki": or "Records of Ancient Matters."* Kobe: Asiatic Society of Japan, 1919, pp. 38–41.

16. Heaven and Hell in the Koran

Like many other major religions, including Christianity and Buddhism, Islam teaches that the dead will be rewarded or punished in accordance with their deeds. Like Christianity, two major outcomes are possible: reward in paradise or torment in a kind of hell. In this manner, the day of judgment can be called by the Koran, as in the following extract, "Day that shall abase! Day that shall exalt!"

The rewards of the righteous are depicted with worldly imagery in the Koran. The righteous will feast on fruits and meat, and they will have houris (beautiful maidens) as companions; even their refreshing drink will not cause hangovers ("Their brows ache not from it, nor fails the sense"). Evildoers, however, will be punished with hot winds, boiling waters, and the bitter fruit of the Zakkoum tree.

Ultimately, the nature of creation serves as a rebuke to evil people. In this extract, God (using the plural "We") points out to the wicked that they are not the center and purpose of the universe. Indeed, human beings cannot force things to grow, cannot control the weather, and did not create the stars. The Koran suggests that human beings' own frailty points out their need of the Creator, and their resulting need to obey that Creator in choosing good over evil.

Sura LVI—The Inevitable

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
 When the day that must come shall have come suddenly,
 None shall treat its sudden coming as a lie:
 Day that shall abase! Day that shall exalt!
 When the earth shall be shaken with a shock,
 And the mountains shall be crumbled with a crumbling,
 And become scattered dust,
 And into three bands shall ye be divided;
 Then the people of the right hand—how happy the people of the right hand!
 And the people of the left hand—how wretched the people of the left hand!
 And they who were foremost on earth—the foremost still.
 These are they who shall be brought close to God,
 In gardens of delight;
 A crowd from the ancients,
 And a few from later generations;
 On inwrought couches
 Reclining on them face to face:
 Immortal youths go round about to them
 With goblets and ewers and a cup from a fountain;
 Their brows ache not from it, nor fails the sense:
 And with such fruits as they shall make choice of,
 And with flesh of such birds as they shall long for:
 And theirs shall be the Houris with large dark eyes like close-kept pearls,
 A recompense for their labours past.
 No vain discourse shall they hear therein, nor charge of sin,
 But only the cry, "Peace! Peace!"
 And the people of the right hand—how happy the people of the right hand!
 Amid thornless lote-trees
 And bananas clad with flowers,
 And extended shade,
 And flowing waters,
 And abundant fruits,
 Unfailing, and unforbidden,
 And lofty couches.
 Verily of a rare creation have We created the Houris,
 And We have made them ever virgins,
 Dear to their spouses, of equal age with them,
 For the people of the right hand,
 A crowd from the ancients,
 And a crowd from later generations.
 But the people of the left hand—how wretched shall be the people of the left hand!
 Amid pestilential winds and in scalding water,
 And the shadow of a black smoke,
 Not cooling, not pleasant.
 They truly, ere this, were blessed with worldly goods,
 But persisted in heinous wickedness,
 And were wont to say,
 "When we have died, and become dust and bones, shall we indeed be raised?
 And our fathers the men of yore?"
 Say: Aye, the former and the latter.
 Gathered shall they surely be before the time of a known day.

Then verily you, O you the erring, the imputers of falsehood,
 Shall surely eat of the tree of Zakkoum,
 And fill your bellies with it,
 And thereupon shall ye drink of the boiling water,
 And ye shall drink as the thirsty camel drinketh.
 This shall be their repast in the day of reckoning!
 We created you; will you not then credit Us?
 What think you? The germs of life—
 Is it you who create them? or are We their creator?
 It is We who have decreed that death should be among you;
 Yet are We not thereby hindered from replacing you with others, your likes, or from producing
 you again in a form which you know not!
 And already you have known the first creation: will you not then reflect?
 What think you? That which you sow—
 Do ye cause its upgrowth, or are We the givers of it?
 If We pleased We surely could so make it so dry and brittle that you would ever marvel
 and say,
 “We have been indeed at cost, yet are we forbidden harvest.”
 What think you also of the water you drink?
 Is it you who send it down from the clouds, or send We it down?
 Brackish could We make it, if We pleased: will you not then be thankful?
 What think ye too of the fire which ye obtain by friction—
 Is it ye who rear its tree, or do We rear it?
 It is We who have made it for a memorial and a benefit to the dwellers in the desert;
 Praise therefore the name of thy Lord, the Great.
 And I swear by the places where the stars do set,
 And that is surely a great oath, if ye (only) knew it;
 Verily it is the honorable Koran,
 Written in the preserved Book:
 Let none touch it but the purified,
 It is a revelation from the Lord of the worlds.
 Such tidings then as these will ye disdain?
 And will ye make it your daily bread to gainsay them?
 Why then when the soul of a dying man has reached the throat,
 And ye then are looking on,
 And We are nearer to him than ye, although ye see Us not:
 Why could ye not, if ye are to escape all retribution,
 Cause that soul to return? Tell me, if ye speak the truth.
 But if he be one of those permitted to draw near to God,
 His shall be repose and pleasure and a garden of delights;
 And if he be of the people of the right hand—
 From the people of the right hand shall be the greeting, “Peace be to thee:”
 And if he be of those who treat the prophets as deceivers,
 And of the erring,
 His entertainment shall be of scalding water,
 And the broiling of the hell-fire.
 Verily this is a certain truth;
 Praise therefore the name of thy Lord, the Great.

Source: *El-Kor'an, or, The Koran*. 2nd ed. Translated by J. M. Rodwell. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1876,
 pp. 51–55. With slight changes.

17. Dante: The Punishment of Literary Lust

The well-known Christian hell received its most famous and creative envisioning in the work of the Italian poet Dante Alighieri (1265–1321). Dante became famous in his own day, and his description of an imagined journey through hell, purgatory, and heaven has influenced countless generations of writers.

Throughout Dante's *Divine Comedy*, the author carefully attempts to match the punishment or reward closely to the individual vice or virtue. In the following extract, depicting the punishment of the lustful, Dante depicts the damned as being blown almost continuously by a strong wind. As a result, the condemned sinners have no control over where they go or when they depart but are instead at the complete mercy of the capricious wind. This punishment presents Dante's understanding of the sin of lust itself. Like the wind, lust is difficult, even perhaps impossible, to control, especially if the victim does not take precautions against it. Moreover, the wind blows where it will just as love is blind, in the modern metaphor. Because lust, as Dante envisions it, is the result of lack of control and firm resolve instead of deliberate evil, Dante places the lustful in the outermost ring of hell, furthest from Satan. Although lust is a sin serious enough to cause damnation, it is the least evil of those serious sins; thus, these sinners are the furthest from the devil. This medieval understanding of lust as relatively minor challenges many modern perceptions of Christianity that view lust as a central and particularly pernicious sin.

In Dante's catalog of sinners, the predominance of women is striking. Out of the eight named (or clearly identified) sinners, the majority are female. Indeed, the first four people named are all women, and the main spirit with whom Dante speaks is a woman. By highlighting women in this realm of hell, Dante suggests that women are more given to lust than men—another medieval conception that challenges modern stereotypes in which more men than women are driven by sex.

Finally, note the role of literature in promoting lust. Francesca and her lover first fall in love and kiss (which kiss we are led to believe leads to still further physical expressions of love) while reading a book about Lancelot, the Arthurian knight who adulterously loved Guinevere. By reading about adultery, the young couple themselves fall into fornication. Literature repeats itself in real life. This argument about fiction and reality has entered the modern world in the debate about violence in TV, movies, and video games. This question, in fact, has plagued humanity since at least Plato's *Republic*, written in the fourth century B.C.

Now again the rueful wailings are heard.
 Now am I come where many a plaining voice
 Smites on mine ear. Into a place I came
 Where light was silent all. Bellowing there groaned
 A noise as of a sea in tempest torn
 By warring winds. The stormy blast of hell
 With restless fury drives the spirits on,
 Whirled round and dashed amain with sore annoy.
 When they arrive before the ruinous sweep,
 There shrieks are heard, there lamentations, moans,
 And blasphemies against the good Power in heaven.
 I understood that to this torment sad
 The carnal sinners are condemned, in whom
 Reason by lust is swayed. As in large troops

And multitudinous, when winter reigns,
The starlings on their wings are borne abroad;
So bears the tyrannous gust those evil souls.
On this side and on that, above, below,
It drives them: hope of rest to solace them
Is none, nor even of milder pang. As cranes,
Chanting their dolorous notes, traverse the sky,
Stretched out in long array: so I beheld
Spirits, who came loud wailing, hurried on
By their dire doom. Then I: "Instructor! Who
Are these, by the black air so scourged?"—"The first
Among those, of whom thou questionest," he replied,
"Over many tongues was empress. She in vice
Of luxury was so shameless, that she made
Liking be lawful by promulg'd decree,
To clear the blame she had herself incurred.
This is Semiramis, of whom 'tis writ,
That she succeeded Ninus her espoused;
And held the land, which now the Sultan rules.
The next in amorous fury slew herself,
And to Sicheus' ashes broke her faith:
Then follows Cleopatra, lustful queen."
There marked I Helen, for whose sake so long
The time was fraught with evil; there the great
Achilles, who with love fought to the end.
Paris I saw, and Tristan; and beside
A thousand more he showed me, and by name
Pointed them out, whom love bereaved of life.
When I had heard my sage instructor name
Those dames and knights of antique days, overpowered
By pity, well-nigh in amaze my mind
Was lost; and I began: "Bard! willingly
I would address those two together coming,
Which seem so light before the wind." He thus:
"Note thou, when nearer they to us approach.
"Then by that love which carries them along,
Entreat; and they will come." Soon as the wind
Swayed them toward us, I thus framed my speech:
"O wearied spirits! come, and hold discourse
With us, if by none else restrained." As doves
By fond desire invited, on wide wings
And firm, to their sweet nest returning home,
Cleave the air, wafted by their will along;
Thus issued from that troop, where Dido ranks,
They through the ill air speeding; with such force
My cry prevailed by strong affection urged.
"O gracious creature and benign! who goest
Visiting, through this element obscure,
Us, who the world with bloody stain imbrued;
If for a friend the King of all we owned,
Our prayer to him should for thy peace arise,

Since thou hast pity on our evil plight.
 If whatsoever to hear or to discourse
 It pleases thee, that will we hear, of that
 Freely with thee discourse, while ever the wind,
 As now, is mute. The land, that gave me birth,
 Is situate on the coast, where Po descends
 To rest in ocean with his sequent streams.
 "Love, that in gentle heart is quickly learnt,
 Entangled him by that fair form, from me
 Taken in such cruel sort, as grieves me still:
 Love, that denial takes from none beloved,
 Caught me with pleasing him so passing well,
 That, as thou seest, he yet deserts me not.
 Love brought us to one death: Caina waits
 The soul, who spilt our life." Such were their words;
 At hearing which downward I bent my looks,
 And held them there so long, that the bard cried:
 "What art thou pondering?" I in answer thus:
 "Alas! By what sweet thoughts, what fond desire,
 Must they at length to that ill pass have reached!"
 Then turning, I to them my speech addressed.
 And thus began: "Francesca! Your sad fate
 Even to tears my grief and pity moves.
 But tell me; in the time of your sweet sighs,
 By what, and how love granted, that ye knew
 Your yet uncertain wishes?" She replied:
 "No greater grief than to remember days
 Of joy, when misery is at hand! That kens
 Thy learned instructor. Yet so eagerly
 If thou art bent to know the primal root,
 From whence our love gat being, I will do,
 As one, who weeps and tells his tale. One day
 For our delight we read of Lancelot,
 How him love thrall'd. Alone we were, and no
 Suspicion near us. Ofttimes by that reading
 Our eyes were drawn together, and the hue
 Fled from our altered cheek. But at one point
 Alone we fell. When of that smile we read,
 The wished smile, rapturously kissed
 By one so deep in love, then he, who never
 From me shall separate, at once my lips
 All trembling kissed. The book and writer both
 Were love's purveyors. In its leaves that day
 We read no more." While thus one spirit spake,
 The other wailed so sorely, that heartstruck
 I through compassion fainting, seemed not far
 From death, and like a corpse fell to the ground.



Woodcut of Dante Alighieri, 1521. The background and Dante's serious expression represent both the author's exile from Florence and the author's major work: *The Divine Comedy*. © 2008 Jupiterimages Corporation.

Source: Dante Alighieri. *L'Inferno*, canto 5, lines 27–138. In *The Vision of Hell*, trans. Henry Francis Cary. London: Cassel, 1892, pp. 62–65. Spelling has been regularized at the expense of meter.

18. Bede: An Out-of-Body Experience

In the following fascinating account of an out-of-body experience, the Anglo-Saxon monk Bede (c. 672–735) chronicles the journey of one Drihtelm Cunningham to purgatory, heaven, and hell. Cunningham fell apparently dead in the night and was waked by well-wishers, who fled when Cunningham stirred to life in the morning! Only his wife remained. As a result of his unearthly experiences, Drihtelm entered the monastery of Melrose and spent much of his remaining life in strict ascetic practices.

In accordance with early medieval associations of the north with evil, Drihtelm follows an angelic guide northward to visit hell. Hell itself is located in an intense blackness from which globes of flame, containing the souls of the damned, rise and fall and into which the laughs of demons merge with the laments of the condemned souls being dragged into the abyss. By contrast, heaven is an enclosed garden paradise filled with an odor of unsurpassed beauty and delight.

Purgatory, the waiting chamber of heaven reserved for souls that will not enter paradise until the day of judgment, contains a two-fold division that patterns the difference between heaven and hell. Those souls who repented late in life, thus receiving God's mercy despite their lack of positive good works, are forced to flit back and forth between a flaming valley and a valley of intense cold. Their punishment is severe enough that Drihtelm suspects this is hell, although the angelic guide informs him that, in fact, these souls will enter heaven on judgment day. Those souls, however, who lived more virtuous lives, though not lives worthy of entering heaven immediately, await the day of judgment in an enclosed garden that is explicitly paralleled to heaven, although the perfume and delights are less than those experienced in heaven.

Drihtelm's dramatic actions suggest that he really did experience a life-changing event. Drihtelm left his wife and family, having secured their financial future, and entered a monastery, where he became well known for his frequent practice of praying while submerged in the frozen waters of wintertime. Drihtelm's ascetic regimen matches the torments he saw in the next life, especially the valley of cold. By willingly undergoing painful correction in this life in an attempt to control the appetites of the body, Drihtelm prepared himself for a reception in the heavenly garden upon his death.

OF ONE AMONG THE NORTHUMBRIANS, WHO ROSE FROM THE DEAD, AND RELATED THE THINGS WHICH HE HAD SEEN, SOME EXCITING TERROR AND OTHERS DELIGHT. [A.D. 696.]

At this time a memorable miracle, and like to those of former days, was wrought in Britain; for, to the end that the living might be saved from the death of the soul, a certain person, who had been some time dead, rose again to life, and related many remarkable things he had seen; some of which I have thought fit here briefly to take notice of. There was a master of a family in that district of the Northumbrians which is called Cunningham, who led a religious life, as did also all that belonged to him. This man fell sick, and his distemper daily increasing, being brought to extremity, he died in the beginning of the night; but in the morning early, he suddenly came to life again, and sat up, upon which all those that sat about the body weeping, fled away in a great fright, only his wife, who loved him best, though in a great consternation and trembling, remained with him. He, comforting her, said, "Fear not, for I am now truly risen from death, and permitted again to live among men; however, I am not to live hereafter as I was wont, but from henceforward after a very different manner." Then rising

immediately, he repaired to the oratory of the little town, and continuing in prayer till day, immediately divided all his substance into three parts; one whereof he gave to his wife, another to his children, and the third, belonging to himself, he instantly distributed among the poor. Not long after, he repaired to the monastery of Melrose, which is almost enclosed by the winding of the river Tweed, and having been shaven, went into a private dwelling, which the abbot had provided, where he continued till the day of his death, in such extraordinary contrition of mind and body, that though his tongue had been silent, his life declared that he had seen many things either to be dreaded or coveted, which others knew nothing of.

Thus he related what he had seen. "He that led me had a shining countenance and a bright garment, and we went on silently, as I thought, towards the north-east. Walking on, we came to a vale of great breadth and depth, but of infinite length; on the left it appeared full of dreadful flames, the other side was no less horrid for violent hail and cold snow flying in all directions; both places were full of men's souls, which seemed by turns to be tossed from one side to the other, as it were by a violent storm; for when the wretches could no longer endure the excess of heat, they leaped into the middle of the cutting cold; and finding no rest there, they leaped back again into the middle of the unquenchable flames. Now whereas an innumerable multitude of deformed spirits were thus alternately tormented far and near, as far as could be seen, without any intermission, I began to think that this perhaps might be hell, of whose intolerable flames I had often heard talk. My guide, who went before me, answered to my thought, saying, 'Do not believe so, for this is not the hell you imagine.'

"When he had conducted me, much frightened with that horrid spectacle, by degrees, to the farther end, on a sudden I saw the place begin to grow dusk and filled with darkness. When I came into it, the darkness, by degrees, grew so thick, that I could see nothing besides it and the shape and garment of him that led me. As we went on through the shades of night, on a sudden there appeared before us frequent globes of black flames, rising as it were out of a great pit, and falling back again into the same. When I had been conducted thither, my leader suddenly vanished, and left me alone in the midst of darkness and this horrid vision, whilst those same globes of fire, without intermission, at one time flew up and at another fell back into the bottom of the abyss; and I observed that all the flames, as they ascended, were full of human souls, which, like sparks flying up with smoke, were sometimes thrown on high, and again, when the vapor of the fire ceased, dropped down into the depth below. Moreover, an insufferable stench came forth with the vapors, and filled all those dark places.

Having stood there a long time in much dread, not knowing what to do, which way to turn, or what end I might expect, on a sudden I heard behind me the noise of a most hideous and wretched lamentation, and at the same time a loud laughing, as of a rude multitude insulting captured enemies. When that noise, growing plainer, came up to me, I observed a gang of evil spirits dragging the howling and lamenting souls of men into the midst of the darkness, whilst they themselves laughed and rejoiced. Among those men, as I could discern, there was one shorn like a clergyman, a layman, and a woman. The evil spirits that dragged them went down into the midst of the burning pit; and as they went down deeper, I could no longer distinguish between the lamentation of the men and the laughing of the devils, yet I still had a confused sound in my

ears. In the meantime, some of the dark spirits ascended from that flaming abyss, and running forward, beset me on all sides, and much perplexed me with their glaring eyes and the stinking fire which proceeded from their mouths and nostrils; and threatened to lay hold on me with burning tongs, which they had in their hands, yet they durst not touch me, though they frightened me. Being thus on all sides enclosed with enemies and darkness, and looking about on every side for assistance, there appeared behind me, on the way that I came, as it were, the brightness of a star shining amidst the darkness; which increased by degrees, and came rapidly towards me: when it drew near, all those evil spirits, that sought to carry me away with their tongs, dispersed and fled.

“He, whose approach put them to flight, was the same that led me before; who, then turning towards the right began to lead me, as it were, towards the south-east, and having soon brought me out of the darkness, conducted me into an atmosphere of clear light. While he thus led me in open light, I saw a vast wall before us, the length and height of which, in every direction, seemed to be altogether boundless. I began to wonder why we went to the wall, seeing no door, window, or path through it. When we came to the wall, we were presently, I know not by what means, on the top of it, and within it was a vast and delightful field, so full of fragrant flowers that the odor of its delightful sweetness immediately dispelled the stink of the dark furnace, which had pierced me through and through. So great was the light in this place, that it seemed to exceed the brightness of the day, or the sun in its meridian height. In this field were innumerable assemblies of men in white, and many companies seated together rejoicing. As he led me through the midst of those happy inhabitants, I began to think that this might, perhaps, be the kingdom of heaven, of which I had often heard so much. He answered to my thought, saying, ‘This is not the kingdom of heaven, as you imagine.’

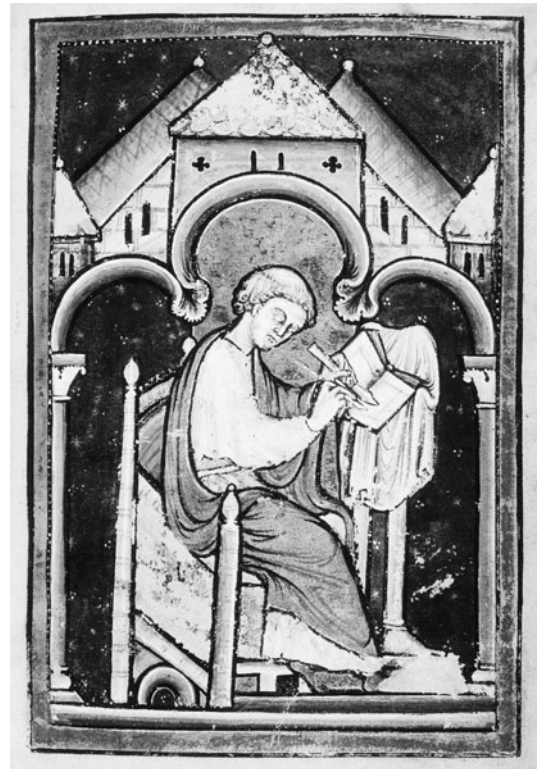
“When we had passed those mansions of blessed souls and gone farther on, I discovered before me a much more beautiful light, and therein heard sweet voices of persons singing, and so wonderful a fragrance proceeded from the place, that the other which I had before thought most delicious, then seemed to me but very indifferent; even as that extraordinary brightness of the flowery field, compared with this, appeared mean and inconsiderable. When I began to hope we should enter that delightful place, my guide on a sudden stood still; and then turning back, led me back by the way we came.

“When we returned to those joyful mansions of the souls in white, he said to me, ‘Do you know what all these things are which you have seen?’ I answered. I did not; and then he replied, ‘That vale you saw so dreadful for consuming flames and cutting cold, is the place in which the souls of those are tried and punished, who, delaying to confess and amend their crimes, at length have recourse to repentance at the point of death, and so depart this life; but nevertheless because they, even at their death, confessed and repented, they shall all be received into the kingdom of heaven at the day of judgment; but many are relieved before the day of judgment, by the prayers, alms, and fasting, of the living, and more especially by masses. That fiery and stinking pit, which you saw, is the mouth of hell, into which whosoever falls shall never be delivered to all eternity. This flowery place, in which you see these most beautiful young people, so bright and merry, is that into which the souls of those are received who depart the body in good works, but who are not so perfect as to deserve to be immediately admitted into the kingdom of heaven; yet they shall all, at the day of judgment, see Christ, and partake

of the joys of his kingdom; For whoever are perfect in thought, word and deed, as soon as they depart the body, immediately enter into the kingdom of heaven; in the neighborhood, whereof that place is, where you heard the sound of sweet singing, with the fragrant odor and bright light. As for you, who are now to return to your body, and live among men again, if you will endeavor nicely to examine your actions, and direct your speech and behavior in righteousness and simplicity, you shall, after death, have a place or residence among these joyful troops of blessed souls; for when I left you for a while, it was to know how you were to be disposed of.' When he had said this to me, I much abhorred returning to my body, being delighted with the sweetness and beauty of the place I beheld, and with the company of those I saw in it. However, I durst not ask him any questions; but in the meantime, on a sudden, I found myself alive among men."

Now these and other things which this man of God saw, he would not relate to slothful persons and such as lived negligently; but only to those who, being terrified with the dread of torments, or delighted with the hopes of heavenly joys, would make use of his words to advance in piety. In the neighborhood of his cell lived one Hemgils, a monk, eminent in the priesthood, which he honored by his good works: he is still living, and leading a solitary life in Ireland, supporting his declining age with coarse bread and cold water. He often went to that man, and asking several questions, heard of him all the particulars of what he had seen when separated from his body; by whose relation we also came to the knowledge of those few particulars which we have briefly set down. He also related his visions to King Alfrid, a man most learned in all respects, and was by him so willingly and attentively heard, that at his request he was admitted into the monastery above mentioned, and received the monastic tonsure; and the said king, when he happened to be in those parts, very often went to hear him. At that time the religious and humble abbot and priest, Ethelwald, presided over the monastery, and now with worthy conduct possesses the episcopal see of the church of Lindisfarne.

He had a more private place of residence assigned him in that monastery, where he might apply himself to the service of his Creator in continual prayer. And as that place lay on the bank of the river, he was wont often to go into the same to do penance in his body, and many times to dip quite under the water, and to continue saying psalms or prayers in the same as long as he could endure it, standing still sometimes up to the middle, and sometimes to the neck in water; and when he went out from thence ashore, he never took off his cold and frozen garments till they grew warm and dry on his body. And when in the winter the half-broken pieces of ice were swimming about him, which he had himself broken, to make room to stand or dip himself in the river, those who beheld it would say, "It is wonderful, brother Drihthelm (for so he was called), that you are able to endure such violent cold; he simply answered, for he was a man of much simplicity and indifferent wit, "I have seen greater cold." And when they said, "It is strange that you will endure such



A monastic scribe. Throughout the early Middle Ages, scribes working for the Church, especially in monasteries, preserved and spread learning and ideas by copying and recopying books by hand. The Art Archive/British Library.

austerity;" he replied, "I have seen more austerity." Thus he continued, through an indefatigable desire of heavenly bliss, to subdue his aged body with daily fasting, till the day of his being called away; and thus he forwarded the salvation of many by his words and example.

Source: Bede. *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*. Translated by John Stevens and Lionel C. Jane. New York: Dutton, 1910, book 5, ch. 12, pp. 241–46.

19. Xibalba: The Mayan Underworld

The Quiché Maya, in the Guatemalan highlands, were one of the most prosperous peoples of the region before the coming of the Spanish explorers. Shortly after the Spanish conquest of the 1520s, the Quiché wrote down some of their important legends in the book known as the Popul Vuh (Popol Wuj in the modern Quiché language), which means "Council Book." The Popul Vuh records the Maya creation legend and the exploits of the Hero Twins, Huhnapuh and Xbalanque, who eventually defeat the Lords of Xibalba (pronounced like "she-ball-buh"), which is the Maya underworld—a land of death and destruction.

In the following extract from the Popul Vuh, Hun-Hunahpú and Vuvub-Hunahpu, predecessors of the future Hero Twins, are called to Xibalba by the Lords of the Underworld; the Lords apparently want the playing gear of the siblings and plan to sacrifice the brothers to acquire their gear. This legend probably reflects a Maya custom of sacrificing captured warriors who were ritually defeated in the local ball game, which resembled somewhat a soccer game played with a hard ball.

According to the extract, Xibalba contains five separate halls of punishment: the house of gloom, the house of cold, the house of jaguars, the house of bats, and the house of knives. These different punishments resemble medieval Norse tradition, which contains a house of serpents, although general underworld accounts, such as Dante's, also delineate different areas of torment and suffering.

This extract also provides an etiological story of the calabash tree, that is, an explanation of how the calabash tree came to have its distinctively round, head-sized fruit. According to this account, when the head of the slain Hun-Hunahpú was placed upon a tree, the tree spontaneously brought forth fruit, and the head of Hun-Hunahpú was itself transformed into this fruit.

Although Xibalba does not contain any houses of heaven-like reward, the Popul Vuh does hint at the possibility of a positive reward after death. Once the Hero Twins descend to Xibalba and defeat its Lords, they ascend to heaven, becoming the sun and the moon, thereby governing time and the seasons. The very fact that the Lords of Xibalba can be defeated offers hope.

THE MESSENGERS OF HUN-CAMÉ AND VUCUB-CAMÉ ARRIVED IMMEDIATELY

"Go, Ahpop Achih!" they were told. "Go and call Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. Say to them, 'Come with us. The lords say that you must come.' They must come here to play ball with us so that they shall make us happy, for really they amaze

us. So, then, they must come,” said the lords. “And have them bring their playing gear, their rings, their gloves, and have them bring their rubber balls, too,” said the lords. “Tell them to come quickly,” they told the messengers.

And these messengers were owls: Chabi-Tucur, Huracán-Tucur, Caquix-Tucur and Holom-Tucur. These were the names of the messengers of Xibalba. Chabi-Tucur was swift as an arrow; Huracán-Tucur had only one leg; Caquix-Tucur had a red back, and Holom-Tucur had only a head, no legs, but he had wings. The four messengers had the rank of Ahpop-Achih. Leaving Xibalba, they arrived quickly, bringing their message to the court where Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú were playing ball, at the ball-court which was called *Nim-Xob-Carchah*. The owl messengers went directly to the ball-court and delivered their message exactly as it was given to them by Hun-Camé, Vucub-Camé, Ahalpuh, Ahalganá, Chamiabac, Chamiaholom, Xiquiripat, Cuchumaquic, Ahalmez, Ahaltocob, Xic, and Patán, as the lords were called who sent the message by the owls.

“Did the Lords Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé really say that we must go with you?” “They certainly said so, and ‘Let them bring all their playing gear,’ the lords said.” “Very well,” said the youths. “Wait for us, we are only going to say good-bye to our mother.” And having gone straight home, they said to their mother, for their father was dead: “We are going, our mother, but our going is only for a while. The messengers of the lord have come to take us. ‘They must come,’ they said, according to the messengers. “We shall leave our ball here in pledge,” they added. They went immediately to hang it in the space under the roof-tree. “We will return to play,” they said. And going to Hunbatz and Hunchouén they said to them: “Keep on playing the flute and singing, painting, and carving; warm our house and warm the heart of your grandmother.” When they took leave of their mother, Xmucané was moved and burst into tears. “Do not worry, we are going, but we have not died yet,” said Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú as they left. Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú went immediately and the messengers took them on the road.

Thus they were descending the road to Xibalba, by some very steep stairs. They went down until they came to the bank of a river which flowed rapidly between the ravines called *Nuziván cul* and *Cuziván*, and crossed it. Then they crossed the river which flows among thorny calabash trees. There were very many calabash trees, but they passed through them without hurting themselves. Then they came to the bank of a river of blood and crossed it without drinking its waters; they only went to the river bank and so they were not overcome.

They went on until they came to where four roads joined, and there at the cross-roads they were overcome. One of the four roads was red, another black, another white, and another yellow. And the black road said to them: “I am the one you must take because I am the way of the Lord.” So said the road. And from here on they were already overcome. They were taken over the road to Xibalba and when they arrived at the council room of the Lords of Xibalba, they had already lost the match. Well, the first ones who were seated there were only figures of wood, arranged by the men of Xibalba. These they greeted first: “How are you, Hun-Camé?” they said to the wooden man. “How are you, Vucub-Camé?” they said to the other wooden man. But they did not answer. Instantly the Lords of Xibalba burst into laughter and all the other lords

began to laugh loudly, because they already took for granted the downfall and defeat of Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. And they continued to laugh.

Then Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé spoke: "Very well," they said. "You have come. Tomorrow you shall prepare the mask, your rings, and your gloves," they said. "Come and sit down on our bench," they said. But the bench which they offered them was of hot stone, and when they sat down they were burned. They began to squirm around on the bench, and if they had not stood up they would have burned their seats. The Lords of Xibalba burst out laughing again; they were dying of laughter; they writhed from pain in their stomach, in their blood, and in their bones, caused by their laughter, all the Lords of Xibalba laughed.

"Go now to that house," they said. "There you will get your sticks of fat pine and your cigar and there you shall sleep." Immediately they arrived at the House of Gloom. There was only darkness within the house. Meanwhile the Lords of Xibalba discussed what they should do. "Let us sacrifice them tomorrow, let them die quickly, quickly, so that we can have their playing gear to use in play," said the Lords of Xibalba to each other. Well, their fat-pine sticks were round and were called *zaquitoc*, which is the pine of Xibalba. Their fat-pine sticks were pointed and filed and were as bright as bone; the pine of Xibalba was very hard. Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú entered the House of Gloom. There they were given their fat-pine sticks, a single lighted stick which Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé sent them, together with a lighted cigar for each of them which the lords had sent. They went to give them to Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú.

They found them crouching in the darkness when the porters arrived with the fat-pine sticks and the cigars. As they entered, the pine sticks lighted the place brightly. "Each of you light your pine sticks and your cigars; come and bring them back at dawn, you must not burn them up, but you must return them whole; this is what the lords told us to say." So they said. And so they were defeated. They burned up the pine sticks, and they also finished the cigars which had been given to them.

There were many punishments in Xibalba; the punishments were of many kinds. The first was the House of Gloom, *Quequmaha*, in which there was only darkness. The second was *Xuxulimha*, the house where everybody shivered, in which it was very cold. A cold, unbearable wind blew within. The third was the House of Jaguars, *Balami-ha*, it was called, in which there were nothing but jaguars which stalked about, jumped around, roared, and made fun. The jaguars were shut up in the house. *Zotzi-há*, the House of Bats, the fourth place of punishment was called. Within this house there were nothing but bats which squeaked and cried and flew around and around. The bats were shut in and could not get out. The fifth was called *Chayim-há*, the House of Knives, in which there were only sharp, pointed knives, silent or grating against each other in the house.

There were many places of torture in Xibalba, but Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú did not enter them. We only



Blood sacrifice. Mayan bas-relief of Lady Xoc pulling a rope through her tongue, kneeling before Shield Jaguar, Yaxchilan. Woodcut. North Wind Picture Archives.

mention the names of these houses of punishment. When Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú came before Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé, they said: "Where are my cigars? Where are my sticks of fat pine which I gave you last night?" "They are all gone, Sir." "Well. Today shall be the end of your days. Now you shall die. You shall be destroyed, we will break you into pieces and here your faces will stay hidden. You shall be sacrificed," said Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé. They sacrificed them immediately and buried them in the Pucbal-Chah, as it was called. Before burying them, they cut off the head of Hun-Hunahpú and buried the older brother together with the younger brother. "Take the head and put it in that tree which is Planted on the road," said Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé. And having put the head in the tree, instantly the tree, which had never borne fruit before the head of Hun-Hunahpú was placed among its branches, was covered with fruit. And this calabash tree, it is said, is the one which we now call the head of Hun-Hunahpú. Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé looked in amazement at the fruit on the tree. The round fruit was everywhere; but they did not recognize the head of Hun-Hunahpú; it was exactly like the other fruit of the calabash tree. So it seemed to all of the people of Xibalba when they came to look at it. According to their judgment, the tree was miraculous, because of what had instantly occurred when they put Hun-Hunahpú's head among its branches.

And the Lords of Xibalba said: "Let no one come to pick this fruit. Let no one come and sit under this tree!" they said, and so the Lords of Xibalba resolved to keep everybody away. The head of Hun-Hunahpú did not appear again because it had become one and the same as the fruit of the gourd tree. Nevertheless, a girl heard the wonderful story. Now we shall tell about her arrival.

Source: *The Book of the People: Popul Vuh*. Translated by Delia Goetz and Sylvanus Griswold Morley, from Adrián Recino's translation. Los Angeles: Plantin Press, 1954, ii, ch. 2, pp. 75–79.

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GLOSSARY OF INDIVIDUALS AND TERMS

See the appendix for biographical information on the authors of documents included in this volume.

Achilles. According to Greek mythology, Achilles was the strongest of the Greek warriors who fought against Troy. Despite his heroism, Homer writes in the *Odyssey* that Achilles, once he entered the underworld, would rather be a slave among the living than a king among the dead.

Alfred the Great (849–899). Alfred the Great was king of Wessex, an Anglo-Saxon kingdom in southwestern England, A.D. 871–899. During his reign, he successfully preserved Anglo-Saxon political autonomy from the Danes (Viking invaders) and oversaw a cultural renaissance.

Anglo-Saxons. The Anglo-Saxons are people descended from the commingled Germanic tribes that took England from the native British Celts starting in the mid-fifth century A.D. The Angles and Saxons originally came from the northwestern coasts of Denmark, Belgium, and the Netherlands.

Anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is prejudice against members of the Jewish race and against the Jewish religion.

Aztecs. The Aztecs are a Native American tribe whose empire was centered on Tenochtitlan (modern-day Mexico City); they dominated Mesoamerica in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Aztecs are also known as the Mexica (pronounced “meh-SHEE-ka”).

Black Death. The Black Death refers to the outbreak of bubonic plague that swept Europe between A.D. 1347 and 1351, killing roughly one-third of the population.

Boudicca (d. A.D. 60). Also known as Boadicea (“boe-uh-di-SAY-uh”), Boudicca was a queen of the Celtic Iceni tribe in eastern Britain. She led a revolt against Roman rule in A.D. 60 that met with initial success before being quashed by the provincial governor Suetonius Paulinus.

Byzantine Empire. Byzantine Empire was the name given to the eastern part of the Roman Empire, which lasted until the fall of its capital, Byzantium, to the Ottoman

Turks in 1453. Byzantium (also known as Constantinople; modern-day Istanbul) controlled, for much of its history, the Balkan states, Greece, and Turkey.

Charlemagne (742–814). Charlemagne ruled the Frankish kingdom (roughly corresponding to modern-day France) from A.D. 768 to 814. From A.D. 800 until his death, he also held the title of Emperor of the Romans. His rule witnessed a cultural and educational flowering in western Europe. Charlemagne literally translates to “Charles the Great.”

Charles I of England (1600–1649). Charles I, king of England and Ireland (ruled 1625–1649), fought a Civil War against Parliament in defense of the king’s right to rule the country without Parliament’s approval. Defeated, he was tried by Parliament and was publicly executed by decapitation; the English monarchy was then abolished.

Charles II of England (1630–1685). The son of Charles I, who had been executed in 1649, Charles II, king of England and Ireland (ruled 1660–1685), was invited to return to the English throne from French exile in 1660, when the English Commonwealth government faltered after the death of Oliver Cromwell. Charles II was an able politician, although his reign, known as the “Restoration,” has become infamous for debauchery.

Chaucer, Geoffrey (c. 1342–1400). The English writer Geoffrey Chaucer authored *The Canterbury Tales*, a collection of varied stories that were esteemed in his own day and still remain a central classic of English literature. *The Canterbury Tales* was Chaucer’s last work; earlier works, which had already earned him fame, include *The Book of the Duchess*, *The House of Fame*, and *Troilus and Criseyde*.

Christine de Pisan (1364–c. 1430). The daughter of an Italian astrologer who was resident at the court of the French king Charles V, Christine de Pisan was one of the leading female intellectuals of her time. Her most famous work, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, defended the innate talents and capabilities of women. Her other works included an autobiography, *La Vision de Christine*, and a biography of Charles V.

Confucianism. Confucianism encourages the adherence to the philosophical and religious principles of the Chinese thinker, Confucius (551–479 B.C.), who urged continual education in the pursuit of self-knowledge and self-cultivation.

Copernicus, Nicolaus (1473–1543). A Polish astronomer, Mikolaj Kopernik, best known by his Latin name Nicolaus Copernicus, proposed and supported a heliocentric theory of the solar system—that is, the idea that the sun is the center of the solar system and that the earth and other planets revolve around the sun.

Cortés, Hernán (1485–1547). The Spanish explorer Hernán Cortés extended Spanish control of Mesoamerica by leading an expedition from Cuba that eventually seized Tenochtitlan (modern-day Mexico City) in 1521 and conquered the native Aztec empire.

Edward the Confessor (c. 1003–1066). Edward the Confessor, king from 1042 to 1066, was the last Anglo-Saxon ruler of England. Upon his death, William, Duke of

Normandy, laid claim to the throne and defeated the Anglo-Saxon claimant, Harold. Later generations viewed Edward as a pious, religious, miracle-working king.

Edward I of England (1239–1307). Edward I, king of England from 1272 to 1307, strengthened the English monarchy, conquered Wales, and attempted unsuccessfully to impose his rule on Scotland.

Elizabeth I (1533–1603). Elizabeth I, the daughter of Henry VIII and queen of England from 1558 to 1603, led England during a period of great intellectual and political ferment. During Elizabeth's reign, England defeated the Spanish Armada, turned to Protestantism, and witnessed the creation of great literary works by William Shakespeare and other writers and poets.

Falstaff, Sir John. Sir John Falstaff is a comical character in four of William Shakespeare's plays: *Henry IV, Part 1*; *Henry IV, Part 2*; *Henry V*; and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Falstaff appears to have been modeled on Sir John Oldcastle, a former royal favorite of Henry V who was executed in 1417 for participating in the Lollard rebellion.

Giotto (1267–1337). Giotto, an Italian painter who dominated the artistic scene in fourteenth-century Italy, experimented with forms of linear perspective and helped to craft the realistic style of the following century.

Griffin. The griffin is a mythical animal, popular since at least the first millennium B.C., that had the body of a lion and the head of an eagle.

Henry V of England (1387–1422). Henry V, king of England from 1413 to 1422, triumphed over France during the early fifteenth-century phase of the Hundred Years' War, thereby making England one of the great military powers of western Europe. Henry won a great victory at Agincourt in 1415 and succeeded in having himself recognized as heir to the French throne, although he died before actually succeeding to the French crown.

Henry VIII (1491–1547). Henry VIII, king of England from 1509 to 1547, overthrew papal authority in England through the 1534 Act of Supremacy, which declared the king, and not the pope, head of the Church in England. Henry VIII famously married six times; two of the wives—Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard—were executed by decapitation. By Anne Boleyn, Henry was the father of Elizabeth I.

Homer. Homer is the presumed author of the Greek epics *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*. No historically reliable information about Homer remains, although—if he existed—he probably lived around 800 B.C.

Innocent III (c. 1161–1216). Pope Innocent III (reigned A.D. 1198–1216) consistently defended papal power against secular authorities and convoked the reforming fourth Lateran Council in 1215. In a dispute with King John, he placed all England under a papal ban.

James I of Great Britain (1566–1625). Known as James I in England, where he ruled from 1603 to 1625, and James VI in Scotland, where he was king from 1567, James sought to consolidate power in the hands of the monarch, instead of in Parliament.

James II of Great Britain (1633–1701). James II was king of England and, as James VII, king of Scotland, from 1685 to 1688. An ardent Roman Catholic, James angered Parliament and the Protestant majority among the people by attempting to increase the political power of the Roman Catholic Church. He was deposed by parliamentary forces in the so-called Glorious Revolution, which resulted in 1689 in the issuance of an invitation to his Protestant daughter and son-in-law to assume the English throne jointly as William III and Mary II.

John of England (1167–1216). John, king of England from 1199 to 1216, lost English control of Normandy and other English possessions in France to the king of France and was forced by rebellious barons in England to sign the Magna Carta (1215), which theoretically limited the powers of the monarch.

Justinian I (483–565). Justinian I, Byzantine emperor from 527 to 565, solidified the remnants of the Roman Empire in the wake of the Germanic migrations of the fifth century and produced the *Codex Justinianus*, a codification of Roman law that remained influential through the early modern era.

Kaaba. The Kaaba is a shrine in the Great Mosque in Mecca. Many Muslims consider the Kaaba to be the holiest spot on earth, a shrine originally erected by Adam and subsequently re-erected by Abraham. Pilgrims on the *hajj* walk around the Kaaba, and all Muslims say their prayers while facing in the direction of the Kaaba.

Kempe, Margery (c. 1373–c. 1440). Margery Kempe lived as a lay mystic and left behind one of the earliest autobiographies in the English language. Her sometimes outrageously self-centered preaching occasionally made her an object of ridicule.

Koran. The Koran, also spelled Qu’ran, is the main sacred text of Islam. Muslims believe that the angel Gabriel started to reveal the Koran to the prophet Muhammad in A.D. 610.

Liang Dynasty. A dynasty that ruled in southern China from A.D. 502 to 557. Some scholars see the rule of the dynasty as a “golden age” and its fall as a serious setback for Chinese political development, but this view is controversial.

Louis the Pious (778–840). Louis I “the Pious” was emperor of the Romans from 814 to 840; he inherited the throne upon the death of his father, Charlemagne, and attempted to weld the Frankish empire into a more cohesive unity.

Malthus, Thomas (1766–1834). Thomas Malthus, an English economist, predicted that the human population would always tend to outrun the food supply. This theory, known as Malthusianism, has not proved to be the case in the modern Western world.

Manco Capac. Manco Capac is the legendary first emperor of the Incas of Peru. Legend places his arrival at Cuzco (the future Inca capital) around A.D. 1200.

Maya. The Maya are an indigenous people of Mesoamerica. Maya territory stretches from southern Mexico, through Guatemala, to northern Belize. During the Classic period (A.D. 250–900), the Maya developed a complex cultural and political system. After

the year 900, many Maya cities were abandoned, and the Maya returned, with notable exceptions, to a less organized and more agrarian society.

Mennonites. Mennonites are members of a Christian denomination that takes a literalist view of the Bible and forbids all warfare. Menno Simons, a Dutch priest, laid the foundation for the denomination with his preaching during the sixteenth century.

Moctezuma (1466–1520). Moctezuma, also known as Montezuma II, ruled the Aztec empire from 1502 to 1520 and was thus emperor when the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés came to Mexico in 1519. He was seized by Cortés and held hostage; when a revolt erupted in Tenochtitlan, he was injured while addressing the rebels and died of his wounds shortly thereafter.

Mughal Dynasty. The Muslim Mughal dynasty, also spelled Mogol, ruled northern India from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.

Muhammad (570–632). Muhammad founded and spread the Islamic religion throughout Arabia. According to Muslim tradition, he started to receive visions from the angel Gabriel in A.D. 610.

Peasants' Revolt of 1381. The Peasants' Revolt refers to a popular uprising in southern England in June 1381. The immediate cause was an unpopular poll tax, but economic discontent had been troubling England ever since the Black Death of 1347–1350, which had prompted the passage by Parliament of legislation that attempted to restrain the rapid rise in laborers' wages resulting from a plague-caused decrease in the supply of skilled laborers.

Philip IV (1268–1314). Philip IV, king of France from 1285 to 1314, increased the power of the French monarchy at the expense of the papacy and at the expense of the nobility. During his reign, a series of French-dominated popes moved the Curia from Rome to Avignon. He also ruthlessly suppressed the Order of Knights Templar in France.

Puritans. The Puritans were sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English followers of the thought of sixteenth-century French Protestant reformer John Calvin. The Puritans sought, under Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603), James I (r. 1603–1625), and Charles I (r. 1625–1649), to purge the English Church of its remaining Catholic elements and to adhere more closely to Calvinist doctrine and practice. Their ideology was embraced especially by the wealthier middle classes, and they came to dominate Parliament by the mid-seventeenth century. In the 1640s, the Puritan-controlled Parliament fought and won the English Civil War, which resulted in the execution of Charles I.

Quakers. Quakers are members of the Society of Friends, which was founded by the Englishman George Fox in the seventeenth century. Quakers seek to be guided by the Christian Holy Spirit and eschew traditional Christian ritual; they are generally pacifist and were occasionally persecuted for their refusal to conform to the dominant forms of Christianity.

Ramadan. Ramadan is the ninth month of the Muslim calendar and is the month of fasting. During Ramadan, Muslims fast from food and drink throughout the daylight hours.

Renaissance. The term Renaissance refers to the self-conscious attempt, made by Europeans from roughly the fourteenth century to the seventeenth, to reconnect with the learning of ancient Greece and Rome. The word literally means “rebirth” and refers to the rebirth of ancient Roman and Greek ideas. The Renaissance featured a cultural and intellectual flourishing in the arts and in scholarship.

Shinto. Shinto is the indigenous religion of Japan. Shinto has no fixed authorities, sacred texts, or religious teachings, but most Shinto worship involves physical shrines and a focus on mystical truths revealed by a *kami*, a spiritual entity beyond human understanding.

Tang Dynasty. The Tang dynasty ruled China from 618 to 907; the period of Tang rule witnessed a cultural flowering during which some of China’s most valued poetry and art was produced.

Trent, Council of. A council of the Roman Catholic Church that met intermittently at Trent between 1545 and 1563, the Council of Trent clarified the official teaching of many Catholic doctrines, such as divine justification and the real presence in the Eucharist, and promoted self-reform within the Church. The council was called in large part as a response to the Protestant Reformation.

William the Conqueror (c. 1028–1087). William I “the Conqueror” was duke of Normandy from 1035 and king of England from 1066 to 1087. He won the Crown by defeating Harold, the last Anglo-Saxon king of England, at the Battle of Hastings in 1066. William united western France and England under one throne and is responsible, in large part, for the many French loanwords (such as *city*) that exist in the English language.

APPENDIX: BIOGRAPHIES OF DOCUMENT AUTHORS

Listed are the authors cited in the document introductions, with brief biographical information provided for each.

Ælfric (c. 995–1025): Ælfric of Eynsham helped to lead a cultural revival with his writings in Old English. His most important works are the *Catholic Homilies* and *The Lives of the Saints*: both works made important religious material, usually written in Latin, available to less learned clergy. His currently most famous work, however, is the *Colloquy*, a kind of phrase book for young Anglo-Saxons trying to learn Latin.

Al-Baladhuri (d. c. 892): Al-Baladhuri wrote an influential history of the early Muslim kingdoms. His work, *Futuh al-buldan*, became a standard reference for later historians.

Alberti, Leon Battista (1404–1472): Leon Battista Alberti offers a good example of the Renaissance polymath (an individual skilled in many different areas). Alberti dedicated his time to philosophy, art, and architecture. His *Della famiglia* (On Family) laid down a practical moral philosophy, and *Della pittura* (On Painting) outlined the contemporary principles of good painting and explained for the first time the science of linear perspective. His *De re aedificatoria* (On Building) made contributions to both the engineering and the aesthetics of architecture.

Ascham, Roger (c. 1515–1568): Roger Ascham was a leading scholar of Greek. A fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, he tutored Princess, and later Queen, Elizabeth in Greek and assisted with other governmental matters. His most well-known book, *The Scholemaster*, discusses the best ways, in the author's opinion, to bestow a classical education.

Bede (c. 673–735): The Venerable Bede became the leading intellectual of western Europe during his lifetime. His commentaries on the Bible and his works on the Church calendar reached a large audience in his own day, but his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation) offers the most interest for a modern audience. The *Historia ecclesiastica* traces the history of England and the role of God's providence in that history.

St. Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–c. 547): Benedict of Nursia founded the monastery of Monte Cassino and created a series of principles (called the “Benedictine Rule”) to guide monastic life. As a result, Benedict is sometimes considered the father of Western monasticism.

Boetius, Hector (c. 1465–c. 1536): Hector Boece, or Boetius/Boethius in Latin, helped to found the University of Aberdeen and wrote an influential, though inaccurate, history of Scotland: *Scotorum historiae a prima gentis origine* (The Histories of the Scots from the First Beginnings of the People).

Boniface VIII (c. 1235–1303): Pope Boniface VIII (reigned 1294–1303) defended papal authority against the encroachments of King Philip IV of France. Boniface also helped to further codify canon (Church) law.

Bradshaw, William (1571–1618): William Bradshaw was a prolific Puritan author who objected strenuously to the Anglican Book of Common Prayer and to other high-church forms of worship.

Brahmagupta (598–c. 665): Brahmagupta, a Hindu Indian scientist, wrote an influential treatise on astronomy and mathematics—including arithmetic and algebra. The Arabic translation of his *Brahma-sphuta-siddhanta*, as his most famous work is generally called, transmitted Brahmagupta’s findings across the Muslim world and into parts of Europe.

Brathwaite, Richard (1588–1673): Richard Brathwaite pursued a career as a London lawyer but found more success as a poet of light comedic verse before retiring to a country estate and writing *The English Gentleman* (1630) and *The English Gentlewoman* (1630), guides to proper conduct for the socially aspirant.

Calvin, John (1509–1564): John Calvin led the Protestant Reformation in France and influenced the development of Protestantism in many other countries. His *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536, 1559) remains a classic statement of low-church Protestantism. Although many found Calvin’s teaching persuasive, he resorted to physical force in establishing Protestantism in Geneva, Switzerland, his base for many of his later years.

Cavendish, Margaret (1623–1673): Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, followed Queen Elizabeth’s example by earnestly pursuing intellectual endeavors, including poetry, philosophy, and autobiography. Her best-known work today, *A Description of a New World, Called The Blazing World* (1666), is an imaginative work bordering on science fiction. Her royalist sympathies and marriage to the exiled royalist officer William Cavendish (Duke of Newcastle) meant that she lived much of her life on the Continent.

Chen Tzu-ang (661–702): Chen Tzu-ang helped forge a new style of poetry in the early Tang dynasty.

Cranmer, Thomas (1489–1556): Thomas Cranmer promoted Protestantism under the reign of King Henry VIII of England and served as the Archbishop of Canterbury.

During the reign of the Catholic Queen Mary, Cranmer was found guilty of heresy and was executed by burning.

Dante Alighieri (1265–1321): Dante Alighieri wrote the most influential book in medieval Italian literature: *La Divina Commedia* (*The Divine Comedy*), in which the narrator journeys through hell, purgatory, and heaven. Dante was avidly involved also in philosophy and politics and was forced to live in exile from his native Florence from 1301 onward because of his imperial political opinions.

Díaz del Castillo, Bernal (1495–1584): Bernal Díaz del Castillo accompanied Hernán Cortés in the conquest of the Aztec empire. He wrote an eye-witness account of the expedition, titled *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (*The True History of the Conquest of Mexico*).

Elyot, Thomas (c. 1490–1546): Sir Thomas Elyot served as a clerk of the Privy Council but achieved fame for his *Boke Named the Governour*, which set forth an influential educational plan for children of the aristocracy.

Firdawsi (c. 935–c. 1020): Firdawsi, also known as Abu Ol-qasem Mansur, wrote the Persian national epic: *Shah-nameh* (*The Book of Kings*).

Foxe, John (1516–1587): John Foxe, an English Puritan preacher, wrote *The Book of Martyrs*, which chronicled the sufferings endured by English Protestants under Catholic rule. Despite being fiercely anti-Catholic and producing a one-sided historical account of the English Reformation, Foxe objected to the execution of Anabaptists and Roman Catholics during Protestant rule.

Galileo Galilei (1564–1642): Galileo Galilei was an active mathematician and astronomer, whose most controversial theory—heliocentrism (the idea that the earth moves around the sun)—eventually resulted in his house-imprisonment from 1633 to the end of his life.

Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616): Garcilaso de la Vega, called El Inca, wrote an influential history of the Inca empire and the Spanish conquest. Garcilaso had unique insights into both cultures, in part because his father was a conquistador, and his mother was an Inca princess.

Gregory of Tours (c. 589–c. 594): The bishop St. Gregory of Tours wrote *Ten Books of Histories*, a major source of information about the early Merovingian kingdoms in France, as well as books about saints' lives and other religious works.

Han Wen-Kung (768–824): Han Wen-Kung, also known as Han Yu, was a leading Chinese poet, prose author, and proponent of Neo-Confucianism. Han Yu criticized in particular Taoism and Buddhism, which he viewed as imported foreign religions.

Harvey, William (1578–1657): William Harvey, a prominent physician and scientist, discovered how blood circulated in the human body. He published his findings in 1628.

Hildersam, Arthur (1563–1632): Arthur Hildersam was an avid Puritan preacher and a prolific author of religious tracts.

Jacques de Vitry (c. 1160–1240): Jacques de Vitry, Bishop of Acre, actively promoted crusades in the Middle East and in Europe. His *Historia Hierosomylitana* offers a first-hand account of thirteenth-century Palestine.

Julian of Norwich (1342–c. 1416): Julian of Norwich lived as an anchorite after being healed from a serious illness. As an anchorite, she lived in one room, which she never left, although many people visited her. Her *Revelations of Divine Love* records her mystical visions and her reflections upon those visions.

Li Po (701–762): Li Po, also called Li Bai, remains one of China's most esteemed poets. Although Li Po attempted to secure a court position, he spent most of his life wandering from patron to patron. Some of his most famous poems celebrate drinking, and legend reports that he died while admiring the moon, drunk, in a boat.

Li Shi-chen (1518–1593): Li Shi-chen, also known as Li Shizhen, codified the system of Chinese traditional medicine in his treatise *Bencao Gangmu*, which is sometimes also called by the Latin *Materia medica*.

Louis de Gaya (fl. seventeenth century): Louis de Gaya was a popular seventeenth-century author who wrote popular books concerning war and marriage customs.

Love, Nicholas (d. 1424): Nicholas Love was prior of the Carthusian abbey of Mount Grace in Yorkshire, England, during the early fifteenth century. His *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* guided lay readers through a serious meditation on the life and passion of Christ.

Murasaki Shikibu (c. 978–c. 1014): Murasaki Shikibu, a female author in the Japanese court, wrote *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*), a novel about court life. The *Genji monogatari* remains renowned as a classic of Japanese literature.

Petrarch (1304–1374): Petrarch, or Francesco Petrarca as he is known in Italian, helped to create the Renaissance by advocating a return to the classical ideals and styles of Cicero and the ancient Romans. In addition to scholarship, Petrarch also wrote a cycle of influential sonnets.

Po Chu-i (772–846): Po Chu-i, also known as Bai Juyi, used poetry to campaign actively against corruption and war in Tang dynasty China. He remains one of China's most important poets.

Polo, Marco (1254–1324): Marco Polo, a Venetian merchant and adventurer, traveled to Asia and stayed in China for 17 years. On his return, he published *Il Millione*, a famous description of the cultures he visited.

P'u Sung-ling (1640–1715): P'u Sung-ling, also known as Pu Songling, worked as a provincial schoolteacher, but his collection of ghost stories, *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, became extremely popular when they were published, 51 years after his death.

Raymond d'Aguiliers (fl. eleventh century): Raymond d'Aguiliers published an eyewitness account of the eleventh-century First Crusade, which he accompanied as a chaplain.

Roe, Sir Thomas (c. 1581–1644): Sir Thomas Roe served as ambassador to the Mughal dynasty and to the Ottoman Empire. Sir Thomas's memoirs offer a solid description of the Muslim countries in which he traveled.

Shakespeare, William (1564–1616): William Shakespeare, the son of a relatively well-to-do Stratford family, became England's most famous poet and playwright. His important works include *King Lear*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Macbeth*, among many others.

Stanihurst, Richard (1547–1618): Richard Stanihurst, born in Ireland and educated at Oxford, wrote several learned treatises, including an influential history of Ireland.

Tsung Ch'en (1525–1560): Tsung Ch'en imitated the poetic styles prevalent during the high Tang dynasty.

Urban II (1088–1099): Pope Urban II (reigned 1035–1099) strengthened the political power of the papacy, continued the ecclesiastical reforms started by his predecessor, and launched the First Crusade in an effort to regain the Holy Lands.

Usamah ibn Munqidh (1095–1188): Usamah ibn Munqidh fought in the army of Saladin against the crusaders, though he later came to befriend several crusaders during the Europeans' presence in Palestine. His memoir records these cross-cultural interchanges, both violent and peaceful.

Walter of Henley (fl. thirteenth century): The thirteenth-century author Walter of Henley wrote a treatise on agricultural husbandry that remained the main reference work in England throughout the Middle Ages.

Yoshida Kenko (c. 1283–c. 1352): Yoshida Kenko was a Buddhist priest whose collection of essays (*Tsurezuregusa*, meaning "essays in idleness") discussing short-lived beauty and other aesthetic and philosophical ideas have become a classic of Japanese literature.

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Lawrence Morris, General Editor

Volume 1: *The Ancient World*
David Matz

Volume 2: *The Middle Ages and Renaissance*
Lawrence Morris

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To E.F.B. and D.H.B.
To James

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SET INTRODUCTION

What time we leave work; the food we eat for dinner; how we spend our free time—these small, almost mundane details, can shape our lives as powerfully as who is the president or what battles are being fought in a far-distant country. In fact, we often judge major events—wars, legislation, trade deals—by how those events affect our everyday lives. If trade negotiations mean that we can purchase more goods for less money, we may very well support the negotiations: we will be able to eat out more, see more movies, buy more books. If the negotiations mean that we lose our jobs—resulting in skipped meals, bankruptcy, and ulcers caused by stress—we are likely to be much more critical. How an event impacts our daily life frequently determines how we view that event. Daily life, in other words, is very important and always has been.

The study of daily life therefore enables us to examine the cultural norms, concerns, and priorities of societies across time. We learn the vital importance of maritime trade for the citizens of medieval Barcelona, for example, when we examine the detailed law codes by which they carefully regulated the rights and responsibilities of ships' captains and merchants. We understand more deeply the pervasive role of religious ritual in medieval Japan when we read about the exorcisms practiced to combat ailments that we would now consider physical, not spiritual. When we learn about the day-to-day politics of the ancient Roman Republic, we appreciate how radically different life was under the Roman Empire. When we read a letter home from a U.S. soldier fighting in Vietnam, we feel more intimately the pain of separation. By studying daily life, we get a firmer understanding of what it was like to live in a certain era and a certain place. Learning that Constantine I was emperor of Rome in A.D. 313 gives us important information, but learning about the foods prepared by a Roman peasant or how a Roman merchant traveled about on business gives us a better idea of what it was really like to live in Italy during the same time period.

Primary sources, moreover, offer a uniquely valuable way of learning about the past. Primary sources, of course, are documents or artifacts produced by the people under investigation. These sources enable us to listen directly to the voices of the past. A primary source enables us to view the past from the inside, from the point of view of a person alive at the time. Our tour guide to the culture of ancient Egypt is an ancient Egyptian. Primary sources are the ultimate historical authority—there can be no greater

expert on ancient Rome than an ancient Roman or on medieval France than a medieval Frenchman or woman or on twentieth-century Africa than a modern African.

Daily Life through World History in Primary Documents, therefore, offers the reader a feast of knowledge. Packed within the covers of this important three-volume set are over 500 documents, each of which offers readers the opportunity to listen to a voice from the past (and sometimes the present) explaining that person's own culture and time. The volumes are organized chronologically as follows:

- Volume 1: *The Ancient World* contains almost 300 documents from various ancient cultures, including those of Sumeria, Egypt, Israel, China, India, Greece, and Rome, with its primary focus being upon the daily life of Greece and Rome up to roughly the sack of Rome in the fifth century A.D.
- Volume 2: *The Middle Ages and Renaissance* contains almost 130 documents from various European (e.g., Anglo-Saxon England, Renaissance Italy), Asian (e.g., Tang China, medieval Japan, Mogul India), Middle Eastern (e.g., medieval Persia, early Islamic Arabia), and Latin American (e.g., Aztec Mexico, Inca Peru, Mayan Central America) cultures spanning the period from the fifth to the seventeenth centuries.
- Volume 3: *The Modern World*, covering the birth of modern democracy in the eighteenth century up through the present day, contains over 100 documents from various world cultures, including Turkey, West Africa, India, the United States, and Russia.

At the edges of these basic divides, there is some overlap between volumes, demonstrating how each era carries on from the preceding one.

Within each volume, the myriad aspects of daily life are grouped under seven overarching categories: Domestic Life, Economic Life; Intellectual Life, Material Life, Political Life, Recreational Life, and Religious Life. These categories, which were also employed by the award-winning *Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life*, allow for quick reference between all three volumes. Browsing Religious Life in all three volumes, for example, will offer a scintillating introduction to and overview of the major spiritual traditions across time. Under these shared categories, each volume then further subgroups the texts in the way most useful for the time period under discussion. Common subcategories include Women, Marriage, Children, Literature, Transportation, Medicine, Housing, Clothing, Law, Reform, Sports, and Rituals. Under "Economic Life" in Volume 2, for example, the subcategories employed highlight the important roles played by urban and rural populations, as well as the well-established practice of slavery and the increasingly important role of international trade and commerce.

The scope of *Daily Life through World History in Primary Documents* is truly global. Within these pages, we see documents from countries with such diverse histories and cultures as Japan, Italy, India, West Africa, Persia, the United States, and Central America. Browsing almost any of the subcategories will offer the reader fascinating voices from non-Western cultures. Each section, however, also includes a solid central focus on the major cultures that have shaped the Western world, including Europe and the Americas. None of these cultures exists in a vacuum, however, nor are they entirely dissimilar. Western and non-Western cultures contextualize each other and comment on the common concerns of human beings around the world. Brief analytical

essays at the start of each subcategory outline the documents that follow and draw out important themes that weave throughout the documents, charting a cultural conversation that crosses time and place.

To benefit the most from the primary sources, each individual document also is preceded by an analytical introduction that explains and highlights the main features of that particular document. An author of a primary document, just like authors today, may have a bias, a limited perspective, or missing information that results in a slightly inaccurate portrayal of life in a given culture. The non-specialist reader, moreover, may not be familiar with the items and ideas discussed in a document written a thousand years ago, or in a completely different more contemporary culture. The concise analytical introductions preceding each document mitigate these difficulties by providing an expert evaluation and contextualization of the following document. The combination of primary sources and modern historical analyses of those sources offers the reader a balanced perspective and a solid grounding in the modern the study of daily life.

Part I in each volume offers a detailed historical overview of the period covered. Each volume also contains a chronology of important world events for the period covered, an appendix of brief biographies of document authors or creators, a glossary defining and describing unfamiliar names and terms encountered in the section and document introductions which are also in italics throughout the text for ease of reference, and a bibliography of sources used. Glossary terms in the text appear in italics. Many documents are also illustrated and information can be further accessed through a detailed subject index for the set.

These volumes will be used in many different ways by many different readers, including high school students, college and university undergrads, and interested general readers. Some readers will delve into one volume and browse extensively, gaining an overview of how generations in one era lived their lives. Other readers may be more interested in exploring how one realm of life—political life—for example, has changed from ancient Rome through the present day; those readers will devour the appropriate categories and subcategories from each of the three volumes. Other readers will use the sources to research and support their own written analyses, for assigned essays or for their own independent research. However the reader uses these volumes, I am confident that he or she will enjoy the experience. We have collected an amazing array of intriguing sources that cannot help but capture the interest and the imagination. Enjoy!

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David M. Borgmeyer

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CHRONOLOGY

CHRONOLOGY OF SELECTED EVENTS: THE MODERN WORLD

1700–1721	Great Northern War is fought between Sweden and a coalition of states led by Russia
1701–1714	War of Spanish Succession is fought between France and a European coalition that includes Britain and the Netherlands
1702–1713	Queen Anne's War, the American phase of the War of Spanish Succession, is fought between France and Britain and their respective colonists in North America
1703	Czar Peter the Great of Russia founds St. Petersburg as the new Russian capital; serious earthquake strikes the Japanese city of Edo (later Tokyo)
1707	Death of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb—the Mughal Empire in India begins a long period of gradual decline; Act of Union is passed creating a political union between England and Scotland
1713–1714	Treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt are signed, thus ending the War of Spanish Succession; Philip V, the grandson of Louis XIV of France is recognized as king of Spain
1715	Death of Louis XIV of France, who is succeeded by his great-grandson Louis XV; First Jacobite Rebellion, which aims at restoring the House of Stuart to the British throne, is quelled
1718	City of New Orleans is founded by the French at the mouth of the Mississippi River
1721	Treaty of Nystad is signed ending the Great Northern War, which results in Russia supplanting Sweden as the dominant power in the Baltic region
1722	Afghans invade and conquer Iran; death of the Kangxi Emperor of the Qing Dynasty, whose 61-year reign is the longest in Chinese history
1722–1723	Russo-Persian War is triggered by Peter the Great's attempt to expand Russian influence into the Caspian Sea region
1735–1739	Russo-Turkish War is fought between Russia and the Ottoman Empire
1736	Nadir Shah, founder of the Afsharid Dynasty, becomes shah of Persia

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1738–1756	Severe famine spreads across the Sahel region of northern Africa, over half the population of the trading city of Timbuktu dies as a result
1739	Nadir Shah of Persia invades the Mogul Empire of northern India and sacks Delhi
1740	Frederick the Great becomes king of the German state of Prussia
1740–1748	War of the Austrian Succession is fought in Europe
1745	Second Jacobite Rebellion fails to restore House of Stuart to the British throne
1754–1763	French and Indian War, the American phase of the Seven Years War is fought in North American between Britain and France, with each supported by their colonists in America
1755	Severe earthquake devastates Lisbon, the capital of Portugal
1756–1763	Seven Years War is fought in Europe—it eventually involves most of the powers in Europe
1757	British victory at the Battle of Plassey initiates the start of British rule in India
1760	George III succeeds his grandfather George II as king of Britain
1762	Catherine the Great succeeds to the throne of Russia
1763	Treaty of Paris ends the Seven Years War/French and Indian War—France cedes its American colonies to Britain
1769	Spanish missionaries establish the first of 21 missions in California
1770	Boston Massacre—British troops fire upon civilians in Boston
1773	Protesting a tax on tea, British colonists dressed as Indians throw a shipload of tea into Boston Harbor in what is now known as the “Boston Tea Party”
1775–1783	American Revolutionary War is fought between the American colonists and Britain
1776	British colonies in North America declare their independence, forming a new republic called the United States of America
1781	Battle of Yorktown ends the fighting during the American Revolutionary War
1783	Treaty of Paris is signed ending the American Revolutionary War and securing British recognition of American independence
1788	First European settlement in Australia established by the British in Sydney
1789	Bastille prison is stormed in Paris, signaling the start of the French Revolution; George Washington is elected the first president of the United States
1793	Louis XVI of France is executed in January and his wife, Queen Marie Antoinette, is executed in October
1793–1794	French Revolution enters the phase known as the “Reign of Terror”
1795	<i>Marseillaise</i> is adopted as the national anthem of Revolutionary France
1796	In England, Edward Jenner administers the first smallpox vaccination
1799	Napoleon Bonaparte seizes power as First Consul, essentially dictator, of France
1801	The Kingdom of Great Britain and the Kingdom of Ireland are merged to form the United Kingdom

1803	Louisiana Purchase: the United States greatly enlarges its territory by buying Louisiana from France
1804	Haiti gains independence from France to become the first black republic; Napoleon crowns himself emperor of France
1807	Britain prohibits the slave trade within British dominions
1810–1821	Mexican War for Independence: Mexico frees itself from Spanish rule
1810s–1820s	Most Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Latin America win independence from colonial rule
1812	Napoleon invades Russia, but the onset of the Russian winter brings the French army to disaster
1815	Napoleon is defeated at the Battle of Waterloo, ending the Napoleonic Wars—the former emperor is exiled to the Atlantic island of St. Helena; the Congress of Vienna redraws the map of Europe
1816–1828	Shaka establishes a powerful Zulu kingdom in southern Africa
1819	Singapore is established on the tip of the Malay Peninsula by the British East India Company
1820	American Colonization Society establishes Liberia on the west coast of Africa as a haven for freed American slaves
1824	Ludwig van Beethoven, completely deaf, conducts the first performance of his Ninth Symphony in Vienna
1827	Greece achieves independence from the Ottoman Empire
1830	The Liverpool and Manchester Railway, the first passenger railway with steam-powered locomotives, opens; Joseph Smith founds the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons) in New York State
1833	Slavery is abolished throughout the British Empire
1836	Texas declares and wins independence from Mexico, becoming an independent republic
1837	Victoria becomes queen of the United Kingdom
1839–1842	First Opium War is fought between Britain and China—British victory forces China to tolerate the opium trade and to open the country to increased Western trade
1840	Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi between Britain and the Maori initiates British rule in New Zealand
1845–1849	Irish potato famine reduces the population of Ireland by almost one-quarter through death and emigration
1846–1848	Mexican-American War is fought between the United States and Mexico
1847	Mormons, led by Brigham Young, settle near Salt Lake in Utah
1848	Signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo results in the Mexican cession to the United States of a large part of the modern southwestern United States; gold is discovered in California; Karl Marx publishes <i>The Communist Manifesto</i> ; revolutions erupt throughout Europe
1851	The Great Exhibition opens in London in the Crystal Palace, showcasing achievements in industry and culture; <i>New York Times</i> begins publishing

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1851–1865	Taiping Rebellion, a large-scale revolt against the authority of the Qing government, erupts in China
1854	U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry forces Japan to end more than 200 years of isolation
1854–1856	Crimean War is fought between Russia and a coalition consisting of Britain, France, and the Ottoman Empire
1856–1860	Second Opium War is fought between Britain and China
1857–1858	Sepoy Mutiny erupts in India, resulting in the establishment of direct British rule in place of government by the East India Company
1859	Charles Darwin publishes <i>On the Origin of Species</i>
1861	Alexander II of Russia abolishes serfdom
1861–1865	American Civil War is fought between the United States and the Confederate States
1861–1867	France intervenes in Mexico imposing a French puppet government on the Mexicans
1863	U.S. President Abraham Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation freeing all slaves in Confederate territory
1865	Ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution abolishes slavery with the United States
1867	United States purchases Alaska from Russia; the Canadian confederation is formed
1868	Meiji Restoration ends the Japanese shogunate, a feudal military dictatorship, and formally restores power to the emperor
1869	Suez Canal opens, linking the Mediterranean and Red Seas
1870–1871	Franco-Prussian War results in the formal unification of the German Empire under the Prussian monarchy
1874	British East India Company is dissolved
1877	Great Railroad Strike in the United States is the world's first nationwide labor strike; Reconstruction ends in the United States
1879	Anglo-Zulu War is fought between Britain and the Zulus in southern Africa
1880–1881	First Boer War is fought between the British and the Boers (descendents of Dutch settlers) in South Africa
1884–1885	Berlin Conference signals the start of the “Scramble for Africa,” a period of intense competition between European nations for control of colonies in Africa
1888	Slavery is abolished in Brazil
1890	Wounded Knee Massacre, the last conflict of the American Indian Wars, occurs in South Dakota
1896	First modern Olympic Games are held in Athens
1898	Spanish-American War results in the expulsion of Spain from Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, all of which come under the control of the United States
1898–1900	Chinese Boxer Rebellion is suppressed by an eight-member international coalition

1899–1902	Second Boer War is fought between the British and the Boers in South Africa
1900	Sigmund Freud publishes <i>The Interpretation of Dreams</i>
1901	First Nobel Prizes are awarded
1903	Flight of the Wright Brothers at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina
1904–1905	Russo-Japanese War results in Japan's recognition as a world power
1905	Revolution of 1905 in Russia results in the establishment of the Russian Duma (legislature)
1906	Great earthquake destroys San Francisco
1907	Robert Baden-Powell establishes the scouting movement
1908	Henry Ford introduces the Model-T
1909	Sergei Diaghilev founds the <i>Ballets Russes</i> in Paris; establishment of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the United States
1910	Boy Scouts established in the United States
1911	Chinese Revolution overthrows the Qing Dynasty
1912	Ocean liner <i>Titanic</i> sinks with great loss of life
1914	Formal opening of the Panama Canal
1914–1918	World War I is fought in Europe
1916	Easter Rising, an effort to end British rule in Ireland, fails in Dublin
1917	Russian Revolution leads to the overthrow of Czar Nicholas II
1918	Influenza epidemic causes many deaths worldwide
1920	Establishment of the League of Nations; women receive the right to vote in the United States
1921	Irish Free State is established
1922	Fascist leader Benito Mussolini becomes prime minister of Italy; the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) is established
1925	Adolf Hitler publishes <i>Mein Kampf</i>
1927	American Charles Lindbergh becomes the first person to fly solo across the Atlantic Ocean
1928	Biotic penicillin is discovered
1929	New York Stock Market crashes initiating the Great Depression
1933	Nazi leader Adolf Hitler becomes chancellor of Germany
1934	Chinese communist leader Mao Zedong begins the Long March
1936	<i>Billboard</i> magazine publishes its first music hit parade
1936–1939	Spanish Civil War is fought between Republic and Nationalist forces, with the Fascist-supported Nationalists eventually winning control of Spain
1937	Japan invades China
1939–1945	World War II is fought in Europe, North Africa, Asia, and in the Pacific primarily between Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States against Germany, Italy, and Japan

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1941	Japanese launch a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, thus initiating American involvement in World War II
1942–1943	Battle of Stalingrad between the Soviet Union and German-led coalition produces over 1.5 million casualties
1944	D-Day: Allied forces land on the beaches of German-occupied France, thus beginning the invasion of Nazi-controlled Europe
1945	United States drops two atomic bombs on Japan, thus ending World War II; United Nations is founded
1947	India achieves independence from Britain, though British India is partitioned into two states—Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan
1948	Jewish state of Israel is founded; Mohandas K. Gandhi, leader of the Indian independence movement, is assassinated
1949	Communist People's Republic of China is established; North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is established
1950–1953	Korean War is fought between a U.S.-led coalition of UN states and North Korea, back by Communist China
1952	Polio vaccine is created
1954	U.S. Supreme Court decision in <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> declares racial segregation illegal
1957	European Economic Community is established; Soviet Union launches the <i>Sputnik</i> satellite
1959	Fidel Castro becomes dictator of Cuba
1960	First televised U.S. presidential debates between Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy
1961	Soviets launch the first person into space
1963	American civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., delivers his “I Have a Dream” speech; U.S. President John F. Kennedy is assassinated
1964	Nelson Mandela is sentenced to life in prison in South Africa
1965	United States sends ground troops into Vietnam, thus initiating the American phase of the Vietnam War
1966	Mao Zedong launches the Cultural Revolution in China
1967	Six-Day War is fought in the Middle East between Israel and neighboring Arab states
1968	Martin Luther King, Jr., is assassinated
1969	American Neil Armstrong becomes the first person to walk on the moon
1973	U.S. Supreme Court decision in <i>Roe v. Wade</i> legalizes abortion in the United States; the United States withdraws from Vietnam
1974	U.S. President Richard Nixon resigns as a result of the Watergate Scandal
1978	Election of the Polish Pope John Paul II, the first non-Italian pope since the sixteenth century

- 1979 Margaret Thatcher becomes the first woman prime minister of Great Britain; the Iranian Revolution overthrows the pro-Western Iranian monarchy and replaces it with an Islamic Republic; Iranian revolutionaries take hostage some 50 U.S. diplomats
- 1981 Personal computers are introduced by IBM; Iran releases the American hostages; first woman, Sandra Day O'Connor, is appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court
- 1983 Sally Ride becomes the first American woman in space
- 1985 Hole is discovered in the vital ozone layer of the atmosphere; serious famine strikes the African nation of Ethiopia
- 1986 *Challenger* space shuttle explodes, killing its seven-member crew
- 1989 Berlin Wall dividing East from West Berlin is torn down; Chinese anti-government protestors are massacred by government forces in China's Tiananmen Square
- 1990 Lech Walesa becomes the first post-Communist president of Poland
- 1991 Soviet Union collapses and breaks up, with many former Soviet republics declaring their independence; Cold War comes to an end; in the Gulf War, a U.S.-led coalition drives invading Iraqi forces out of Kuwait
- 1993 Islamic terrorists bomb the World Trade Center in New York City
- 1994 Nelson Mandela is elected president of a post-Apartheid South Africa; tribal genocide erupts in the African nation of Rwanda
- 1995 Anti-government terrorists bomb the Federal Building in Oklahoma City; Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is assassinated
- 1997 Britain returns Hong Kong to China
- 1998 Construction begins in orbit of the International Space Station
- 1999 Panama Canal passes from American to Panamanian control
- 2000 Disputed U.S. presidential election is decided in favor of George W. Bush
- 2001 Islamic terrorists destroy the World Trade Center Towers in New York City; U.S.-led coalition invades Afghanistan and overthrows the militant Islamic government of the Taliban
- 2003 In the Iraq War, U.S.-led coalition invades Iraq and overthrows Saddam Hussein
- 2004 Ten new countries join the European Union, eight of which are former Communist states
- 2005 NASA's *Deep Impact* probe collides, as planned, with Comet Tempel 1
- 2006 Former Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein is executed
- 2008 Kosovo declares independence from Serbia; the Internet has over one billion users

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Part I

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

An understanding of what “modern” is might be reached through a brief example, especially since this volume seeks to explore daily life in the modern world precisely through the examples provided by a collection of primary documents. In a 1965 interview recounting the events surrounding the test of the first nuclear bomb at Las Alamos, New Mexico, in the summer of 1945, Robert Oppenheimer described his thoughts turning to a line from the Bhagavad-Gita, an ancient Hindu scripture: “I am become Death, the destroyer of worlds.” Another speech by Oppenheimer is included in this volume in the section on Science in Part IV, “Intellectual Life,” in which he talked at more length about the consequences of the development of nuclear power and nuclear weapons, and the role and value of science in society. However, his citation of the Bhagavad-Gita is far more often quoted and much better remembered; Oppenheimer had learned Sanskrit and read the text in its original while studying at Harvard. What is peculiar about this incident is how it points to so many elements central to understanding the modern world. Many points can be made about this simple incident that point to significant trends in the modern world, many of which are explored in this volume.

The fact that a scientist and son of a German immigrant testified in a filmed and broadcast interview about an event that occurred in western North America to the power and fear created by technological achievement in the words of an Asian religious text is revealing about many important trends in the modern world, including the dominance of the scientific worldview and rapid changes in technology; the large-scale migration and movements of peoples and the expansion of European presence and influence around the world; the continuing importance to many of religion and religiously motivated views to help make sense of a rapidly changing world; the transformation of communications media; the creation of weaponry that fundamentally changed both warfare and politics; and the international and global nature of culture, in which all cultures give to and take from others to different degrees, some for the better, and some not.

This third volume of *Daily Life through World History in Primary Documents* includes document selections that describe daily life in the more than 300 years from 1700 to the present. While this division is somewhat arbitrary, it picks up where Volume 2 leaves off and covers a period called “modern.” In its most common usage, modern simply means current or up-to-date. In terms like modern conveniences, modern ideas, and modern

technology, *modern* means whatever is recent or now. Modern can contrast with terms like *vintage*, *classic*, *antique*, or *old-fashioned*. In this volume, modern has a larger meaning, while the term *contemporary* is used to include the common sense of modern as “the present or immediate past,” although contemporary also means “of the same period as something else” that is mentioned, even if they both are not contemporary with the present.

Defining modern can be somewhat complicated. Modern means many different things, and even varies among experts; depending on the field or area, the modern period begins at very different times. In history, modernity can start as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, or, at the latest, after the revolutions of the late eighteenth century in France and America. In visual arts, the modern period doesn’t start until the late nineteenth century. Modern in terms of computer science doesn’t happen until the second half of the twentieth century. Many people disagree not only as to when the modern period began, but also as to whether or not it is even still going on. Some think civilization and culture have moved into a new era or period that some call “post-modern,” but there is a lack of consensus as to whether the present is still the modern period or whether we have moved into a new era that we still do not know enough about to name.

The periodicity of this book is fixed roughly by the timeline of Western cultural chronology, but it is not limited to Western cultures in its scope. This book is intended primarily for an American reader, and the United States is a predominantly, but certainly not exclusively, a Western culture. Although the focus is on modern American and European civilizations, many different cultures from every continent are included. This emphasis on a Western timeline and simultaneously global scope makes sense not only in regard to the reader’s likely point of view. European and American economic, political, military, and cultural power expanded and increasingly dominated the world through much of the modern period, at one point, just before the First World War, at least nominally controlling over 80 percent of the earth’s land mass. Only in the latter part of the twentieth century has Euro-American influence waned, although these civilizations remain powerful and the consequences of that expansion and contraction are very much a part of the modern world.

It has been said that a person from 1700 B.C. would understand the world of A.D. 1700 without much difficulty. Styles and languages would have changed, but technology was basically the same, changing in degree, not type. The primary sources of energy and transportation were still muscle, wind, or water. Most work was hard and done by hand. The material trappings of life were almost all made by hand from materials that had not changed much in nearly 3,500 years. Of course, some important discoveries and inventions can be pointed out, like printed books or gunpowder. However, if a person from A.D. 1700 was somehow transported only 300 years to the year 2000, he or she would find the world far more difficult to comprehend. The number and nature of changes in the modern world set it apart from previous periods in world history.

The Eighteenth Century—1700–1815

In 1700, most of the American continent was nominally claimed by Europeans, but vast portions of these territories were in fact still under the control of Native American

tribes. The most complex and sophisticated Native American civilizations in Central and South America had been destroyed by the Spanish in the sixteenth century; in North America, Mississippian culture cities like Cahokia had disbanded before 1500, well before the modern period and before European contact. European activity was clustered on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts with some missionary and trading activity penetrating to the interior. However, during the eighteenth century in America, European colonies grew rapidly, putting pressure on tribes and involving them in trans-Atlantic wars and revolutions. Native American populations suffered tremendously from European diseases. After acquiring horses from the Spanish, a horse culture developed rapidly among Plains tribes, creating a new way of life in North America—one that would be extinguished in the next century.

In East Asia in this same period, the Chinese Qing Dynasty was consolidating its power, Japan had entered into a period of official isolation, and, in South Asia, the Indian subcontinent was almost entirely controlled by the Islamic *Mughal Empire*, which, like the Qing Dynasty, peaked in power during the first part of the eighteenth century. Islamic power began to wane elsewhere as well, and though the Islamic world still offered a rich and complex civilization that stretched from India to the African Atlantic coast, the Mughals were overstretched in India and the defeat of the Ottoman Turks at Vienna in 1683 marked the furthest point of Ottoman expansion into Europe. Although the *Ottoman Empire* would survive until the end of the First World War in 1918, it increasingly lost territory and power to rising European states, like the Austrian Hapsburg empire, the Russian empire, and the British empire.

In 1700, these states on the European continent were a collection of increasingly powerful and centralizing imperial nations, especially England, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. They were, though, with the exception of Russia, physically quite small compared to the territories of other non-European governments. Of all these European powers, the only one with a government that was not an absolute monarchy was England. Centralizing power in the hands of one person had the advantage—if the ruler was strong and effective—of making it easier to accomplish significant reforms and consolidate the power of the state to accomplish goals and solve problems. For example, *Peter the Great* of Russia built a new national capital named after himself—*St. Petersburg*—on the Baltic Sea to provide Russia with a Western orientation and new deepwater port. In Prussia, Frederick the Great used his authority to create the first professional, national army, and also to help create the first public school systems in the modern world. He saw the advantages of a population that was literate, was properly formed in virtue and religion, and had the skills to build the economy and state. On the other hand, absolutist rule was problematic in that corruption was common and if the hereditarily determined ruler was weak, it could create significant problems for the government, as in France after the death of Louis XIV in 1715. The French monarchy ended in 1792.

Of course, the *French Revolution* had many causes besides the weakness of the French king. Other political ideas were growing, not only in France, but also in America and in England, where the political experiments of the seventeenth century had also killed the king—and then restored the monarch with limited constitutional powers. Thinkers like Voltaire, Denis Diderot, the Baron de Montesquieu, Adam Smith, Thomas Jefferson, and

others led an intellectual movement called the *Enlightenment* that introduced new ideas about the nature of the person and the proper relationship between individuals and governments. Ideas about constitutionalism, limited government, liberalism, and new concepts of the natural equalities of people, civil rights, and freedoms stimulated reforms and even revolutions. The *American Revolution* against English rule, begun in 1776, created the United States, while the French Revolution, begun in 1789, eventually cost King Louis XVI his head. While a small but stable democracy emerged in the United States, the French Revolution degenerated into chaos until order was restored under the authority of *Napoleon Bonaparte*, who set out to create a French Empire and rule the European continent, and he nearly succeeded. His defeat at Waterloo in 1815 marked the end of the long eighteenth century, although intellectual foment and revolutionary fervor would continue into the nineteenth century through rapid and radical social changes.

Some of the political ideals of the eighteenth century—democratic governments that draw their power from the consent of the people rather than from religious belief, hereditary privilege, or brute force; the natural and individual rights of people in society, like freedom of speech and conscience; and limitations on the powers of government—remain powerful ideas that still form notions of legitimacy and proper political arrangements today. Even totalitarian regimes today often try to adopt the trappings of democratic legitimacy.

The same interest in a rational political worldview also shaped other important ideas in the eighteenth century. The scientific method that had begun to prove very powerful in the early modern era gained increasing currency, and its application to an increasing number of spheres of human activity led to new developments in medicine and new styles and practices in art, politics, and social life. The Scientific Revolution had begun in the pre-modern world, but the eighteenth century saw many scientific discoveries and, more importantly, the increasing use of the scientific method as a tool for understanding the world on the part of a rapidly increasing number of people. The expansion of scientific reasoning to social problems did not always yield scientifically precise results, but science proved its worth as a tool for learning and knowing.

Another revolution was also taking place in the contact of Europeans with other peoples. The exploration of lands previously unknown to Europeans, followed by trade and, sometimes, missionary activity, conquest, and colonization, had begun in the early modern period, but accelerated in the modern era. In 1700, European nations were territorially smaller than Indian and Asian powers, although they were rapidly becoming global powers in the eighteenth century. At the same time, trading networks and regional political powers spread across Africa and Asia, with Europeans playing only a peripheral role. In Asia, the Qing and Mughal Empires began to weaken, while the European powers began to grow in terms of military power, population, technology, and other factors.

International trade continued to expand, and European joint-stock trading companies, such as the Dutch and *British East India Companies*, became more powerful than many nations in the eighteenth century. They acted as governments in their territories, printing money, maintaining standing armies and navies, and administering colonial possessions. Coffee, tea, sugar, chocolate, opium, tobacco, and other consumables, along with cotton, indigo, silk, and other raw materials became important commodities, as

demand increased, populations grew, and industrialization began in earnest. For example, the textile industry, one of the first to industrialize and develop the factory system, increased production in England from 2.7 million yards to 70 million yards of cloth from 1760 to 1810. The ability of Asian powers to resist European intrusion gradually declined in the eighteenth century, and European control over parts of Asia increased along with global trade, creating some of the conditions that allowed for European domination in the nineteenth century and into the twentieth.

Another aspect of the eighteenth century was the dramatic expansion of the slave trade, especially for the burgeoning sugar plantations of the Caribbean, where death rates were so high for slaves that they could not maintain a population. Large numbers of Africans were transported across the Atlantic into *slavery* for colonial possessions in America and the West Indies. Not only Africans, but large numbers of European emigrated to the Americas and around the world, settling in South Africa and in smaller numbers in other colonies. For example, the non-Native American population of the American British colonies was 10 times larger in 1776 than it had been at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The religious controversies of the preceding centuries in Europe were no longer the direct cause of such massive violence and bloodshed, but religious life remained an important element in personal identity and community life. Religion itself began to undergo transformations like the Great Awakening in colonial America, the rise of Methodism in England, the development of Pietism in German-speaking Protestant countries, and the emergence of Freemasonry as an alternative or supplement to organized religion. There were other, divisive trends in eighteenth-century religious life as well. European missionary activity continued and expanded, although it met with mixed results. Tensions between the *Roman Catholic Church* and Protestant groups remained high, while within the Catholic Church the Jansenist controversy in the first half of the century and the suppression of the Jesuits caused difficulties. Anti-Semitism shifted from a religious to a nationalist orientation, but continued across Western life, and anti-clericalism and Deism were closely associated with Enlightenment rationalism and French Revolutionary ideals.

In the arts, the eighteenth century was important as well. The forms of ballet and opera that we know today took their recognizable forms in the eighteenth century, and new musical instruments, such as the modern piano, and styles, such as the symphony, developed in the hands of composers like Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Ludwig van Beethoven. The remnants of pre-modern artistic styles were carried to decadent extremes in the gaudiness of the Rococo, and a revival of interest in classical antiquity—and the discovery of Pompeii in 1748—provided inspiration for new styles in literature, art, and architecture at the end of the century. In addition, private cabinets of curiosities began to evolve into modern museums, all laying the foundations for artistic revolutions in the nineteenth century.

The Nineteenth Century—1815–1914

The nineteenth century saw startling transformations around the globe. European expansion and industrial development exploded. European countries took control of

most of the African continent, the British solidified control over India and colonized Australia, China was forced to open to Western trade and influence, and Japan tried to industrialize itself to compete with Western powers and begin its own territorial expansion. The United States expanded dramatically westward. The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 more than doubled the size of the United States. Other territorial acquisitions and the idea of “Manifest Destiny” stretched the United States across the American continent. European Americans and immigrants moved westward (or eastward from California) in droves, settling the whole continent and fighting and winning wars against Native American tribes so that by the beginning of the twentieth century the United States no longer had a “frontier.”

Consolidation was still taking place politically in Europe. Germany and Italy emerged as nation-states. Although there were no major wars between more than two belligerents fought on the territory of mainland Europe between the end of the Napoleonic campaigns in 1815 and the outbreak of World War I in 1914, this did not mean that the nineteenth was a peaceful century. It witnessed dramatic political and military upheaval and change, but the locations and types of conflicts shifted to social unrest, rather than national wars, and to colonial conflicts fought beyond the European mainland.

Social revolutions rocked Europe in 1830, 1848, and 1870, sometimes toppling governments and prompting significant social reforms. The United States fought a *Civil War* from 1861 to 1865. Non-European peoples fought with Europeans for control of their own countries—and lost. The Chinese fought two *Opium Wars* and the Boxer Rebellion; numerous wars were fought across Africa, including the Boer War and Zulu Wars; significant other European conquests were made by the French in North Africa and by Britain, Belgium, and Germany in sub-Saharan Africa; Britain took control of Australia from the aboriginal peoples; and American Indians fought and lost Indian Wars across the American continent from the Seminoles in what is now Florida in the 1820s to the Apache in the southwest in the 1890s. On the other hand, many European possessions in the Caribbean gained independence, some, like Haiti, through slave revolts. Most of South and Central America threw off the control of the declining Spanish Empire, although the descendants of the Spanish elites retained control over the large indigenous populations, and they remained susceptible to the influence of outside nations, especially the United States, as its power waxed.

The nature of military power also changed as military technology changed. Mass produced revolvers and accurate, breech-loading rifles; improved artillery; armored steel warships; and faster transportation and effective logistics were among the changes that made for more deadly fighting forces that were also increasing in size. Non-European states and groups attempted to compete with the growing military capacities of Western nations. Some groups tried what is now known as asymmetrical warfare, engaging in guerilla tactics and avoiding pitched battles with superior forces. Others tried to adopt Western military innovations on their own, purchasing Western weapons and ships, and learning to build their own. China created a New Model Army on the Western model, and Japan had the most notable success, defeating Russia in 1904 on land and sea and embarking on its own imperial expansion in East Asia as the twentieth century began.

Another important trend in the nineteenth century was the gradual emancipation of large numbers of people. Millions of Africans had been enslaved and transported to European possessions in the Americas as well as to the United States. The slave trade was officially outlawed by most European states in the beginning of the nineteenth century, but slavery continued. Britain outlawed slavery in its possessions in 1833. France allowed slavery to continue until 1848. Slavery in the United States only ended in the bloodshed of the American Civil War in the 1860s. Not all people who were freed were African or African-heritage slaves, though. Russian peasants, who had been bound to the land and owned by the landowners, were liberated in 1861.

The changes in industrialization and transportation in the nineteenth century were also breathtaking. The *Industrial Revolution* had begun in the textile industry in England and America in the eighteenth century, but steam power, interchangeable parts, the factory system, railroads, steamboats, and steamships are just a few of the technical innovations that allowed, for example, textile producers in England to buy Indian cotton, ship it to England from India, manufacture finished clothing, ship it back to India, and still have it cost less than non-industrially produced Indian clothing. The second wave of industrialization in the second half of the century brought inexpensive steel, the internal combustion engine, electricity, petroleum products, and new sets of changes that bridged into the twentieth century, making animal power, wooden-hulled sailing ships, and transportation technologies that had been improved by degree but not type for thousands of years defunct in a matter of a few decades. The oil lamps and candles used in 1800 were essentially the same that had lit ancient Roman homes; by 1900, incandescent electric lighting was spreading across the world. In 1830, there were no more than a few dozen miles of railroad in the United States. By the end of the century, there were over 200,000 miles of track. Trade continued to grow, and, with steam-powered transport, it became much faster and more reliable. The patterns established in the eighteenth century continued in the most general terms, with industrializing countries importing raw materials and exporting finished goods, but new commodities also became increasingly important, such as coal, steel, and, later in the nineteenth century, oil, as economies shifted from agrarian to increasingly industrial.

The population of the world also increased dramatically over this period as increased production of food and cheaper production of material goods made larger families more affordable, and increased medical knowledge made for longer life spans and lower mortality rates, although the most significant gains in medical science in modern history would have to wait for the twentieth century. The shift from rural to urban population and development of an industrial working class in the most rapidly industrializing nations also brought radical social changes and people struggled to define new ways of being and relating to each other. Immigrant groups tended to remain cohesive in their new places for a generation or two, but also began to assimilate and influence their new societies and cultures. The first professional police forces and fire departments were established under state control and growing urban areas demanded new ways of maintaining law and order.

Education became a state-run institution, and some countries closed religious schools. Most industrial counties had compulsory public education by the end of the century. At the beginning, none did. As education spread and literacy increased, mass

audiences from the middle classes became increasingly important as patrons for music, dance, art, and literature. Major new changes also occurred in art and literature. Poets such as Lord Byron and Alexander Pushkin created lasting works at the beginning of the century and great novelists emerged around the world later in the century, such as Charles Dickens, Leo Tolstoy, Fyodor Dostoevsky, and Victor Hugo. American arts and letters began to come of age too, with writers like Mark Twain. Opera and ballet, which had grown greatly in the eighteenth century, reached new peaks of popularity and expanding audiences as elite art forms. Writers, painters, musicians, and others began to explore the emotional side of the human experience in ways they previously had not. Nature became a central concern, and its awesome power became an inspiration for many, sometimes as a substitute Divinity for those who eschewed organized religion. The modern idea of the artist as a misunderstood, solitary genius, working on his own inspiration, was born, and creative works began to be seen often as serving as a social conscience. Experimentation in music, painting, and literature heralded radical changes in art and culture in the twentieth century, preparing for the expression of deep doubts and great hopes for the modern world.

The Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries—1914–Present

Many of the trends of the modern period that emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries continued in the twentieth and into the twenty-first, but the European global empires and positive ideals of civilized progress that dominated the nineteenth century were irrevocably altered in the First World War that began in 1914. War was transformed by new, more destructive technologies such as machine guns, long-range artillery, airplanes, tanks, high explosives, and poison gas, changing the nature of battle and killing many more than ever before. Millions died in trench warfare and the better part of a generation of European men was killed. A total of 20 million people died, about half military and half civilian. The major combatant nations were reduced to fighting a war of attrition rather than military victory, and the numbers of casualties were shocking. In the wake of the war, the empires of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Ottoman Turkey, and Russia all fell, and the French and British empires were substantially weakened.

The terms of the peace led to world war again in less than 20 years with a similar alignment of belligerents, leading some historians to see both wars as parts of one conflict. Total deaths for the Second World War that began in 1939 amounted by some estimates to a staggering 72 million—tens of millions civilian, famine, and *Holocaust* deaths included. The Second World War was even worse than the first, with large scale civilian bombing and air wars, the use of nuclear weapons at the end of the war, combat on a truly global scale, and millions upon millions of casualties, including over 20 million from the Soviet Union alone, and 6 million Jews exterminated by the Nazis and their collaborators. The combined deaths for the wars of the first half of the twentieth century amount to over 90 million people, enough to depopulate the entire Earth around the time of the Ancient Greeks.

Of course, there were many more people in the world during the twentieth century, and continued rapid population growth is another aspect of modernity. World

population more than doubled between the year 1000 and the year 1700, from roughly 300 million to over 700 million. However, between 1700 and 2000, it doubled almost 5 times to over 6 billion. What the future holds is uncertain, but it is likely to keep growing. This tremendous population growth has had important consequences for everyday life, as an ever-growing number of people have material needs and an ongoing demand for food, clothing, housing, health care, and the other trappings of modern life—if they are available. Much of the growth, especially in the twentieth century, has been in developing nations, and the pressures this growth has put on governments and societies has been significant.

The struggle for influence in these developing nations was part of the geopolitical division into “three worlds” at the end of the Second World War. A new balance of global power was dominated by the competition for hegemony on the part of two superpowers, the United States and its industrialized allies (the First World), and the Soviet Union and its satellites and dependencies (the Second World); other countries in South America, Africa, and Asia were the Third World. The superpowers were competing not only for power, but also on an ideological plane, with the United States, practicing *capitalism*, confronting the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* (USSR), practicing *communism*. The creation of large arsenals of nuclear weapons made the standoff even more intense, as the evolution from the *Cold War* to a *Hot War* might well lead to a strategic nuclear war, all but ending human life on earth. The disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 effectively ended this period, but nuclear proliferation is still an important global political and military issue. Many observers point to the growing economic and military power of Asian and Pacific Rim nations like China, India, South Korea, Indonesia, and Japan as defining a new stage of geopolitics that will be dominated by non-Western industrializing nations gaining on those currently with the most power, such as Europe and the United States, but also beset with overconsumption, internal dissent, aging populations, and other factors. Others see the terrorist attacks on the United States of September 11, 2001, and the related conflict between fundamentalist Islam and the West as a central issue for global political events.

Whatever the political future, the level of material comfort of those living in developed countries is vastly better than those living in other places, and the disparities of wealth, power, and opportunities is an issue that many see as a situation demanding remedy for the purposes of basic justice. At the same time, it has also launched large migrations, as people have begun moving on an unprecedented scale to places where there is more safety or opportunity, either within their own country or region, as in India and China, or around the world, sometimes to former colonial powers, such as the large number of North Africans in France, Indians and Pakistanis in England, Turks and other Middle Easterners in Germany and other European nations, Russians in America, others to small but wealthy Middle Eastern states, and Jews from around the world, but especially eastern Europe and North Africa, to Israel after its creation following World War II.

The prosperity of the twentieth century that has inspired migration has been driven by the continuation of the industrialization of countries around the world. Added to previous industrial technologies were new ones, such as the assembly line, synthetic and chemical materials, and others that have changed how much and how efficiently things can be made. Coupled with industrial growth are further huge changes in transportation

and communications. There are very few places not affected by global markets, and the scale of commerce has continued to grow. A merchant vessel of the eighteenth century might displace around 1,000 tons and carry 500 tons of cargo. Just one of the largest contemporary supertankers can carry over 500,000 tons of bulk cargo—the equivalent capacity of more than 1,000 ships from the beginning of the modern era. Along with the dramatic expansion of trade, modern banking and financial institutions have also evolved, creating extremely sophisticated and interconnected global markets.

The growth of paved roads in the twentieth century parallels the growth of railways in the nineteenth century. Not including wood, cobblestone, brick, or macadam—none of which were well suited to automobiles—there were only 10 miles of paved roads in the United States in 1900, but by the end of the century, there were nearly 6 million miles of paved roadways. Cars, trucks, buses, and other vehicles have become the main means of personal transportation. At the same time, this development has been dramatically uneven. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, for example, a central African country roughly the size of Western Europe, there are fewer than 1,500 miles of paved roads.

In addition to the effect engendered by the internal combustion engine on ground transportation, there was the entirely new dimension of air travel and transportation. The first airplane flew in 1903, and by the 1930s, there were regular transatlantic commercial flights. The development of jet engines further accelerated air travel and fueled the growth of the airline industry, which operates thousands of flights daily worldwide, connecting every continent with every other, for those with the means, in a matter of hours.

Communications that were changed by telegraph and telephone in the nineteenth century were further altered in the twentieth by the development of broadcast media like radio, then television. Toward the end of the century, the phenomenal explosion of the computer based on microchip technology created an Information Revolution and the Internet. Long distance communication in 1700 was done in person, and communications were limited to the speed of sailing ships, a horseback rider, or a person on foot. Broadcast media was only the range of the human voice, a horn, a bell, or the report of a cannon. By the end of the twentieth century, billions of people around the world could simultaneously watch the same events in color and sound, and the Internet, email, and instant-messaging linked people personally around the world.

Changes in media technologies have altered the way people communicate and think, but also how they express themselves in art, literature, and music. In the nineteenth century, the invention of photography created a powerful new way to record images and impressions, one used by those interested in documentation as well as by artists. Verisimilitude (or life-likeness) ceased to be a priority in much art in the decades that followed as that task was relegated to photography, and millions of people had their pictures made, while ever fewer had their portraits painted. Art and artistic influence became increasingly global. For example, imported goods from China and Japan produced a vogue in Europe and the United States for orientalism in design and art beginning as early as the eighteenth century. Japanese woodblock prints inspired the French Impressionists, and sub-Saharan African tribal art, masks, and other objects inspired Cubists such as Pablo Picasso. Abstract and nonrepresentational art evolved in the late

nineteenth and twentieth centuries among other trends, creating new ways of looking at the world and often offering pointed and powerful commentary on the conditions of life in the modern world. Art and literature today are evolving new forms, genres, and styles as the modern world changes. Some critics question even whether ideas about art and literature formed in the early modern period will continue to survive in the modern world.

Other changes have dramatically affected life in the twentieth century. In agriculture, the so-called Green Revolution has enabled humans to much more easily feed our own burgeoning population. Chemically or biologically engineered seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides, combined with mechanical agricultural machinery and internal combustion tractors, have created crop yields unthinkable before the modern era. These products are sold on global markets as raw materials and food products made possible because of transportation, growth of trade, and industrial processing. Better diets have resulted for many, leading to better health and longer life, although other discoveries in medical sciences and technologies have radically altered medical care and global health, with some diseases, such as smallpox, effectively wiped out. Sterile practices, antibiotics, and discoveries in microbiology and genetics are among the many innovations of twentieth-century medicine. The field of psychology, essentially created by Sigmund Freud, has had consequences far beyond the medical professions. On the other hand, although medicine has advanced rapidly, life expectancies are higher, infant mortality rates are lower than any point in human history, and global public health programs help many without the means to help themselves, there is still much medicine cannot do, and cures for diseases such as cancer and human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) continue to elude doctors and scientists.

The contemporary world is far from a perfect place, but, by many measures, it is probably better to be alive now than at any other point in human history. A person today is more likely to be freer, healthier, and wealthier; to live longer, have a more secure, comfortable life and less work; and to have more opportunities for education, travel, and leisure. What the future of the contemporary world will be is unclear, but the achievement and failures of our modern world are recorded in the document selections that follow. The collected voices of priests and kings, housewives and factory workers, scholars and soldiers provide a fascinating account of daily life in the modern world by those who have lived it.

Part II

DOMESTIC LIFE

What exactly is domestic life? Domestic life encompasses a wide variety of different relationships and activities, primarily those between members of a household. People prepare food, eat, sleep, clothe, and take care of themselves and others, and go about daily routines. This section on domestic life does not focus on the material trappings of the everyday activities of the household, such things as the food, clothing, and the architecture and furnishing of homes; those topics are covered in the section on material life. Aside from the everyday, larger events are also a central part of domestic life, marking significant milestones, defining and celebrating relationships, and lamenting their loss. Marriages take place, children are born and come of age, and people grow old and die. How people think about the different stages of life and their domestic relationships is at least as important as the physical environment in which they live and the actual objects they use in everyday life. These relationships and what people think about them are the focus of this section.

In some places and times, there has been little or no distinction between domestic life and other aspects of life—no distinction between public and private, no society outside of clan and kinship groups. One of the important changes scholars note in the emergence of the modern world has been an increasing distinction between the private or domestic sphere of life and the public or social sphere of life.

Even if there may not have always and everywhere been a distinction between domestic and public, there is no doubt that the nuclear family or kinship group has been the basic unit of human society, and this has been so in the *modern* era also. That is not to say, however, that there have not been dramatic changes in the family and domestic life, and models of how humans arrange their households and domestic relationships continue to change. The documents in this section focus on a number of different aspects of domestic life, exploring and comparing them in different times and places in the modern world.

One focus in this section is on women and women's roles in domestic life. It is notable that although there is a section on women's roles, there is not a corresponding section specifically on men's roles. This exclusion is not a judgment that men do not have roles within the domestic environment. However, there are good reasons to include readings on women's roles rather than men's roles in a section on domestic life in the modern world.

The modern era, especially in Western cultures, saw the creation of ideals of femininity almost exclusively defined by domestic life and then subsequent challenges to those ideals. In many non-Western cultures, women were never subjected to the limitations imposed by the ideal of domestic femininity, but in some, even today, substantial restrictions still remain on the roles that women can play in society outside the household.

Childhood, another aspect of domestic life that is closely connected to the roles of women, is also covered here. Since women give birth and can nurse children, womanhood and motherhood have often been seen as overlapping or even identical. The raising and education of children are a central part of domestic life; in some cultures, raising children is seen as the purpose of life. The documents included here are not so much about what parents—either male or female—have to say about their children as much as they are about trying to capture the experience of childhood from the children's perspective.

Old age is another facet of domestic life. While many of the elderly in twenty-first-century America do not live in the same household as their adult children and grandchildren, this has not been the norm in even the recent past. The familial bonds that define domestic relationships are also often the bonds that decide who will care for the aged and how. The selections presented here recount how people are often reluctant to give up the independence and vigor they had when they were younger, and struggle to retain it, try to recapture it, to lament it, or to deny its loss.

These different categories and entries are of course not independent of each other. The subtle racism of Robert Baden-Powell's description of a Zulu charge that he compares to the rally of *Boy Scouts* (Document 6) is connected to the racial attitudes that permitted slavery to flourish in the United States, and is also related to imperialism and the disparities between childhood in the industrialized West and the difficulties faced by West African children in the middle of the last century. Some might argue that the relegation of women to limited domestic roles in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in England and the United States are not dissimilar to the institutions of racial slavery or the mistreatment or dismissal of the elderly. There is something common, too, in the suffering of Aurangzeb in his old age (Document 8), witnessing the breakdown of his domestic life as old age leads to death, and the unhappiness of Frederick Douglass (Document 5), denied the company or care of his parents from the earliest age. Defining these connections and relationships can be challenging, but together they make up a rich and interesting picture of a central aspect of daily life—the domestic.

Women's Roles

Women's roles are often taken as a bellwether of sorts in domestic life. Some of the selections here were written to criticize the roles women played in their societies, and some of them are an endorsement of women's positions in the domestic sphere. The selections range from Louis de Jaucourt (Document 1), a progressive eighteenth-century European attempting to put the idea of marriage and husband-wife relations into historical context—and thereby challenging some of the popular ideas of his day, to a reaction against the twentieth-century suburban American housewife in a selection from Betty Friedan's groundbreaking work of American feminism, *The Feminine*

Mystique (Document 4). In between there is Mrs. Isabella Beeton (Document 2), whose name is synonymous with the domestic Englishwoman of the nineteenth century, and an account by Halil Halid of women's lives in Western Asia (Document 3). His description of the Turkish *Harem* in the early twentieth century records a changing but very traditional way of life in the last years of the *Ottoman Empire*.

It is also worth noting that it is not simply a matter of men's voices keeping women in the domestic sphere, and women agitating to be liberated from it. Betty Friedan is a powerful voice for change, but Isabella Beeton embraces her role in the domestic sphere, and her firm, *prim* prose clearly encourages other women to do the same. On the other hand, Jaucourt is a man of privilege and wealth encouraging his society to reconsider its attitudes toward marriage and the role of the wife—a reconsideration that, along with a reconsideration of many other domestic, social, and political attitudes in eighteenth-century France, would eventually lead to revolution and the loss of his class privileges and wealth, while Halil Halid's frank description of the harem is an apologetic for the near total exclusion of women from public life.

1. The Definition of “Wife” in the *Encyclopédie*

In the eighteenth century, Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert compiled their encyclopedia in France. The Encyclopédie was a milestone—one of the first attempts to unify and categorize all human knowledge. In this sense, it was a project typical of the Enlightenment, an intellectual movement of the eighteenth century that focused on the power of human reason to order society and understand the world. Among the entries in the Encyclopédie was “Wife,” written by Louis de Jaucourt, a French nobleman and philosophe. Jaucourt's article on “Wife” indicates that well before the rise of contemporary feminism and the feminist movement, both the idea of male authority within marriage and the idea of female equality in marriage were present in European culture.

The Enlightenment was a period of great intellectual change, and the idea of male authority in marriage was not as strong or as pervasive as is often assumed. In fact, the domestic ideal of the submissive, nurturing, at-home mother is itself largely a product of the nineteenth century. Although Jaucourt admits that many civilized countries reinforced the primacy of the male in marriage, and he is not altogether opposed to such laws, Jaucourt cites a number of historic and world cultures as evidence that what is understood as the traditional arrangement was not as universal, or even as traditional, as might be thought today. He does not argue directly for the changing of these traditions and laws, but he does suggest, perhaps with a bit of understatement, that the law should make provisions for exceptions to the usual arrangement when it is suitable to the husband and wife. To Jaucourt's Enlightenment mind, the submission of a wife to her husband might be seen only as a part of civil law, not of natural law; in other words, it is a custom or convention, rather than an arrangement founded by Nature or God, and it can be questioned or altered by the judicious use of humane reason.

Wife, (Natural Law), in Latin *uxor*, female of man, considered such when she is united to him by ties of marriage. See therefore Marriage and Husband.

The supreme being having judged that it was not good for man to be alone, conceived a desire to unite him in close society with a companion, and this society is made through a voluntary accord between the parties. As this society has as its principal goal the procreation and protection of the children it produces, the father and mother of necessity devote all their energies to nourishing and properly rearing the fruits of their love up until the time when they are able to care and judge for themselves.

But although the husband and the wife have fundamentally the same interests in their marriage, it is nevertheless essential that governing authority belong to one or the other: now the affirmative right of civilized nations, the laws and the customs of Europe give this authority unanimously to the male, being the one endowed with the greatest strength of mind and body, contributing more to the common good in matters of sacred and human things; such that the woman must necessarily be subordinated to her husband and obey his orders in all domestic affairs. This is the belief of the ancient and modern jurists and the formal decision of legislators. [...]

However the reasons we have just listed for marital power are not without rejoinder, humanely speaking; and the character of this work allows us to boldly enunciate them.

It appears first of all that it would be difficult to demonstrate that the authority of the husband comes from nature; because this principal is contrary to the natural equality of men; and just because one is suited for commanding doesn't mean that it is actually one's right to do so: 2. man does not always have greater strength of body, wisdom, spirit or conduct than woman: 3. Scriptural precepts being established in punitive terms indicates as well that there is only a positive right. One can therefore claim that there is no other type of subordination in marital relations than that of the civil law, and as a consequence, the only things preventing change in the civil law are particular conventions, and that natural law and religion do not determine anything to the contrary.

We do not deny that in a society composed of two people, it is necessary that the deliberative laws of one or the other carry the day; and since ordinarily men are more capable than women of ably governing particular matters, it is wise to establish as a general rule that the voice of the man will carry more weight as long as the two have not made any agreement to the contrary, because general law results from human institutions, and not from natural right. In this way, a woman who knows the basis of civil law and who contracts her marriage purely and simply, has by law submitted, tacitly, to this civil law.

But if this woman, persuaded that she has more judgment and direction, or knowing that she has greater fortune or is of a higher station than that of the man



The Life & Age of Woman—Stages of Woman's Life from the Cradle to the Grave, a ca. 1849 U.S. print illustrating 11 chronological stages of virtuous womanhood. Library of Congress.

who asks her to marry him, stipulates the contrary of that which the law implies, and with the consent of this husband, should she not have, by virtue of natural law, the same power her husband has by virtue of the law of the realm? The case of a queen, who, being sovereign in her own right, marries a prince below her rank, or if she likes, one of her subjects, is enough to show that the authority of a woman over her husband, even in matters concerning the governance of the family, is not incompatible with the nature of the marital contract.

In effect, we have seen among the most civilized nations, marriages which submit the husband to the domain of the wife; we have seen a princess, heir to the realm, reserve to herself, while marrying, the sovereign power of the state. [...]

The example of England and of Muscovy make evident that women can succeed equally, both in moderate and despotic government; and if it is not against reason and nature that they rule an empire, then it seems that it is no more contradictory that they should be mistresses in a family.

When Lacedaemonian [Spartan, an ancient Greek province] marriages were ready to be consummated, the woman took the dress of a man; and it was a symbol of the equal power that she would share with her husband. On this subject we know what Gorgon, the wife of Leonidas, king of Sparta, said to a foreign woman who was extremely surprised by this equality: Don't you know, responded the queen, that we bring men into the world? In other times, even in Egypt, marriage contracts between individuals, as much as those of the king and the queen, gave authority over the husband to the wife. (Diodore de Sicile, liv. I. ch. xxvij.)

It makes no difference (because it is not a matter here of exploiting unique examples which prove too much); it makes no difference, I say, if the authority of a woman in marriage cannot exist within conventional bounds, between people of equal stature, at least let the legislature refrain from prohibiting exceptions to the law, made with the free consent of the parties.

Marriage is by its nature a contract; and as a result, in all things not expressly prohibited by natural law, the contractual engagements between the husband and the wife determine reciprocal rights.

Source: Jaucourt, Louis de. "Femme [Wife]." In *La Encyclopédie*, edited by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert. Volume 6. Paris: Briasson, 1751–1777. Translated and reprinted by permission of Naomi Andrews.

2. Isabella Beeton: The Angel of the House

Isabella Beeton (1836–1865) originally published her Book of Household Management in serial form in an English women's magazine, and then as a single volume in 1861. The book was a huge success. It was revised and re-revised by others and became the most famous cookbook and domestic advice manual in England for decades, and made Beeton the most recognized advocate of the nineteenth-century ideal of female domesticity. Beeton, herself a wife, mother, and household manager as well as an author, died in 1865 at age 28 after the birth of her fourth child.

Although she included instructions for many different categories of servants, both male and female, including cooks, butlers, footmen, valets, and maids of all sorts, the following excerpt is taken from her instructions to the mistress of the house. Her audience comprises the aspiring middle- and upper-class wives of the prosperous professional classes created by the Industrial Revolution and the social transformations of the nineteenth century. These women, although excluded for the most part from professional and public lives, were not the middle-class stay-at-home moms of twentieth-century America. The management of a large household and regulation of social and domestic life was a formidable task. Without many of the appliances common today, daily tasks were much more labor-intensive, and running an upper-class home required the labor of numerous servants. The household was essentially a small business, with domestic employees living and working on the premises; maintaining the house, grounds, and animals; caring for children; preparing meals for the family and themselves; and cleaning, doing laundry, and so on. Employees had to be managed, accounts kept, social calls had to be made and received, and, of course, husbands had to be kept happy, too.

The virtues Beeton demands are a catalog of respectable feminine qualities: modesty, prudence, frugality, good temper, and propriety. Sexuality, intellect, and personal satisfaction were not emphasized. Feminine happiness was the result of faithful execution of domestic duties, making the good bourgeois wife an angel of the house. Some scholars see this domestic arrangement as simply patriarchal and oppressive, while others see it more positively as a place for the development of an independent feminine sphere, while others claim it lays the groundwork for later strides in women's roles outside the home by asserting that women are responsible and virtuous in their roles within it. Of course, not everyone shared Beeton's views or conformed to her advice; but she offers a succinct representation of what the dominant social ideal was for middle- and upper-class women of the nineteenth century in the industrializing West.

1. AS WITH THE COMMANDER OF AN ARMY, or the leader of any enterprise, so is it with the mistress of a house. Her spirit will be seen through the whole establishment; and just in proportion as she performs her duties intelligently and thoroughly, so will her domestics follow in her path. Of all those acquirements, which more particularly belong to the feminine character, there are none which take a higher rank, in our estimation, than such as enter into a knowledge of household duties; for on these are perpetually dependent the happiness, comfort, and well-being of a family. In this opinion we are borne out by the author of "The Vicar of Wakefield," who says: "The modest virgin, the prudent wife, and the careful matron, are much more serviceable in life than petticoated philosophers, blustering heroines, or virago queens. She who makes her husband and her children happy, who reclaims the one from vice and trains up the other to virtue, is a much greater character than ladies described in romances, whose whole occupation is to murder mankind with shafts from their quiver, or their eyes."

2. PURSUING THIS PICTURE, we may add, that to be a good housewife does not necessarily imply an abandonment of proper pleasures or amusing recreation; and we think it the more necessary to express this, as the performance of the duties of a mistress may, to some minds, perhaps seem to be incompatible with the enjoyment of life. Let us, however, now proceed to describe some of those home qualities and virtues which are necessary to the proper management of a Household, and then point out the plan which may be the most profitably pursued for the daily regulation of its affairs.

10. GOOD TEMPER SHOULD BE CULTIVATED by every mistress, as upon it the welfare of the household may be said to turn; indeed, its influence can hardly be over-estimated, as it has the effect of moulding the characters of those around her, and of acting most beneficially on the happiness of the domestic circle. Every head of a household should strive to be cheerful, and should never fail to show a deep interest in all that appertains to the well-being of those who claim the protection of her roof. Gentleness, not partial and temporary, but universal and regular, should pervade her conduct; for where such a spirit is habitually manifested, it not only delights her children, but makes her domestics attentive and respectful; her visitors are also pleased by it, and their happiness is increased.

12. IN PURCHASING ARTICLES OF WEARING APPAREL, whether it be a silk dress, a bonnet, shawl, or riband, it is well for the buyer to consider three things: I. That it be not too expensive for her purse. II. That its colour harmonize with her complexion, and its size and pattern with her figure. III. That its tint allow of its being worn with the other garments she possesses. The quaint Fuller observes, that the good wife is none of our dainty dames, who love to appear in a variety of suits every day new, as if a gown, like a stratagem in war, were to be used but once. But our good wife sets up a sail according to the keel of her husband's estate; and, if of high parentage, she doth not so remember what she was by birth, that she forgets what she is by match.

14. CHARITY AND BENEVOLENCE ARE DUTIES which a mistress owes to herself as well as to her fellow-creatures; and there is scarcely any income so small, but something may be spared from it, even if it be but "the widow's mite." It is to be always remembered, however, that it is the *spirit* of charity which imparts to the gift a value far beyond its actual amount, and is by far its better part.

16. A HOUSEKEEPING ACCOUNT-BOOK should invariably be kept, and kept punctually and precisely. The plan for keeping household accounts, which we should recommend, would be to make an entry, that is, write down into a daily diary every amount paid on that particular day, be it ever so small; then, at the end of the month, let these various payments be ranged under their specific heads of Butcher, Baker, &c.; and thus will be seen the proportions paid to each tradesman, and any one month's expenses may be contrasted with another. The housekeeping accounts should be balanced not less than once a month; so that you may see that the money you have in hand tallies with your account of it in your diary. Judge Haliburton never wrote truer words than when he said, "No man is rich whose expenditure exceeds his means, and no one is poor whose incomings exceed his outgoings."

When, in a large establishment, a housekeeper is kept, it will be advisable for the mistress to examine her accounts regularly. Then any increase of expenditure which may be apparent, can easily be explained, and the housekeeper will have the satisfaction of knowing whether her efforts to manage her department well and economically, have been successful.

19. THE TREATMENT OF SERVANTS is of the highest possible moment, as well to the mistress as to the domestics themselves. On the head of the house the latter will naturally fix their attention; and if they perceive that the mistress's conduct is regulated by high and correct principles, they will not fail to respect her. If, also, a benevolent desire is shown to promote their comfort, at the same time that a steady performance

of their duty is exacted, then their respect will not be unmingled with affection, and they will be still more solicitous to continue to deserve her favour.

28. IN PAYING VISITS OF FRIENDSHIP, it will not be so necessary to be guided by etiquette as in paying visits of ceremony; and if a lady be pressed by her friend to remove her shawl and bonnet, it can be done if it will not interfere with her subsequent arrangements.

It is, however, requisite to call at suitable times, and to avoid staying too long, if your friend is engaged. The courtesies of society should ever be maintained, even in the domestic circle, and amongst the nearest friends. During these visits, the manners should be easy and cheerful, and the subjects of conversation such as may be readily terminated. Serious discussions or arguments are to be altogether avoided, and there is much danger and impropriety in expressing opinions of those persons and characters with whom, perhaps, there is but a slight acquaintance.

54. SUCH ARE THE ONEROUS DUTIES which enter into the position of the mistress of a house, and such are, happily, with a slight but continued attention, of by no means difficult performance. She ought always to remember that she is the first and the last, the Alpha and the Omega in the government of her establishment; and that it is by her conduct that its whole internal policy is regulated. She is, therefore, a person of far more importance in a community than she usually thinks she is. On her pattern her daughters model themselves; by her counsels they are directed; through her virtues all are honoured;—"her children rise up and call her blessed; her husband, also, and he praiseth her." Therefore, let each mistress always remember her responsible position, never approving a mean action, nor speaking an unrefined word. Let her conduct be such that her inferiors may respect her, and such as an honourable and right-minded man may look for in his wife and the mother of his children. Let her think of the many compliments and the sincere homage that have been paid to her sex by the greatest philosophers and writers, both in ancient and modern times. Let her not forget that she has to show herself worthy of Campbell's compliment when he said,—

"The world was sad! the garden was a wild!
And man the hermit sigh'd, till *woman* smiled."

Let her prove herself, then, the happy companion of man, and able to take unto herself the praises of the pious prelate, Jeremy Taylor, who says,—“A good wife is Heaven's last best gift to man,—his angel and minister of graces innumerable,—his gem of many virtues,—his casket of jewels—her voice is sweet music—her smiles his brightest day;—her kiss, the guardian of his innocence;—her arms, the pale of his safety, the balm of his health, the balsam of his life;—her industry, his surest wealth;—her economy, his safest steward;—her lips, his faithful counsellors;—her bosom, the softest pillow of his cares; and her prayers, the ablest advocates of Heaven's blessings on his head.”



An illustration from Isabella Beeton's *The Book of Household Management*, showing kitchen maids, a parlor maid, and scullery maids; published in 1901. Courtesy of photos.com

Cherishing, then, in her breast the respected utterances of the good and the great, let the mistress of every house rise to the responsibility of its management; so that, in doing her duty to all around her, she may receive the genuine reward of respect, love, and affection!

Source: Beeton, Isabella. *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management: Comprising Information for the Mistress, Housekeeper, Cook, Kitchen-Maid, Butler, Footman, Coachman, Valet, Upper and Under House-Maids, Lady's Maid, Maid-of-all-Work, Laundry-Maid, Nurse and Nurse-Maid, Monthly, Wet, and Sick-Nurses, etc. etc., Also Sanitary, Medical, and Legal Memoranda, with a History of the Origin, Properties, and Uses of All Things Connected with Home Life and Comfort.* London: S. O. Beeton, 1861.

3. The Turkish Harem in the Early Twentieth Century

In the following selection, Halil Halid, a Turkish intellectual and social activist, offers a perspective on the practice of the harem from the last years of the Ottoman Empire, which would crumble in the wake of World War I (1914–1918), and become modern-day Turkey. His audience is English society, and he attempts to make the practices of the harem and polygamy more understandable and palatable to the Edwardian English mind. In the Western imagination, harems had become mysterious and exotic places of luxury, eroticism, and decadence. Because they were forbidden to most foreign observers, especially men, an understanding of what life was like for women in the harem was often thoroughly exaggerated or simply made-up. Halid tries to make a number of points, including that the term harem refers to one part of a divided domestic space and the women of a household who inhabit it. He describes a social custom in transition, with shifting attitudes on polygamy, and differing degrees of seclusion for harems. He describes differing occupations and responsibilities for women in harems depending on social status, including domestic labor and education.

At the simplest level, a harem is a social practice that sequesters women from men in a private domestic space, whether for protection, privacy, or possession is a matter of perspective. A Turkish household was divided into public and private spaces, with outside men excluded from the private space, and women restricted in their presence and behavior in the public space. Harems at the highest levels of Ottoman society were complex social hierarchies within palace life of wives, concubines, eunuchs, children, and servants. Within the elite Harem, young women were educated to prepare themselves for marriage to officers or other aristocrats and to run harems of their own.

The typical harem Halid describes is not this type of elite level. Harems were also places for education and training of girls according to their social standing, as well as places for domestic labor. Although the Western segregation of women and men into separate spaces was not nearly so systematic and strict, the degree of regulation and rigidity of social interactions in terms of manners, dress, and sexual behavior were certainly comparable in many ways between the British for whom Halid was writing and the late Ottoman Harem.

There are many people in England whose ideas on the subject of the harem are but a confused misconception, based on what they may have heard about Eastern polygamy. In this chapter, that I may correct these mistaken conceptions, I will give some more exact information on the subject of the harem and its inmates, as well as on the position of women in Turkey in general.

Although the word harem is known and used by the people of Western Europe, the true meaning of the term is understood by but few persons in this country. As a matter of fact, many subjects concerning the East are much misunderstood in the West, just as there are certain manners and customs of Western Europe that cause prejudice in the Eastern mind. When an Englishman uses the word harem, he means thereby the numerous wives whom a man in our part of the East is supposed to shut up in his house. He, moreover, believes that every man in the Mohammedan East may marry as many women as he pleases. This idea is not only mistaken, but grotesque. There are thousands of men who would consider themselves fortunate if they could marry even a single woman; while, on the other hand, there are thousands who would be happy to get rid of the single wife they have. Any man who can manage to keep two, not to say more, wives in peace, and can cope with the requirements of each, must be an exceptionally brave person. Wives are not all religiously obedient in the East, just as all men are not tyrants. Religion, law, and custom impose upon men many duties to be discharged towards their wives. An honest man must discharge these duties, and indeed it is very difficult to find many men who are able to fulfill their obligations as husbands towards more than one wife. It has been proved that in many parts of the Ottoman empire the number of women does not exceed that of men, a fact which alone is enough to show the absurdity of the notion prevailing in England about the plurality of wives in that country. As a matter of fact, there is no law against the practice of polygamy, but the feeling of decent people condemns it. A man who is once married to a gentleman's daughter would find it no light matter to add another wife to his home circle. There are nowadays many men of Western education who marry in order to find a life companion, and they quite understand that were they so injudicious as to take another wife, they would very likely render their lives the reverse of peaceful.

After pointing out the absurdity of the notion that a man's harem is his collection of wives, I will now explain what it really is. In Mohammedan countries, where the seclusion of women is a deeply rooted and religiously observed custom, every house is divided into two separate parts. In Turkey the section of a house where the ladies reside is called the harem, and the men's portion is named the *selamlık*—that is to say, the reception-place. Though the female inmates of a house are also collectively called the harem, this does not mean that they are all the wives of the master of the house. A man's wife, his mother, his sister, his daughter, and such other women as may lawfully appear unveiled in his presence, belong to his harem.

The male members of a family who are permitted to enter the harem are the master of the house, his sons, his father, his father-in-law, and his wife's brother. In large cities such as Constantinople, Smyrna, and Adrianople, the advanced class of people may even permit their more distant relatives to enter. Those who adopt European customs may even admit their intimate friends. But in the old-fashioned families, such as form the great bulk of the population, no male relation of the master is allowed to enter the harem portion of his house after he has reached his thirteenth or fourteenth year if marriage between such male relation and the master's daughter, or other young marriageable inmates of his house, be possible. [...]

The life in most Turkish harems is very simple, and, if we leave out the case of the few polygamists who still remain, very peaceful and happy. The absolute authority of

the husband does not interfere with the recognised privileges of the wife; while the obedience of the wife, which is regarded by more advanced women in Western Europe with such contempt, in most cases strengthens the affection and respect of the husband for her. Wives are not slaves of their husbands, as some people in this country fancy them to be. The inmates of harems live mostly indoors, but they are not entirely shut up. They go out in groups of two, three, and more to pay visits to other harems, and they receive visitors from the harems of friends and relations. Of course their gatherings are almost always unmixed, but, like the women of other countries, some of them sing and play to entertain others. Dancing has been introduced recently, but it is confined only to very advanced private families. Among the people of the old school the dancing of young ladies in the presence of others is considered shocking. At weddings and other similar festivities only hired professional women amuse the guests by dancing, and these professional dancers are not regarded as respectable. In my time, reading aloud was a favourite pastime in many harems.

The number of educated women was much less than it is now. The most learned among them used to read sacred legends, or religious tracts, or recite hymns to the other ladies, who would listen attentively for hours. I believe this social pastime is still in favour in the provinces.

Turkish women, according to their social position, have various duties to discharge. No qualities are so much sought after in an average marriageable woman as the domestic ones. In the provinces the peasant women, besides managing their humble domestic affairs, have to work in the fields, more especially when their brothers and husbands are away discharging their compulsory military service. The daughters of well-to-do people, besides attending to the business of their households, are indefatigable with their needles, and are always busy with needlework or embroidery; while the daughters of high dignitaries must, among other duties, learn what their instructors or governesses teach them.

It will be understood from the details I have given that the popular notion prevailing in this country of the harem and the life in the harem is much mistaken. Women in Turkish harems do not really pass their time lying on sofas or couches, eating sweetmeats and smoking water-pipes all day long. Of course they are as fond of sweet stuffs as most ladies of this country. But to lie down on a couch in presence of others is considered by Turkish women vulgarity of the most disgraceful kind.

Source: Halid, Halil. *Diary of a Turk*. London: Charles and Black, 1903.

4. Betty Friedan on the Suburban Housewife

*There is no doubt that the role of women in society has changed from Mrs. Isabella Beeton's day (see Document 2) in the mid-nineteenth century. Most women and many men now identify themselves as feminists, though of course the term means very different things to different people. However feminism is defined, one of the landmark pieces of feminist writing in the twentieth century was Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, which argued that the role of the suburban housewife of mid-century America was deeply flawed and created legions of unhappy, unhealthy, unfulfilled women. "The problem that has no name" as*

Friedan called it, was a result of the feminine mystique, an emerging ideal of womanhood created not only from cultural and historical precedent (one can compare it to the domesticity of Beeton's "angel of the house"), but also a mass culture that formed notions of feminine identity almost exclusively in the role of housewife; saw marriage and childbearing as the ultimate goal of even professionally trained, educated women; and generally limited housewives' activities to volunteer work, childcare, and homemaking.

Friedan demanded a re-education of women and a re-evaluation of their roles, insisting that women form an identity separate from family and home and pursue their own ambitions and promising that it was possible to have it all—happy home, husband, children, as well as work and a fulfilling career outside the home. In the following excerpt from her book, she offers her advice on a new life plan for American women and a method to defy the feminine mystique. What Friedan wanted in large part occurred, with significant changes in women's roles and the social, economic, and cultural structures of the family. In the twenty-first century, the movement of large numbers of women into the workforce has created its own difficulties and challenges as well as new and different social problems for women. The shift away from earlier models of gender roles has met with resistance from some traditional and conservative points of view, but represents an important change in women's roles as they had been predominantly defined in the nineteenth century, a change that is now a fact of social life in most of the Western world.

When society asks so little of women, every woman has to listen to her own inner voice to find her identity in this changing world. She must create, out of her own needs and abilities, a new life plan, fitting in the love and children and home that have defined femininity in the past with the work toward a greater purpose that shapes the future. To face the problem is not to solve it. [...]

There are no easy answers, in America today; it is difficult, painful, and takes perhaps a long time for each woman to find her own answer. First, she must unequivocally say "no" to the housewife image. This does not mean, of course, that she must divorce her husband, abandon her children, give up her home. She does not have to choose between marriage and career; that was the mistaken choice of the feminine mystique. In actual fact, it is not as difficult as the feminine mystique implies, to combine marriage and motherhood and even the kind of lifelong personal purpose that once was called "career." It merely takes a new life plan—in terms of one's whole life as a woman. [...]

The second step, and perhaps the most difficult for the products of sex-directed education, is to see marriage as it really is, brushing aside the veil of over-glorification imposed by the feminine mystique. Many women I talked to felt strangely discontented with their husbands, continually irritated with their children, when they saw marriage and motherhood as the final fulfillment of their lives. But when they began to use their various abilities with a purpose of their own in society, they not only spoke of a new feeling of "aliveness" or "completeness" in themselves, but of a new, though hard to define, difference in the way they felt about their husbands and children. [...]

But a job, any job, is not the answer—in fact, it can be part of the trap. Women who do not look for jobs equal to their actual capacity, who do not let themselves develop the lifetime interests and goals which require serious education and training, who take a job at twenty or forty to "help out at home" or just to kill extra time, are walking, almost as surely as the ones who stay inside the housewife trap, to a nonexistent future.

If a job is to be the way out of the trap for a woman, it must, be a job that she can take seriously as part of a life plan, work in which she can grow as part of society. [...]

The key to the trap is, of course, education. The feminine mystique has made higher education for women seem suspect, unnecessary and even dangerous. But I think that education, and only education, has saved, and can continue to save, American women from the greater dangers of the feminine mystique.

Source: Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1963.

Children

For most of us, the first memories we have are of childhood and our domestic environment: parents, grandparents, siblings, our homes, and so on. The domestic environment is of obvious importance in every child's or person's life. The modern period has seen dramatic shifts in child rearing practices and the very nature of childhood. In early modern Europe, children were sometimes seen as either beast-like, or as miniature adults; there was no general idea of a unique intermediate stage of childhood.

The modern era saw the development of childhood as a discrete and important stage. That stage was cruel and difficult for Frederick Douglass and other African-American slaves in nineteenth-century America (Document 5); separated from his mother and denied by his father. Douglass lacked exactly what it was said every child needed: a nurturing mother and a protecting father. Robert Baden-Powell's description of Boy Scouting (Document 6) brings in activities of childhood outside the home, and the ways childhood was seen by states and parents as a time for training in virtue, self-reliance, and patriotism—things important not only to the individual but also to a nation and society as a whole. The precariousness of life is highlighted by the discussion of the high rate of infant mortality in West Africa (Document 7), a persistent problem in many parts of the world where childhood is decidedly dangerous. At the same time, it also offers an opportunity to see how domestic situations react to cultural influences brought by the creation of European empires in many parts of the world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and it documents the lasting consequences of imperialism and newer contemporary globalization movements.

5. Frederick Douglass: Being a Slave Child

Frederick Douglass (c. 1817–1895) was one of America's most famous African Americans. Born a slave in Maryland, he escaped to Massachusetts and spent his life speaking, traveling, and publishing for the abolition of slavery and the rights of various oppressed groups. In this excerpt, which begins his first book, Douglass tells little of his daily life as a child, but gives a fascinating account of the endemic contradictions of slavery and the tragic effects on children and families. In a culture where maternal care was considered paramount, Douglass describes being intentionally separated from his mother by his owners. He claims his father might have been a white man, perhaps even his master, as frequently occurred.

The description of Douglass's relationship to his mother is designed to be touching—she would at times walk 12 miles each way after work to lie down with him for a few hours before she had to leave to make it back to the fields at dawn the next day, and he never saw her in daylight. However, he also insists he was not attached to her, which makes the whole situation and her extraordinary efforts to see her child all the more tragic and ironic.

Whether Douglass's father was a white man or not, the relationship of a mixed-race slave to his father, if his or her father was the master, was even more conflicted. Douglass points out the jealousy of slave owners' wives when confronted with their husbands' illegitimate children; the need for owners to whip, beat, and even sell their own children; have siblings torture one another; separate their children from their mothers; and deprive their children of any family and the affection and support that comes with it.

Douglass raises the important issue of interracial relationships, or miscegenation, as it was called in the nineteenth century. Such relationships were not only taboo to many whites, but also illegal in some states until 1967 when the U.S. Supreme Court overturned racial purity laws. The natural distinction between races was a staple argument of pro-slavery whites, who used pseudoscientific theories and, as Douglass mentions, biblical support to conclude that blacks were inferior to whites and were not intended by God to intermarry or have children.

If Douglass, in fact, was a mixed-race child (he himself admitted he did not know for certain who his father was), his having a white father and black mother made Douglass in some sense at least as much white as black. The differences he points out between himself and his African ancestors indicates the changing nature of race in the United States well before the Civil War and the resulting emancipation of all slaves in the 1860s, and race continues to be a central but changing issue in American society even today.

I was born in Tuckahoe, near Hillsborough, and about twelve miles from Easton, in Talbot county, Maryland. I have no accurate knowledge of my age, never having seen any authentic record containing it. By far the larger part of the slaves know as little of their ages as horses know of theirs, and it is the wish of most masters within my knowledge to keep their slaves thus ignorant. I do not remember to have ever met a slave who could tell of his birthday. They seldom come nearer to it than planting-time, harvest-time, cherry-time, spring-time, or fall-time. A want of information concerning my own was a source of unhappiness to me even during childhood. The white children could tell their ages. I could not tell why I ought to be deprived of the same privilege. I was not allowed to make any inquiries of my master concerning it. He deemed all such inquiries on the part of a slave improper and impertinent, and evidence of a restless spirit. The nearest estimate I can give makes me now between twenty-seven and twenty-eight years of age. I come to this, from hearing my master say, some time during 1835, I was about seventeen years old.

My mother was named Harriet Bailey. She was the daughter of Isaac and Betsey Bailey, both colored, and quite dark. My mother was of a darker complexion than either my grandmother or grandfather.

My father was a white man. He was admitted to be such by all I ever heard speak of my parentage. The opinion was also whispered that my master was my father; but of the correctness of this opinion, I know nothing; the means of knowing was withheld from me. My mother and I were separated when I was but an infant—before I knew her as my mother. It is a common custom, in the part of Maryland from which I ran away, to part children from their mothers at a very early age. Frequently, before the child has

reached its twelfth month, its mother is taken from it, and hired out on some farm a considerable distance off, and the child is placed under the care of an old woman, too old for field labor. For what this separation is done, I do not know, unless it be to hinder the development of the child's affection toward its mother, and to blunt and destroy the natural affection of the mother for the child. This is the inevitable result.

I never saw my mother, to know her as such, more than four or five times in my life; and each of these times was very short in duration, and at night. She was hired by a Mr. Stewart, who lived about twelve miles from my home. She made her journeys to see me in the night, traveling the whole distance on foot, after the performance of her day's work. She was a field hand, and a whipping is the penalty of not being in the field at sunrise, unless a slave has special permission from his or her master to the contrary—a permission which they seldom get, and one that gives to him that gives it the proud name of being a kind master. I do not recollect of ever seeing my mother by the light of day. She was with me in the night. She would lie down with me, and get me to sleep, but long before I waked she was gone. Very little communication ever took place between us. Death soon ended what little we could have while she lived, and with it her hardships and suffering. She died when I was about seven years old, on one of my master's farms, near Lee's Mill. I was not allowed to be present during her illness, at her death, or burial. She was gone long before I knew any thing about it. Never having enjoyed, to any considerable extent, her soothing presence, her tender and watchful care, I received the tidings of her death with much the same emotions I should have probably felt at the death of a stranger.

Called thus suddenly away, she left me without the slightest intimation of who my father was. The whisper that my master was my father, may or may not be true; and, true or

false, it is of but little consequence to my purpose whilst the fact remains, in all its glaring odiousness, that slaveholders have ordained, and by law established, that the children of slave women shall in all cases follow the condition of their mothers; and this is done too obviously to administer to their own lusts, and make a gratification of their wicked desires profitable as well as pleasurable; for by this cunning arrangement, the slaveholder, in cases not a few, sustains to his slaves the double relation of master and father.

I know of such cases; and it is worthy of remark that such slaves invariably suffer greater hardships, and have more to contend with, than others. They are, in the first place, a constant offence to their mistress. She is ever disposed to find fault with them; they can seldom do any thing to please her; she is never better pleased



A large family of African Americans pose outside former slave quarters at Hermitage Plantation, Savannah, Georgia, 1909. Library of Congress.

than when she sees them under the lash, especially when she suspects her husband of showing to his mulatto children favors which he withholds from his black slaves. The master is frequently compelled to sell this class of his slaves, out of deference to the feelings of his white wife; and, cruel as the deed may strike any one to be, for a man to sell his own children to human flesh-mongers, it is often the dictate of humanity for him to do so; for, unless he does this, he must not only whip them himself, but must stand by and see one white son tie up his brother, of but few shades darker complexion than himself, and ply the gory lash to his naked back; and if he lisp one word of disapproval, it is set down to his parental partiality, and only makes a bad matter worse, both for himself and the slave whom he would protect and defend.

Every year brings with it multitudes of this class of slaves. It was doubtless in consequence of a knowledge of this fact, that one great statesman of the south predicted the downfall of slavery by the inevitable laws of population. Whether this prophecy is ever fulfilled or not, it is nevertheless plain that a very different-looking class of people are springing up at the south, and are now held in slavery, from those originally brought to this country from Africa; and if their increase do no other good, it will do away the force of the argument, that God cursed Ham, and therefore American slavery is right. If the lineal descendants of Ham are alone to be scripturally enslaved, it is certain that slavery at the south must soon become unscriptural; for thousands are ushered into the world, annually, who, like myself, owe their existence to white fathers, and those fathers most frequently their own masters.

Source: Douglass, Frederick. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself*. Boston: The Anti-Slavery Office, 1845.

6. “The Most Impressive Sight”: A Rally of English Boy Scouts in 1914

Sir Robert Baden-Powell (1857–1941) was a British officer and veteran of colonial wars, as well as the founder of the Scouting movement. The creation of such youth organizations is the product of nineteenth-century cultural phenomena, such as nationalism, an emphasis on self-control, and mass culture. Scouting groups encouraged nationalism, physical fitness, outdoor skills, and character growth. In the United States today, groups like the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire, and others trace their roots, directly or indirectly, to Baden Powell’s idea of Scouting for Boys, the title of his 1908 book that became one of the best sellers of the twentieth century in the English-speaking world. Of course, youth organizations promoting nationalism, citizenship development, and, sometimes military preparedness have also been used by totalitarian regimes, such as the Young Pioneers and Communist Youth League in the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or the Hitler Youth in Adolf Hitler’s Nazi Germany.

The following selection describes a rally of English Boy Scouts in 1914, at which King George V made an appearance, as “the most impressive sight,” comparing it favorably with a moving, makeshift military funeral and a vivid account of an attack by African Zulu warriors. Of course, as the founder of Scouting, Baden-Powell may not have been objective,

but personal bias notwithstanding, Baden-Powell's account reflects a concern for the importance of proper development of male youth, the value of selflessness and egalitarianism despite social and class differences, and a patriotic devotion to country that had developed throughout the nineteenth century in Western culture. Much of the worldview that gave rise to Scouting would be forever altered by the events of the twentieth century, including the First World War (1914–1918), which began the same year this article was published. Yet despite the dramatic social and cultural changes of the twentieth century, Scouting continues to have an impact on children and youth around the world. Although not immune to controversy, it remains the largest international youth movement, with over 28 million members worldwide and affiliated organizations in over 200 countries, many of which include girls as well as boys, and another 9 million members in Girl Scouts or Girl Guides groups.

It is true that in my time, I have seen many impressive sights, and not the least impressive that occurs immediately to one's mind is the scene when we stood round the grave-side of one of our bravest and best officers in the South African Campaign. It was in the dead of night, without even a glimmer of a lantern that might draw-upon us some of the shells which were flying near. There was a dark, silent crowd of men dimly seen in the starlight shuffling round the body of one who, only six short hours before, had been full of life and strength, the soul and spirit of those who were now carrying him to his grave, who had led them on to face the death which he himself had met. After they had lowered him into the hastily-prepared grave, a husky voice broke the silence and growled out, with a sob, "Well, good-bye Captain," from those around there was a murmured response in the shape of "That's it." "Hear, hear," which, though nearing the comic, was at that moment deeply pathetic, coming as it did, from hardy, rough campaigners, and was more impressive than an "amen" of a cathedral service.

Then, too, I remember being present with a great Zulu impi [regiment] about to make its attack upon an enemy's stronghold. It was an inspiring sight to see this mass of savage warriors, decked out in war-paint with the blood lust in their eyes, squatting round in a vast circle, straining eagerly to hear that chief giving them orders for the battle. It reminded one of nothing so much as a great bronze serpent, lying coiled ready to spring, for, although almost silent and motionless, there was a rhythmic heaving and sob amongst the men during the whole of their leader's address, which, together with their straining eyes and twitching muscles, showed their whole-hearted earnestness in grasping, every word that came from him, and at the same time their eagerness to be off to work his bidding. Then when the leader gave the word to go, the whole force rose as one man, for a moment in silence, and then, with a hiss from every one of the thousand mouths, which gave a keen, cruel meaning to their move, they started to run. The young warriors sped out to either flank at top speed, racing each other for the place of honour which meant first blood to the winner. Then from the dense mass in the centre there came forward, in serried ranks, the older warriors, the reserve or "chest" of the force, and as they strode forward to support the whole move, there broke out like an organ pealing the deep chorus from a thousand throats:

If we go forward we die;
If we go backward we die;
Better go forward and die.

Many other stirring scenes crowd on my memory, but in the end they revert to that great day two years ago, when, in the Great Park, under Windsor Castle the King reviewed the Boy Scouts. One of the impressive features of that day was the army of young men working earnestly and cheerfully in the cause of the Movement. At the railway station one met with familiar faces of men well known in London society, but dressed in very different uniform to their society clothes, just the khaki and cowboy hat of the Scout Army. They were doing the work of the railway staff officers, receiving trains, telling the scoutmasters what to do and the boys where to go, and getting them quickly away, ready for the immediate arrival of troop upon troop of other boys coming or returning, by rail. The work of these men, peers of the realm some of them, was of the most arduous and harassing description, since it went on hour after hour without relief and without notice, for they were working behind the scenes; but they were working away, keeping a cheery face on it and good-natured tongue the whole time, and that in itself was an impressive sight.

Then out on the great plains under the shade of the oaks was arrayed an immense crowd of thousands upon thousands of boys, all dressed alike—all the same type—all working under suppressed excitement though many of them had been travelling the whole of the previous night. Go where you would it was the same sight; after going through one enormous division of them you only realized that there were still three more similar divisions to be seen, all preparing themselves for the great moment when they were to see the King. A few hours later these same boys were all massed in solid ranks in a vast horseshoe in the open park, and facing them was a great crowd of spectators, watching and waiting for what they might do.

What struck one at that moment was the mysterious hush which seemed to pervade the whole scene where these thousands of human beings were quietly waiting for something, and ready at any moment to burst out—no one could tell quite in what direction. Expectation had reached a kind of climax when at last the King and his Staff arrived upon the scene. He had arranged that he himself should be seen by every boy—that was what they came for all these hundreds of miles. This would not be possible if they marched past him in the usual fashion where only those on the flank could see him—the only way would be for him to ride round and show himself to all. It was his own idea, and when carried out proved how truly he had fathomed the wishes of the whole of the parade. For, steady as they were in their rank. The King had not gone half-way round when the boys could no longer restrain themselves. A sudden tornado of cheers broke out where the King was—like a prairie fire, and it spread all round the



A WWI poster featuring a Boy Scout handing Lady Liberty a sword inscribed "Be prepared." Library of Congress.

great concourse in a moment so that the whole scene was a mass of cheering lads and tossing hats—their enthusiasm knew no bounds, and that no doubt, was a sight which impressed itself on all who were there.

The King himself remarked on another feature of the scene which also, in its way, impressed a thoughtful onlooker, and that was the massed body of men formed in rear of the boys. These were the scoutmasters—the men who pulled the strings—the men who did the work—the men who were behind the scenes, in the background, and had done so much to train these boys and to bring them for their Sovereign's inspection. There were men among them of every kind—young and old, rough and smooth, high and low, rich and poor—all shoulder to shoulder in one seat cause—the cause of the future generation of their country. Here was a distinguished colonel with cavalry bearing, many medals and orders on his breast. Alongside him was a pale curate of an East-end slum, brushing shoulders with an old bluejacket and a bank clerk from Canada. The same kind of thing might be seen anywhere along that wonderful line. It was an indication of what there is in our fellow-countrymen of patriotism and good will for voluntary work where it is often not suspected.

But these and many other impressive incidents were swallowed up in the great moment of the day, when then the King took his place under the Royal Standard at the saluting-point. There was a minutes dead silent pause, and then a sudden scream rent the air, and the whole mighty horseshoe of thirty thousand boys with one impulse leapt forward from either side, rushing as only boys can rush, gathering speed and force as they came, a mighty roaring torrent of humanity, screaming out rallying cries of their different patrols as they came in a whole kaleidoscopic mass of colour, with flags fluttering, hats waving, knees glinting, in the great charge when they flew in towards the King.

Then, at a sign, the whole mass suddenly stopped its rush, up went a forest of staves and hats, and higher into the skies went the shrill, screaming cheers of the boys that gripped the throats of all onlookers—"God Save the King"—that apogee of patriotic fervour in young Britain, that surge of enthusiasm to do anything that might be demanded of them in the cause of their country and King, That was the most impressive sight that I have ever seen.

Source: Baden-Powell, Sir Robert. "The Most Impressive Sight I Ever Saw: The Royal Rally of Boy Scouts at Windsor." *The Strand Magazine*, January 1914.

7. Sister Marie-Andre du Sacre Coeur: Growing Up in West Africa

Sister Marie-Andre du Sacre Coeur was born as Jeanne Dorge in northern France, but became a nun of the Roman Catholic Church and missionary against the wishes of her parents after finishing a law degree and doctorate. She went to Africa, where she did work as a nurse, teacher, social worker, and missionary. She was no ordinary missionary, though. Her background, experience, and enthusiasm made her a powerful force for change, especially in the French-speaking world. She single-handedly rewrote legislation on the status of

women in French colonial possessions, successfully lobbied for its adoption into law, and provided the impetus for major international reform efforts for African women. She addressed legislatures and UN bodies, and she became an international advocate for improving the status of African women.

The following selection discusses typical life in West Africa for children in the middle of the twentieth century. The domination of Africa by European colonial powers that had controlled virtually all of Africa since the nineteenth century was beginning to wane, but the presence of European social and cultural institutions was still evident, although the degree to which European cultural penetration had taken place depended in large part on the locale, with influence in centers and cities being much stronger. Colonialism has created a contentious legacy on the African continent, although de-colonization was only beginning when this text was written in the 1950s.

Sister Marie-Andre describes daily life for children in Africa as basically good, but precarious, a life where African ways and colonial influences interact. Health care and education taken for granted in Europe and North America were not readily available to (or even necessarily trusted by) large portions of the population. In a region with an infant mortality rate of up to 60 percent, she describes parents who would not count children until they knew they would survive and children at risk of infection, disease, and malnutrition. Traditional initiation practices such as naming customs and haircutting are conducted in parallel with Christian rituals like baptism. So too, traditional toy making turns millet stalks into rifles, airplanes, and the like. Children learn their roles, values, and trades from their parents, older siblings, and extended family, and ancestor worship and kinship groups are very important and strong. There is no doubt that much has changed in Africa, but at the same time many of the issues that African children and families faced 50 years ago in Sister Marie-Andre's day are also faced today.

It is often said that the child is king in Africa. It is true that he is at home in every house in the village, that every effort is made to prevent his tears, and when they come they are quickly dried. For children are the end and purpose of African marriage, awaited and desired by the wedded couple and both their families. But in a region where the percentage of infant mortality is sometimes as high as sixty percent, the birth and care of children is also fraught with anxiety and grief. . . . One did not count a child until it was certain to live. [..]

Among many African people, the name given a child has great significance. In some tribes the father gives his baby a name that reflects his own sentiments at its birth. In others, the grandmother, aunt, or clan chief names the child. In some areas of Northern Ghana, the child is not named until it is two years old. Then it is dedicated to an ancestor or to a guardian spirit of the family, whom the diviner has indicated wishes, to be its protector and whose name is then given the child. Until this ceremony, it is called *Diampana*, meaning "without a name." [..]

Christians have come to feel a spiritual relationship with the patron saint whose name they receive in baptism and with all others who bear the same name. In the various countries along the West African coast, it is not unusual to come across friendship groupings or associations of persons having the same name—Association of Jeans, of Germaines and the like. [..]

In many areas, there is no special name-giving ceremony. Often, however, the child receives its name eight days after birth in the midst of family rejoicing intermingled

with customary rites. Among the latter is the first cutting of the baby's hair. I was privileged to witness this in the family of some friends in Mali. The baby had been baptized Felicia in church, a name chosen by her father. But according to ancestral custom there remained the matter of cutting her hair. The house was full of guests—relatives, friends, and the one who was to perform the ceremony—all of whom had brought gifts. These consisted of millet, peanuts, combed cotton, kola nuts.

One of the women of the family held little Felicia on her lap while the ritual master snipped off her baby hair. As fast as he did so this was gathered up by another woman and laid on a strip of raveled string. She had to be extremely careful not to let the wind carry the wisps of hair away, otherwise, according to local belief, Felicia would have a headache for a very long time. To carry out this custom her mother would have to keep her baby hair hidden until the child could walk by herself. Then Felicia would take the little package of hair and throw it into a deep hole, so that the wind would never be able to reach it.

When the hair cutting ceremony was over, the women presented their gifts to Felicia's mother, dancing about her and chanting their good wishes for the baby: "May God give her health. May he give her long life!" Next, one of the older women washed the baby with warm water and soap, using a small brush made of vegetable fibers. Next she warmed shea butter in her hands over the fire and rubbed the baby with it. Meanwhile, the guests were assembling for the meal, the men on one side, the women on the other, the old women in the house. The woman who had held Felicia throughout the ritual then set her on the back of one of the little girls and wrapped her in place with a long, new white cloth. The little girl so honored took her place among the other children, the woman joined the older members in the house, and the ceremony was over. [...]

Almost every African woman nurses her baby. If she works where she cannot take him with her, she leaves bottles prepared for the hours she is away and nurses him when she gets home. The minute he cries, he is fed, "demand feeding" being an old African custom. [...]

When a child is six or eight months old he is given porridge made with water and millet or corn flour, sometimes sweetened with sugar. But the porridge does not have the necessary nutritive value, and since his mother's milk is no longer sufficient either, this is the period when malnutrition sets in. Toddlers attempt to dip into the family dish at mealtime, but the stew of meat or fish is not the most appropriate food for them since it is highly spiced and often seasoned with an abundance of pepper which their little digestive system finds difficult to handle.

Lung infections are common ailments, while ignorance of contagion is another source of danger. To a grandmother with leprosy, for example, may be left the care of small children while both parents work in the fields. Obviously there is a high rate of infant mortality—sometimes over 60 percent—especially in areas where there are no clinics or hospitals. Half of the infant deaths occur before the age of six months, most of them due to umbilical tetanus or to respiratory or gastric infections. Later, besides the usual childhood diseases like measles and whooping cough there is danger from smallpox and the inevitable malaria. Lack of environmental sanitation and pure drinking water contribute a number of parasitic diseases, further aggravated by the occasional tendency of all children to eat dirt.

Where tradition still prevails, it is believed necessary for the child's health to make him swallow some warm concoction every day. The mother brews a kind of tea of bitter herbs and then, seated on her mat, she holds the child firmly between her legs and makes him drink it all no matter how much he struggles. Then she holds him up by his feet and shakes him to lengthen him before putting him to sleep. [...]

In Africa the mother is the child's first educator, who teaches him his manners and proper behavior. Where traditional custom still prevails, his older brothers and sisters also undertake to teach him to obey them and to render them little services, so that he will recognize and respect their seniority. For example, at mealtime the youngest must never help himself before his elders and his hand must never touch theirs in the family dish. He must eat with his right hand and in silence.

Normally a child is not allowed alone outside the family circle until he is about five or six years old. Then he has the run of the village and takes refuge with one or another relative when parental punishment threatens. And like grandparents everywhere, those of the African child tend to spoil him. [...]

When a boy is six or seven years old, his father begins to take over his education. He takes him to help in the fields, and when he is a little older begins to teach him both his own trade and the customary tasks about the house and compound. The African father has a rich supply of proverbs to help mold his son's character. For example, "If the bricks say to each other, I will not stay next to you, the house will never be built." In other words, people must work together for there are many things a person working alone cannot accomplish. Crafts, such as ironwork, jewelry making, tanning, saddlery, cordwaining, shoemaking, are passed on from father to son. The healer, or medicine man, will choose a son to succeed him, teaching him the qualities of medicinal plants and how to prepare his remedies.

The African girl remains with her mother until her own marriage unless she is being brought up in the family of her future husband. In either case she is taught how to keep house and cook, and she performs a number of errands such as fetching water and wood, in addition to helping take care of her little brothers and sisters. She takes the role of "little mother" very seriously and her care of a younger child is always affectionate. She also learns to grow the ingredients for the stew, to cultivate cotton and to comb and spin it. When she is a little older she helps to brew millet or banana beer and is taught how to make soap, weave mats, or make pottery.

Source: Sacre Coeur, Sister Marie-Andre du. *The House Stands Firm: Family Life in West Africa*. Translated by Alba I. Zizzamia. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1962.

Old Age

A popular saying declares that nothing is certain except death and taxes. For most, the certainty of death is preceded by the decline of physical and often mental abilities as the human body ages. This stage of life, old age, is treated differently by different groups at different times. In some cultures, the aged are revered and carefully looked after; in others, the infirmity of body and mind that comes with advancing age is seen as a liability. The diverse accounts in this section include the reflections of an emperor ruling the Muslim *Mughal Empire* in northern India in the eighteenth century (Document 8),

a nineteenth-century American publisher looking forward to a quiet retirement (Document 9), an anthropologist's report on the resistance to aging in a traditional Native American culture in northern Canada (Document 10), and a recent interview on active Japanese baby boomers (Document 11). These documents reflect the diversity of responses to aging, but also mark some of the changes in the daily life of the aged in the modern period. If Aurangzeb laments the coming of death more than old age specifically, and Nathan Parker Willis looks forward to the comfortable leisure that old age can bring, the *Chipewyan* resist aging to the point of risking their lives to prove that they can avoid it, and some Japanese adopt a similar strategy of continued activity, although seemingly without the desperation of the subarctic indigenous Canadians. It is not coincidental that older people in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, who are living longer, healthier lives, would have a less pessimistic view of the last part of life than those without similar expectations from earlier periods. That is not to say that there are uniform responses based on place and time: some still choose to deny aging, some choose to lament it, and some choose to embrace it. These attitudes are influenced by cultural factors, but they are not determined by them.

Often it becomes the responsibility of domestic groups to care for the older members of the family. Until recently in American culture, and still in many places, this meant primarily having the elderly live with younger family members. In contemporary society, there is an increasing trend toward separation of domestic and family groups and institutional care for the aged, as well as social problems arising from an increasing life expectancy and growing demand for medical care. Governments also have guaranteed payments and services to the aged, and whole communities are dominated by populations of older people who have relocated for better weather or other reasons. Old age, perhaps, isn't what it used to be. Different societies engage with aging and closely related dying issues in different ways. While the articles here deal more with the aging process than death, perspectives can be found in this book under "Death and Dying" in the "Religious Life" section on the importance of death, funerary practices, and beliefs in the afterlife.

8. Letter from the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb

Aurangzeb (1618–1707), also known as Alamgir I, whose father built the famous Taj Mahal, was the ruler of the Mughal Empire, which expanded Muslim control over most of the Indian subcontinent, in some ways laying the groundwork for centuries of succeeding conflict between Muslims and Hindus. He was known as a strong and pious ruler who imposed a strict version of Muslim sharia law and engaged in constant warfare that by his death left a larger, but less secure political dominion. The Hindi population was restive, and he predicted that the Mughal Empire would succumb to internal dissension and the increasing power of European imperialism.

All this is part of the distant background of the following selection: Aurangzeb's letter to a friend on his own approaching death. Whether penned by an emperor or a peasant, the sentiments are broad and eloquently articulated. His mood is marked by profound regret at what he perceives as his own failures as a father and leader, pessimistic reflections on his prospect in the afterlife, and a certain resignation before his impending death. Aurangzeb

sees most of his struggles as vain. What he means by God and Providence is somewhat obscured by the translation; as a devout Muslim, it is the Muslim God, Allah, to whom Aurangzeb appeals. While Muslim teaching may see the nature of an individual's afterlife as a recompense for the deeds of this life, Aurangzeb seems concerned with the course of his life not only for the impending reckoning that he believes comes with death, but also with a sense of disappointment that his days are spent, that he cannot do more, and that his strength is failing him.

He must rely on the following generation to carry on after him, and he does not seem to think they are up to the task. He does not say that he takes hope or faith with him, but, sadly, he takes only the infirmities of man out of the world with him. This sense of hopelessness and the vanity of life is certainly not unique to Aurangzeb. Sentiments such as these in advanced age and in anticipation of death can be found throughout history, and the modern era certainly is no exception.

Health to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age has arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, or for what I am destined. The instant which has passed in power hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a guide in my own dwelling (conscience), but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes for the future are lost. The fever has left me; but nothing remains of me but skin and bone . . . The camp and followers, helpless and frightened, are, like myself, full of alarms, restless as quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounties of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but when I am gone reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel in the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavors of my sons are indispensable. Give my last prayers to my grandson, whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Began [his daughter] appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell, farewell, farewell.

Source: Elliot, Sir Henry Miers. *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*. Edited by John Dowson. Volume 7. London: Trubner, 1867–1877.

9. Nathan Parker Willis: Aging Gracefully

The author of this selection, Nathan Parker Willis, was a successful American writer, publisher, and editor in the first half of the nineteenth century. Among his friends was Edgar Allan Poe, and it was Willis who first published Poe's famous poem, "The Raven," in 1845.

Just like Aurangzeb (see Document 8), Willis is writing to a friend about his old age, but the tone of the letter is quite different from that of Aurangzeb, who laments his failures and

bitterly regrets that his life is coming to an end. Aurangzeb did not want to leave this life, while Willis, on the other hand, actually wants to look at the life of others from the outside, enjoy the company of friends, and live a quiet, slow, and peaceful retirement.

Willis is trying to convince a friend of his, a doctor, to retire to the country near his own retirement home on the Susquehanna River in upstate New York, luring him with promises of leisure and companionship. Willis wants, and is trying to convince the doctor, to grow old quietly in the company of like-minded friends. The natural environment for Willis is one of the main attractions, and he assures his friend that he is even caring for the placement of trees and shrubbery. It bears remembering that cities in the 1840s were smaller than today, but growing rapidly and becoming crowded, dirty, and more prone to disease. Retired life in the country was potentially a more pleasant and viable prospect.

Willis definitely seems to be looking forward to a life without the business and pressures of what had been his professional life, although he is not interested in giving up intellectual pursuits. Certainly neither money nor health seems to be a problem. He does not seem to have unsatisfied ambitions. He anticipates a stimulating social and intellectual life being more pleasurable without other motivations or concerns. One can imagine Willis's sentiments being shared by many, especially those to whom the modern world has been kind in terms of daily life.

... You can scarce understand, dear Doctor, with what pleasure I find this new spring in my path—the content with which I admit the conviction, that, without effort or self-denial, the mind may slake its thirst, and the heart be satisfied with but the waste of what lies so near us. I have all my life seen men grow old, tranquilly and content, but I did not think it possible that I should. I took pleasure only in that which required young blood to follow, and I felt that, to look backward for enjoyment, would be at best a difficult resignation.

Now, let it be no prejudice to the sincerity of my philosophy, if, as a corollary, I beg you to take a farm on the Susquehannah, and let us grow old in company. I should think Fate kinder than she passes for, if I could draw you, and one or two others whom we know and “love with knowledge,” to cluster about this—certainly one of the loveliest spots in nature, and, while the river glides by unchangingly, shape ourselves to our changes with a helping sympathy. Think of it, dear Doctor! Meantime, I employ myself in my rides, selecting situations on the river banks which I think would be to yours and our friends’ liking; and in the autumn, when it is time to transplant, I intend to suggest to the owners where trees might be wanted in case they ever sold, so that you will not lose even a season in your shrubbery, though you delay your decision. Why should we not renew Arcady? God Bless you. [...]

And I will allow that I can scarce write a letter to you without shaping it to the end of attracting you to the Susquehannah. At least, watch when you begin to grow old, and transplant yourself in time to take root, and then we may do as the trees do—defy the weather until we are separated. The oak, itself, if it has grown up with its kindred thick about it, will break if left standing alone; and you and I dear Doctor, have known the luxury of friends too well to bear the loneliness of an unsympathizing old age. Friends are not pebbles, lying in every path, but pearls gathered with great pain, and rare as they are precious. We spend our youth and manhood in search and proof of them, and, when Death has taken his toll, we have too few to scatter—none to throw away. I, for

one, will be a miser of mine. I feel the avarice of friendship growing on me with every year—tightening my hold and extending my grasp. Who, at sixty, is rich in friends? The richest are those who have drawn this wealth of angels around them, and spent care and thought on the treasuring. Come, my Doctor! I have chosen a spot on one of the loveliest of our bright rivers. Here is all that goes to make an Arcadia, except the friendly dwellers in its shade. I will choose you a hillside, and plant your grove, that the trees, at least, shall lose no time by your delay. Set a limit to your ambition, achieve it, and come away. It is terrible to grow old amid the jostle and disrespectful hurry of a crowd. The Academy of the philosophers was *out* of Athens. You can not fancy Socrates run against, in the market-place. Respect, which grows wild in the fields, requires watching and management in the cities. Let us have an old man's Arcady—where we can slide our “slipperd shoon” through groves of our own consecrating, and talk of the world as *without*—ourselves and gay philosophy within. I have strings pulling upon one or two in other lands, who, like ourselves, are not men to let Content walk unrecognized in their path. Slowly, but, I think, surely, they are drawing hitherward; and I have chosen places for *their* hearthstones, too, and shall watch, as I do for you, that the woodsman's axe cuts down no trees that would be regretted. If the cords draw well, and Death take but his tithe, my shady “Omega” will soon learn voices to which its echo will for long years be familiar, and the Owaga and Susquehannah will join waters within sight of an *old man's Utopia*.

Source: Willis, N. Parker. *Rural Letters and Other Records of Thought at Leisure Written in the Intervals of More Hurried Literary Labor*. New York: Baker and Scribner, 1849.

10. The Chipewyan Resist Aging

The Chipewyan are an indigenous society of northern Canada that has in many ways evaded the many changes brought by modernity. Snowmobiles have replaced dogsleds and Christianity has influenced native ways, but this account from the 1970s of old age among a Native American tribe living in a remote part of Canada indicates how one culture does not value old age.

The approach in this document is ethnographic. Ethnography is the science of studying ethnic groups or cultures through the systematic direct observation of their ways of life. The author is not a member of the Chipewyan, but he has lived among them and observed and interviewed them to gather information on their attitudes, culture, and ways of life in a systematic and methodical way. The result is a synthesis of Henry Sharp's observations of their beliefs on aging, not only providing information on the Chipewyan, but also showing the idea that social scientists studying cultures recognize old age as a discrete and separate category for study (gerontology) and the idea that such ethnographic studies can be and are conducted in a scientific way.

Other similar studies reveal that in some indigenous cultures, older people who are no longer able to perform the physical tasks of younger adults shift to new and different tasks, often ones that are more highly regarded—the experience that comes with age is valued. As Sharp chronicles, this is not the case among the Chipewyan—it is clear at the end of the reading that John would rather die in the wilderness than admit incapacity—and likely did.

This is in part the result of the remote and difficult environment in which the Chipewyan live. While this harshness and isolation has prevented many aspects of their culture from being destroyed by outside influences, it also has other consequences, sometimes seemingly harsh from an outside perspective.

Gender is an important element in how aging is perceived. Among humans, while men typically have greater physical strength, women generally have longer life expectancies and retain their physical capacities longer. The sex roles in Chipewyan society determine very different aging patterns for men and women. Women neither need nor have magic to sustain them in their tasks, unlike men, who rely on magic to successfully provide food through competence in hunting. Loss of magic and competence for men in old age is the loss of manhood. If a person reaches a stage of incompetence then he can be treated with contempt, and even if someone is disliked, magical competence still demands respect.

The lack of value placed on the old by the Chipewyan may have parallels to the treatment of the old in American society. While few older people feel the need to hunt caribou in the tundra until they die, there is a stigma attached to aging into incompetence, for example, being unable to continue to drive, take care of a home, or even care for oneself. Many elderly people struggle to remain independent and competent in their daily lives for as long as they can, not unlike John and other Chipewyan.

The homeland of the Chipewyan is four hundred miles beyond the northern limit of agriculture and far from the major trade routes of the Northwest Territories. As a result of their isolation, the Chipewyan did not come into extensive contact with Canadian society until after the First World War, when many Euro-Canadians came north to trap. [...]

For a male Chipewyan the maturation process is not marked by any dramatic change but instead involves the mastery of the skills needed to wrest a living from the harsh Canadian subarctic. Success in economic activities, especially hunting and trapping, and the display of the implements of his livelihood (dogs, more recently a snowmobile) give evidence of the underlying magical power that, as we will see, is central to the notion of male adulthood. Once a man does marry, he becomes an adult member of the community and will remain such as long as he retains and can use his skills. When he no longer has them, or is not physically able to use them, he will be considered "elderly."

MAGIC

The Chipewyan believe that competence as a man is conferred by magic. This magic derives from unsought visions in which power is given by a supernatural being. . . . Magical power . . . is the exclusive property of men. Women with supernatural power appear in myth but never in stories about real women, whether living or dead. This gives quite a different aspect to the aging process of men and women. [...]

An example of the respect for a man's magical power that develops as he remains active despite growing old can be shown by something my principal woman informant, Beth, said to me in the course of a conversation about a 71-year-old neighbor in the village, George. Beth had always been fond of George's wife, but she disliked George and criticized him at every opportunity. She and I were discussing the relative magic powers of several men and she remarked of George, "Look at that old man, still walking about. He must 'know something.'" This grudging respect apparently stemmed from the

fact that George had recently recovered, without hospitalization, from a case of tuberculosis.

THE DIFFERENCE IN AGING FOR MEN AND WOMEN

Magical power does eventually fail, however, and the Chipewyan man either dies or deteriorates physically and becomes incompetent. Unable to hunt or trap, he is forced to rely upon his relatives for subsistence. His decline can be delayed for a time by the efforts of a healthy wife and the use of young Chipewyan obtained by temporary adoption. But when a man can no longer drive his dogs and venture into the bush alone to hunt, his days as a complete adult male are ended, and he must subsist, like a woman or a dog, on meat and fish obtained by others.

The Chipewyan do not value the telling of myths and tales greatly, and there are no handicrafts or other activities to which a man can turn in compensation. . . . The situation of an old woman in Chipewyan society is quite different. Where a man has a single paramount activity—obtaining food from the bush—a woman has three: reproduction, handicrafts, and processing food. As I mentioned earlier, women do not have magic (though female midwives may use a kind of magic in performing their specialty). Unlike hunting, women's work does not involve continuous walking, violent bursts of energy, or running, so it can still be performed by women in declining physical condition. Because women's work is considered to involve the use of skills acquired through instruction and practice rather than the use of magic, women are able to remain competent adults much longer than men. Since no special powers are involved, women can cooperate in their work without any loss of face. And old women whose physical strength is waning are valued for the advice and expertise they can contribute. [...]

Elderly men are not in a position to command much influence or respect. Men's affairs are centered upon the bush rather than the village or camp. For them, the increasing confinement to the village imposed by the loss of strength with advancing age is a punishment mitigated by few compensating rewards. They are ill-inclined to become involved in the issues of moral conduct or the proposed marriages that are a mainstay of village gossip. For many men the onset of old age begins in their late forties or early fifties with lung or heart disease, and they must wage a more desperate (and dangerous) struggle to be merely "old" instead of "elderly."

A good illustration of the desperation a Chipewyan man feels when his body begins to fail with advancing age is the case of my informant Beth's husband, John. Through 1971 John was able to keep most of his sons together in a hunting unit by suppressing



An undated photo of a family of Chipewyan just outside Alberta Canada. Library of Congress.

conflict among them and by exploiting his extensive knowledge of the bush, which made them all economically successful. His magical power was well regarded, though he had given up an active curing practice some years before. In late 1971 John had a heart attack in the bush and had to be hospitalized. He recovered from the attack, but it was discovered that he had emphysema. He refused treatment for the disease and refused to stop his heavy use of tobacco. By 1975 he was so weak that he was unable to perform any work requiring heavy exertion or endurance. As his condition worsened a split developed in his hunting unit as the eldest son attempted to take control. John moved to a different hunting area in the fall of 1975 with one son, but even he was becoming increasingly autonomous.

To compensate for his growing weakness John began to spend more time alone in the bush, avoiding the village where Beth wished him to remain because of his ill health. Beth considers John's attempts to continue his activities in the bush dangerous, and feels he must be watched and protected from himself as the attempted exertion will kill him. John is aware of this watching over him, but refuses to accept the need for it. To maintain his status, he must constantly risk his life—a risk he is more than willing to take to avoid being categorized as “elderly.”

Source: Sharp, Henry. “Old Age Among the Chipewyan.” Excerpts from Pamela T. Amoss and Stevan Harrell, eds. *Other Ways of Growing Old: Anthropological Perspectives*. Copyright © 1981 by the Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Jr. University. All rights reserved. Used with the permission of Stanford University Press, www.sup.org.

11. Japan's Baby Boomers

*The end of the Second World War in 1945 was followed by a demographic event known in the United States as the Baby Boom, when the peace and stability that followed the war resulted in an increase in the number of children born. As the members of this generation has grown up and aged, they have had a significant impact on daily social, cultural, and economic life. The post-war rebuilding of Japan also produced a *dankai* or “mass” generation, as well as an unprecedented economic boom, but since about 1950 the birth rate has generally been in decline, and an increasing portion of Japan's population is aging.*

In Japan and elsewhere, aging isn't necessarily what it used to be. In part as a result of the technological advances and economic prosperity of the second half of the twentieth century, state-sponsored and tax-subsidized safety nets and retirement and social services, improved health care, and many other factors, find people are living longer, in better health, and with more money, particularly in industrialized countries such as Japan. While the shift of a larger portion of the population from working to retirement will put strains on the retirement systems of many states, the lifestyles of many older people are significantly different from those of their parents' or previous generations. The following selection, from an interview in 1998 with Sezikawa Hidehiko, records attitudes toward aging that are very different from Aurangzeb's (Document 8) or Willis's (Document 9). Sezikawa was the director of the Hakuhodo Institute for Life and Living (HILL), a think tank associated with one of Japan's largest advertising agencies. Aside from being an expert in tracking demographics

and predicting consumer behavior and lifestyle choices, he is also himself a member of the Baby Boomer generation.

While the selection points to the trend that many Japanese will keep working while those in other countries may not, a common element is the interest in vital, active life at a point when previous generations slowed down—or even died. Whether pursuing leisure or work, the perception has grown that for increasing numbers of people, old age has become an important and viable stage of life in its own right, which, for some, is decades long, rather than simply a short period between the decline of capacities and death.

Though many of the predictions Sezikawa made have been proven quite accurate, certainly not every 75-year-old in Japan or anywhere else is planning to buy a Harley or to climb Mount Everest—like Yuichiro Miura is famous in Japan for doing in 2008, or the other things Sezikawa anticipates. Many are not operating businesses or continuing to work at all. Many are beset by financial difficulties and declining health, and feel left out of a culture that does not value their agedness or the needs that come with it. Many in old age may find more in common with Aurangzeb's resigned bitterness or Willis's pleasant indolence than Miura's mountain-climbing exploits. At the same time, people around the globe are living longer, healthier, wealthier lives than ever before, and the daily life of old age reflects these trends.

CONVERSATION WITH SEZIKAWA HIDEHIKO, SEPTEMBER 22, 1998

JLM What has been the biggest change in the lives of Japan's elderly since the founding of HILL in 1981?

SH HILL did large-scale studies of the lifestyles of the elderly in 1986 and 1996. For both, our subjects ranged in age from 65 to 75. In 1986 we found that people had plenty of time left for long retirements and suggested that they should relax and enjoy themselves. The retired people with whom we talked understood what we were saying, but some didn't like the idea. Many of their friends had died in World War II. They knew war and, in many cases, their friends had been killed but they had survived to grow old and have time on their hands. Talk about relaxing made them feel guilty.

By 1996, very few of those people were left. More than fifty years had passed since the end of the war. Retirees had experienced the war but only as children, as victims. That is the cohort whose support made high growth possible. They were the ones people called worker bees, and they were ready to taste the honey. When we talked about how they planned to relax, there was no guilt involved.

The biggest difference, then, may be that the asceticism characteristic of the traditional Japanese culture has weakened. Today's older people have an active interest in recreation and leisure. The other big difference, of course, is that the proportion of older people in Japan's population is larger.

JLM Thinking ahead, then to 2006, what kind of changes would you expect?

SH The Baby Boomers will be retired. If the trend we saw in the difference between 1986 and 1996 continues, more people will be more concerned about what they will do with their lives and be more skilful in their choices. In 1986, the American style of "happy retirement" didn't make sense to Japan's retirees. Retirement was sad and lonely, because they didn't have work to do. By 1996, the percentage of people who wanted to retire early and were looking forward to retirement had increased. That same trend will continue. Still, however, the proportion of Japanese who would prefer to go on working will probably be high compared to other parts of the world. [...]

Especially in Japan, I think, people become too busy with work and families in middle age. Private life becomes very thin. [...]

Domestic Life

Now elderly people, who didn't have much time for private life in middle age, are climbing mountains, riding Harleys, enjoying themselves in all sorts of ways. They're enjoying a second [youth] before going on to the next stage. People are reading novels, watching movies, listening to music, and thinking about the meaning of their lives. Like the young, this group is freed from work and had the time to think about that question.

Source: McCreery, John L. *Japanese Consumer Behavior: From Worker Bees to Wary Shoppers: An Anthropologist Reads Research by the Hakuhodo Institute of Life and Living*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.

Part III

ECONOMIC LIFE

Economics provide a powerful method for understanding how many relationships between people, businesses, institutions, and governments work. Economists study how people and groups of people behave at levels ranging from the individual to the global. There is an old saying that “money makes the world go ‘round.” In economic life, it certainly does. Economic activity can be divided into several different spheres, including urban, rural, trade, and migration.

Cities are centers of certain kinds of economic activities. Many goods and services are produced in cities that are not available outside of them, and historically they have been centers for commerce, manufacture, and trade. Cities serve as focal points for the movement of people and goods, and the distribution of these things. Today, for the first time in human history, the majority of people have become urban dwellers, in large part because modern agriculture has allowed far fewer people to produce enough food to feed the whole population. Friedrich Christian Weber’s entry on *St. Petersburg* (Document 1) shows how a state created a city—a city that became not only a political and cultural center, but an economic center as well. The descriptions of child labor (Document 2) and slum housing (Document 3) expose the human costs and negative side of the *Industrial Revolution*, while Brueggemann (Document 4) looks at the post-industrial city in the West and compares it to earlier cities.

Rural areas are also important economic locations. The use of land for food production was the basis for most wealth before the modern era, and while that may not be the case in most places any longer, humans still need to eat! Rural locations are often where many raw materials are gathered, and rural dwellers in the *modern* period have also moved—either to new rural places, settling and starting new frontiers, or to cities to find new kinds of work. Lottie Bump’s diary (Document 6) describes life on a dairy farm in rural Vermont. She and her family live in relative isolation, and their economy is about domestic self-sufficiency; her time is spent in cooking, cleaning, and manufacturing textiles for the family to use. The extremities of weather and constant work are evident, but while their lives seem hard, it is perhaps less so than the factory families in England whose children were being virtually worked to death. On the other hand, while reports by *Parliament* (Document 2) and the selection from Jacob Riis (Document 3) may document the squalor of urban life, rural life could often be miserable as

well. Arthur Young, an Englishman who spent several years traveling through Europe studying agriculture, recorded his impressions of French peasants' lives (Document 5), which were often hungry and tenuous. William Razavi's account (Document 7) takes us to rural Iran in the first half of the twentieth century, as modern changes were altering the landscape of ancient *Persia*.

Trade and migration have also fundamentally affected modern daily life. In the modern world, trade has assumed a scale and efficiency unimaginable in premodern times. Adam Smith's capitalist theory (Document 8) promoted freer production and freer trade. The importance of trade is highlighted by the Revolutionary War document that lists all the things the American colonists will have to make for themselves because the war will prevent them from acquiring those items by trade (Document 9). The Chinese tea trade was a bellwether for modern global commerce. William Melrose's letters (Document 12) highlight how this trade was both advantageous and sometimes dangerous; obtaining the tea that was a staple drink in England could be risky—both economically and personally—because the Chinese restricted access and resisted European pressure—and imports of opium. As moving goods involved risks, so did moving oneself and one's family. Migration, the movement of people from one place to another, became one of the most important economic elements of all. Sometimes migration is voluntary—people move seeking a new life, or better conditions for themselves and their families, and sometimes it is not—as is the case with slavery or refugees. The entries in this section cover a scope of these places and activities. The grand gamble of the California gold rush (Document 10) contrasts with the struggle of Soviet Jews isolated in their own land to emigrate to Israel (Document 13) and the viciousness of a slave auction (Document 11).

Together, the dramatic expansion of cities, fundamental shifts in industrial production, growth in population, ballooning trade, global migrations, and the movement from country to city have been hallmarks of the modern age. Whether or not money really does make the world go around, economics are inseparable from daily life.

Urban Life

Cities have always been hubs of economic activity; they have been trading centers, markets, and places where people practice trades, manufacture goods, obtain services, and exercise power. Historically, cities require a thriving economy if they are to grow and survive. The documents in this section take a variety of views toward the relationship between economic activity and cities. The first selection on the new, purpose-built Russian city of *St. Petersburg* (Document 1) is a deviation from the usual pattern. Cities usually grow up where economic activity takes place. In the case of *St. Petersburg*, like such cities as Washington, D.C.; Canberra, Australia; and Brasilia, Brazil, the city's reason for existence began politically, not economically. The idea that a city could simply be built from the ground up by the state is itself something that only became possible in the modern era because only centralized states with modernizing, growing economies wielded enough resources to undertake such projects.

The Parliamentary report on child labor (Document 2) and Jacob Riis's description of slum life (Document 3) record the consequences of the transformations that cities

underwent as the economic revolution of industrialization altered them and the way their inhabitants lived. While city transportation systems were not well developed and industries required large numbers of laborers who worked long hours for subsistence wages, workers and their families had to live in relatively close proximity, often in crowded, poor conditions. As reform and labor organization improved hours and pay, and mass transit and individual automobiles changed transportation, the geographic size of cities expanded and their densities declined. This latter process is discussed in the selection by Breugmann (Document 4), a modern city dweller himself, who offers a perspective on *urban sprawl* and a meditation on the vast city of today as he contemplates it from an airplane window (itself an action impossible for the other authors in this section). Breugmann attempts to put the radical changes experienced by cities in the twentieth century into context, as the populations in Europe, the United States, and elsewhere shifted from being predominantly rural to being urban or suburban.

1. St. Petersburg: Building a New Capital City

Almost one hundred years before the founding of the United States and the decision to build a city for that new nation's capital, Czar Peter the Great of Russia decided to relocate the capital of his empire from Moscow, which had been its chief city for hundreds of years, to St. Petersburg, an entirely new city to be built from the ground up at the mouth of the Neva River where it flowed into the Baltic Sea.

The idea of building a city to be a capital was not only undertaken in the eighteenth century by Russia and the United States, but also in the twentieth century in Brazil, whose new capital, Brasilia, was begun in 1956, and Australia, whose capital of Canberra was built from virtually nothing in 1908 at a midpoint between Melbourne and Sydney as a compromise to Australia's two largest cities.

The idea of starting a city was for Peter the Great a way to work toward the remaking of his nation as a "Westernized country" and St. Petersburg was to compete with other European capitals. Cities normally would grow up where there was an economic reason for them to exist, such as the junction of two roads or rivers, a natural harbor, or along a trade route. Peter decided to build his city in a marshy wasteland at the edge of the Arctic Circle because it provided at least partial-year access by water to Western Europe via the Baltic Sea.

Peter insisted on many Russian boyars (i.e., nobles) moving to St. Petersburg and building stone houses. Thus, St. Petersburg became not only the center of government, but also a military, cultural, and trading center for the vast Russian Empire. Sometimes called the "Venice of the North" for the canals that crisscross the city (it was, after all, built on a swamp), today it is one of the most architecturally unified cities in the world.

Purpose-built cities present a unique opportunity; they allow one to see what a practical realization of the ideal city looked like for a particular place and time. Planning and building cities from nothing is a feature of the modern era; in previous times, some civic centers, squares, and sections of a city were planned as the city grew, but "top-down" urban planning tactics, such as grid-style street layouts, zoning, and managed development, were not even considerations. Elements like landscape, markets, and local political maneuvering determined what got built where, without much, if any, consideration for the whole plan of the city.

This document by Friedrich Christian Weber describes the founding—in May 1703—and beginnings of St. Petersburg. Weber was a diplomat from the German state of Hanover in the service of England, and originally wrote the book in Dutch from which this account is taken. He was, however, not the lone foreigner among Russians. Peter the Great hired many Dutch and German specialists to bring their trades, knowledge, and technology to Russia. From the beginning of St. Petersburg as a military outpost to the decision to build a capital there, to a description of the houses, canals, and markets, the following excerpt gives not only an account of Peter's military and governmental purposes, but also of the immediate economic effects of his decisions and the extraordinary growth of construction, trade, and population—how a European capital city was planned and built in less than 20 years.

A
DESCRIPTION
Of the CITY of
St. PETERSBOURG,
With
Several Observations relating to it.

I am now going to relate many Particulars not yet mentioned, of a City which may be called a Wonder of the World, was it only in consideration of the few Years that have been employed in the raising of it.

His Czarish Majesty from his younger Years shewed a particular Inclination for Shipping and Sea-affairs....when Fortune seconded his Arms so far that in the Year 1702 he took Notebourg And the Year following Nie-Schantz, a trading Town, having observed that about a German Mile further down, the River Neva forms several Islands, the conveniency of the Situation inspired him with Thoughts of building a Town there, in order to get footing in the Baltick [Sea]. The Czar being more and more pleased with the Situation of the neighboring Country, which actually is one of the most agreeable to be found in those Parts, resolved not only to build a Fortress on the River Neva, as he designed at first, but also to make his chief Dock there for building large Men of War [warships]....The resolution was no sooner taken, but Orders were forthwith issued, that next Spring a great number of Men, Russians, Tartars, Cosacks, Calmucks, Finlandish and Ingrian Peasants, should be at the place to execute the Czar's Design. [...]

At the same time that they were going on with the Fortress, the City itself also by degrees began to be built, and to this End Numbers of People both of the Nobility and the trading Part of the Nation were ordered to come from Russia to settle at Petersbourg and to build Houses there, all which was executed with such Forwardness, that in a short time the Place swarmed with Inhabitants. The Boyars and others of the Nobility brought with them numerous Retinues and many Servants. The Merchants and Shopkeepers found their Account at this new Place, where everything was excessive dear. Many Swedes, Finlanders, and Livonians, [and]...All sorts of Artificers, Mechanicks, and Seamen with their Families were drawn to Petersbourg, in order to encourage Shipping and settle a Commerce by Sea. Many Labourers being Russians, Tartars, and Calmucks, having served the Time prefixed by their Sovereign, and being unwilling to return so far home, engaged with the Boyars who were building Houses every Day, and got sufficient Work to get their Bread by; some thousands of them even built houses for

themselves, and settled at Petersbourg... All those Circumstances together very much contributed to the sudden peopling of Petersbourg, which now hardly yields to any in Germany as to the number of Houses and Inhabitants: For there are reckoned at this time sixty odd thousand Houses in that City. [...]

Round about the Fortress lies the City of Petersbourg, partly on the several Islands, and partly on the Continent; it is of so large an extent, that it rather resembles a Landship of many Boroughs than a City. It is a good German Mile [about four U.S. miles] long, and very near as broad. The Houses are built very close together; and as very little is left of the good and dry Ground, those People who are continually arriving to settle there, are obliged to look out for places to build on in the Morass, which renders the new Streets exceeding dirty, particularly in Spring and Autumn.

The Canals that were begun to be cut in the Year 1717, are already in such perfection, that a Man may almost at his own Door step into a Boat, and from thence be carried into the Neva, and further into the main Sea. It is a good Diversion on Holidays to see one hundred and more Sloops rowing and sailing together in Emulation of each other, which Shew is the more set off by the handsome Dress of the Watermen.

Near the Chancery stand the Russian Church of the Holy Trinity, which, next to the Cathedral and Prince Menzicoff's [Alexander Menshikov, governor of St. Petersburg 1703–1727] Church, is the largest and finest at Petersbourg. It has a sort of chime which is but indifferent, and is played with Hands every hour. Then come the Lawks [lavki, shops], as they call it, or the Shops which is the Market-Place, where the whole Trade of Petersbourg is carried on, and all forms of Merchandize are sold, no body being allowed to lay in or sell any Goods any where else. It is a very spacious building two Stories high of Carpenters work, covered with Pantiles [roofing tiles], having a large empty yard within... All those Shops in both Stories are well furnished. The House is the Czar's own, to whom the Shopkeepers are obliged to pay large Rents, but no body is allowed to live in it, and for Security there are Centinels placed on the four Corners and the four Gates. [...]

[G]oing by the Fortress one comes to the Tartarian Rag-Fair, opposite to the Crown-work [of the Fortress]. The Goods are sold there very cheap, either in open Streets, or in two Rows of Shops... Those Shops generally have most Customers, and the Throng thereabouts is such, that he who chances to come among them, ought well look to his Purse, Sword, and even Hat, and for better Security, carry them in his Hands... Behind the Rag-Fair lies the Tartarian Slaboda [suburb], inhabited by the Tartars, Turks, Calmucks, and many the like Nations, among whom



Tsar Peter the Great founding the city of St Petersburg in spring of 1703. The Art Archive.

there is such a variety of fine House-keeping as far exceeds the Way of Life practiced among the Inhabitants of the Out-skirts and By-lanes of Rome, Paris, or London. [...]

Wasili-Osrtrov is a large and fine Island...the first remarkable Thing on the said Island is the Prince's House...built of Stone after the Italian Manner, three Stories High, and covered with large Iron Plates painted red. It has Wings behind and before, is all vaulted underneath, and as for the rest, provided with every thing that is requisite in a fine House. It has a great number of Apartments furnished with rich Household Goods, particularly of Silver and Plate. In the middlemost Story is a spacious Hall, in which are usually kept all great Entertainments, and the Weddings of Kneeses [kniaz, prince or high nobleman] or Boyars.

Source: Weber, Christian. *The Present State of Russia in Two Volumes . . . with a Description of Petersbourg and Cronslot, And Several other Pieces relating to the Affairs of Russia*. London: W. Taylor, W. and J. Innys, and J. Osborn, 1723.

2. Child Labor in Nineteenth-Century Britain

Industrialization brought with it the potential production of far greater quantities of goods than could be produced by hand, and often better quality and lower prices. Concepts such as interchangeable parts and automation had an extraordinary impact on the lives of ordinary people. However, the factories that manufactured these goods using new techniques required workers, and these workers were often migrants from the countryside, who had been displaced as industrial technology also made agriculture more efficient. Men, women, and children were employed to work long hours at low wages under hard and even dangerous conditions in these factories. Regulation of working hours and ages happened slowly, with the English Parliament, for example, enacting a 10-hour workday for women and children in 1847.

The following selection contains excerpts from reports taken from workers in various English textile mills in the early 1800s. One such worker is a boy of 12 who works 13 or more hours a day, and has begun to go to school—but only on Sundays. Others are parents who describe the poor health, deplorable working conditions, and exhaustion of their working children. The child workers are given only one break for a meal per day, are sometimes beaten, and would be fired—along with the rest of their families—if they were late, sick, or complain. At the same time, the idea of child labor was not new to modern, industrial societies. In rural environments, children worked hard at agriculture along with their parents (the reason the standard academic schedule includes summers off is a vestige of the times when children were needed as a source of labor during the summer growing season and education was a luxury or privilege) as it is for the boy in this selection.

From one perspective, child labor is nothing new—it is simply Adam Smith's theory at work (see Document 8) in the emerging industrial manufacturing environment; from another perspective, it is abusive and repugnant. For many poor families, sending their children to work was the only way to survive, although it might mean that the child was slowly worked to death rather than starved to death. Some factory owners claimed to have the best interests of their workers at heart, providing such amenities as reading rooms, schools, child care, and other perquisites. While some factories did offer such things for their workers, no doubt many were more like the situations described here. The economic realities of daily

life in an industrial city for working children in the nineteenth century were typically harsh and difficult.

Charles Harris, a boy working in the carding room of Mr. Oldacres's mill for spinning worsted yarn, testifies as follows:

I am twelve years old. I have been in the mill twelve months. I attend to a drawing machine. We begin at six o'clock and stop at half past seven. We don't stop work for breakfast. We do sometimes. This week we have not. Nothing has been said to me by Mr. Oldacres or the overlooker, or anybody else, about having any questions asked me. I am sure of that. The engine always stops for dinner. It works at tea time in the hot weather; and then we give over at half past seven instead of eight, which is the general time. We have generally about twelve hours and a half of it. On Saturdays we begin at six and give over at four. I get 2s. 6d. a week [2 shillings 6 pence—roughly equivalent to \$15 today]. I have a father and mother, and give them what I earn. I have worked overhours at the rate of 2d. for three hours. I have always that for myself.

What do you do with it?

I save it for clothes sometimes. I put it into a money club for clothes. I have worked nine hours over in one week. I got for that 5 1/2d. I gave it to my mother, and she made it up to 6d. and put it into the money club. She always puts by 6d. a week from my wages for that.

Then your mother gets what you earn by the overhours, don't she?

No; I gets it for myself.

Do you work overhours or not, just as you like?

No; them as works must work. . . .

If overhours are put on next week, shall you be glad or sorry?

It won't signify. I shall be neither glad nor sorry. Sometimes mother gives me a halfpenny to spend.

What do you do with it?

I saves it to buy shoes. Have never saved above a shilling for that; mother put more to it, and bought me a pair. . . .

Don't you play sometimes after work's over?

Yes, sometimes.

Well, are you not sorry to lose that?

No, I don't mind about it. I am quite sure I don't. I am sometimes tired when I have been at work long hours. I am not tired now; I have been at work all day except dinner; it is now five o'clock. I am sure I had rather work as I do than lose any of my wages. I go to school a Sunday sometimes. I went first about a month ago. I have been every Sunday since. I can only read in the alphabet yet. I mean to go regular. There is no reason why I should not. I wants to be a scholar.

The father of two children in a mill at Lenton deposed as follows:

My two sons (one ten, the other thirteen) work at Milnes's factory at Lenton. They go at half past five in the morning; don't stop at breakfast or tea time. They stop at dinner half an hour. Come home at a quarter before ten. They used to work till ten, sometimes eleven, sometimes twelve. They earn between them 6s. 2d. per week. One of them, the eldest, worked at Wilson's for two years, at 2s. 3d. per week. He left because

the overlooker beat him and loosened a tooth for him. I complained, and they turned him away for it. They have been gone to work sixteen hours now; they will be very tired when they come home at half past nine. I have a deal of trouble to get 'em up in the morning. I have been obliged to beat 'em with a strap in their shirts, and to pinch 'em, in order to get them well awake. It made me cry to be obliged to do it.

Did you make them cry?

Yes, sometimes. They will be home soon, very tired; and you will see them.

I [i.e. the government inspector] preferred walking towards the factory to meet them. I saw the youngest only, and asked him a few questions. He said, "I'm sure I shan't stop to talk to you; I want to go home and get to bed; I must be up at half past five to-morrow morning."

A family in the same town of Lenton gave the following evidence:

The boy. I am going fourteen; my sister is eleven. I have worked in Milnes's factory two years. She goes there also. We are both in the clearing room. I think we work too long hours; I've been badly with it. We go at half past five; give over at half past nine. I am now just come home. We sometimes stay till twelve. We are obliged to work over-hours. I have 4s. a week; that is for staying from six to seven. They pay for overhours besides. I asked to come away one night lately, at eight o'clock, being ill; I was told, if I went I must not come again. I am not well now. I can seldom eat any breakfast; my appetite is very bad. I had a bad cold for a week.

Father. I believe him to be ill from being overworked. My little girl came home the other day cruelly beaten. I took her to Mr. Milnes; did not see him, but showed Mrs. Milnes the marks. I thought of taking it before a magistrate, but was advised to let it drop. They might have turned both my children away. That man's name is Blagg; he is always strapping the children. I shan't let the boy go there much longer; I shall try to apprentice him; it's killing him by inches; he falls asleep over his food at night. I saw an account of such things in the newspapers, and thought how true it was of my own children.

Mother. I have worked in the same mills myself. The same man was there then. I have seen him behave shocking to the children. He would take 'em by the hair of the head and drag 'em about the room. He has been there twelve years. There's many young ones in that hot room. There's six of 'em badly now, with bad eyes and sick headache. This boy of ours has always been delicate from a child. His appetite is very bad now; he does not eat his breakfast sometimes for two or three days together. The little girl bears it well; she is healthy. I would prefer their coming home at seven, without additional wages. The practice of working overhours has been constantly pursued at Milnes's factory.

Source: "Extracts from a Parliamentary Report on Child Labor." In *Readings in Modern European History*, edited by James Harvey Robinson and Charles A. Beard. Volume 2: *Europe Since the Congress of Vienna*. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1909.

3. Jacob Riis: Slum Housing in New York

Historically cities were close, crowded, and unplanned, and living conditions were potentially unhealthy and dangerous. The rapid growth of cities in the modern era exacerbated

these problems on a geometric scale, with ever more people occupying less space. At the same time, practices such as trash removal, municipal sewer and water systems, police, and public health services enabled cities to accommodate larger numbers of people. Conditions for immigrants and the poor were especially bad though.

This selection offers a description of life in the slums of New York in the last part of the nineteenth century, inhabited almost exclusively by waves of European immigrants who arrived in America after the Civil War. The author, Jacob Riis, was himself an immigrant, having arrived from Denmark to work as a carpenter in 1870. Before he became successful as a photographer and reform journalist exposing the conditions of poor immigrant populations in New York, he was one of the poor, foreign-born immigrants himself, sleeping in shabby shelters and taken to police stations. The source for the selection, *How the Other Half Lives*, was a milestone in social reform literature, and in it Riis is writing to support a case for particular changes. Besides being a social reformer, he was also one of the pioneers of flash photography, allowing him to accompany his descriptions with pictures.

New York was certainly not the only city in the United States to have such slums; all industrial cities had neighborhoods of tenement housing for the poor and often for the immigrant laborers who drove the Industrial Revolution. Those who lived there could afford nothing better, and Riis makes a clear argument that there were social, cultural, and moral consequences to the kind of existence the immigrant families lived. The neighborhoods Riis writes about at the time were some of the most densely populated in the world and there is no doubt that the circumstances in tenement neighborhoods were deplorable. Riis describes children and adults falling to their deaths trying to escape heat waves by sleeping on rooftops, and the moral threats to young men and women, who live where there is no green space and no viable alternatives to prostitution and alcohol.

As a reformer, Riis had an obvious interest in depicting the conditions as especially bad and the population as sympathetic. He gives a depressing and one-sided account of urban life in the burgeoning industrial centers of the United States and the rest of the Western world. Riis can be credited with some real impact when *How the Other Half Lives* prompted then New York Police Commissioner Theodore Roosevelt to undertake immediate reforms, and to a significant extent the reform efforts met with success in the long-term. The tenement-housing sections of the urban core of most cities have been demolished or redeveloped, and even though the relegation of poor and immigrant populations to less-desirable, run-down, and higher-crime neighborhoods continues today, the intensity of the crowded, hopeless, and violent tenement neighborhoods is for the most part a thing of the past—at least in industrialized and Western nations. While Riis may have been dramatic in his presentation, he provides a fascinating account of everyday urban life for hundreds of thousands in the lowest economic stratum in society, a daily life he himself had lived.

In the dull context of life bred on the tenement-house dead level there is little to redeem it, or to calm apprehension for a society that has nothing better to offer its toilers; while the patient efforts of the lives finally attuned to it render the situation tolerable, and the very success of these efforts, serve only to bring out in stronger contrast the general gloom of the picture by showing how much farther they might have gone with half a chance. Go into any of the “respectable” tenement neighborhoods—the fact that there are not more than two saloons on the corner, nor over three or four in the block will serve as a fair guide—where live the great body of hard-working Irish and German immigrants and their descendants, who accept naturally the conditions of tenement life, because for them there is nothing else in New York; be with and among its



Jacob Riis, 1904. Library of Congress.

people until you understand their ways, their aims, and the quality of their ambitions, and unless you can content yourself with the scriptural promise that poor we shall have always with us, or with the menagerie view that, if fed, they have no cause of complaint, you shall come away agreeing with me that, humanly speaking, life there does not seem worth the living. Take at random one of these uptown tenement blocks, not of the worst nor yet of the most prosperous kind, within hail of what the newspapers would call a "fine residential section." These homes were built since the last cholera scare made people willing to listen to reason. The block is not like the one over on the East Side in which I actually lost my way once. There were thirty or forty rear houses in the heart of it, three or four on every lot, set at all sorts of angles, with odd, winding passages, or no passage at all, only "runways" for the thieves and toughs of the neighborhood. These yards are clear. There is air there, and it is about all there is. The view between brick walls outside is that of a stony street; inside, of rows of unpainted board fences, a bewildering maze of clothes-posts and lines; underfoot, a desert of brown, hard-baked soil from which every blade of grass, every stray weed, every speck of green, has been trodden out, as must inevitably be every gentle thought and aspiration above the mere wants of the body in those whose moral natures such home surroundings are to nourish. In self-defence, you know, all life eventually accommodates itself to its environment, and human life is no exception. Within the houses there is nothing to supply the want thus left unsatisfied. Tenement-houses have

no aesthetic resources. If any are to be brought to bear on them, they must come from the outside. There is the common hall with doors opening softly on every landing as the strange step is heard on the stairs, the air-shaft that seems always so busy letting out foul stench from below that it has no time to earn its name by bringing down fresh air, the squeaking pumps that hold no water, and the rent that is never less than one week's wages out of the four, quite as often half of the family earnings.

Why complete the sketch? It is drearily familiar already. Such as it is, it is the frame in which are set days, weeks, months, and years of increasing toil, just able to fill the mouth and clothe the back. Such as it is, it is the world, and all of it, to which these weary workers return nightly to feed heart and brain after wearing out the body at the bench, or in the shop. To it come the young and their restless yearnings.... These in their coarse garments—girls with the love of youth for beautiful things, with this hard life before them—who shall save them from the tempter? Down in the street the saloon, always bright and gay, gathering to itself all the cheer of the block, beckons

the boys. In many such blocks the census-taker found two thousand men, women, and children, and over, who called them home. . . .

With the first hot nights in June police dispatches, that record the killing of men and women by rolling off roofs and window-sills while asleep, announce that the time of greatest suffering among the poor is at hand. It is the hot weather, when life indoors is well-nigh unbearable with cooking, sleeping, and working, all crowded into the small rooms together, that the tenement expands, reckless of all restraint. Then a strange and picturesque life moves upon the flat roofs. In the day and early evening mothers air their babies there, the boys fly their kites from the house-tops, undismayed by police regulations, and the young men and girls court and pass the growler. In the stifling July nights, when the big barracks are like fiery furnaces, their very walls giving out absorbed heat, men and women lie in restless, sweltering rows, panting for air and sleep. Then every truck in the street, every crowded fire-escape, becomes a bedroom, infinitely preferable to any the house affords. A cooling shower on such a night is hailed as a heaven-sent blessing in a hundred thousand homes.

Life in the tenements in July and August spells death to an army of little ones whom the doctor's skill is powerless to save. When the white badge of mourning flutters from every second door, sleepless mothers walk the streets in the gray of the early dawn, trying to stir a cooling breeze to fan the brow of the sick baby. There is no sadder sight than this patient devotion striving against fearfully hopeless odds. Fifty "summer doctors," especially trained to this work, are then sent into the tenements by the Board of Health, with free advice and medicine for the poor. Devoted women follow in their track with care and nursing for the sick. Fresh-air excursions run daily out of New York on land and water; but despite all efforts the grave-diggers in Calvary work over-time, and little coffins are stacked mountains high on the deck of the Charity Commissioners' boat when it makes its semi-weekly trips to the city cemetery. . . .

That ignorance plays its part, as well as poverty and bad hygienic surroundings, in the sacrifice of life is of course inevitable. . . .

No doubt intemperance bears a large share of the blame for it; judging from the standpoint of the policeman perhaps the greater share. . . . Even if it were all true, I should still load over on the tenement the heaviest responsibility. A single factor, the scandalous scarcity of water in the hot summer when the thirst of the million tenants must be quenched, if not in that in something else, has in the past years more than all other causes encouraged drunkenness among the poor. But to my mind there is a closer connection between the wages of the tenement and the vices and improvidence of those who dwell in them than, with the guilt of the tenement upon our heads, we are willing to admit even to ourselves. Weak tea with a dry crust is not a diet to nurse moral strength.

Source: Riis, Jacob. *How the Other Half Lives*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890.

4. The Postmodern City

The conventional wisdom of the development of the city goes something like this: the increasingly crowded and concentrated nature of the city in the nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries has changed as shifts in economic patterns away from industrial economies in many first-world urban environments produced in America declining urban cores and complex, though inefficient, transportation systems that allowed the spreading out of typical American life into the suburbs and even, in recent years, into exurbs. Many European nations have engineered very different urban models, with cities whose centers remain viable and desirable places, with the economically disadvantaged, often immigrant, populations, unpleasant manufacturing, and other infrastructural elements relegated to the suburban margins of the city. Urban sprawl is a late modern American phenomenon, typical of abusive and irresponsible development. The dominance of this new type of suburban and exurban model is lamentable, since these cities are not sustainable, and they separate and isolate people, make walking or public transit impossible, inhibiting civic life and wasting huge amounts of resources and energy.

This selection takes a very different approach. Robert Bruegmann is a city-dweller himself as well as an academic who studies urban development. Enabled by modern infrastructures and motivated by complex economic factors, modern cities are larger than ever before, but he argues that they don't have lower population densities: in other words, today's sprawl, on his account, is less a function of land misuse and more a function of larger groups of people following a pattern similar to one observable for at least several hundred years.

His description of flying over Los Angeles at dusk is very evocative of the contemporary city; its marvel is in its sheer size, not in the density or individual landmarks. In fact, it is marked more by the lack of distinguishing marks and features than anything else. The observable patterns of Los Angeles from the air are the same at the beach as they are almost 150 miles inland.

And this is not even the fullness of the city, according to Bruegmann. He also insists that we include the exurban or semi-rural fringes in looking at the city. Many decry modern suburbia, but instead he sees the suburban and exurban edges of cities as a dynamic space on a borderland between urban and rural. Whether it is at the edges of cities where change is fastest or in their very centers, economic factors play a decisive role in Bruegmann's description. His litany of the various groups and institutions who are blamed for sprawl all have predominantly economic influences; ultimately, he claims, it is ordinary individuals and families who collectively exercise the largest influence on the modern city through their ordinary, everyday choices. Whether or not one agrees with his analysis of the nature or causes of vast, sprawling cities, one must agree that they are truly some of the most marvelous works of the modern world.

In American cities, as well as in European cities after their walls came down, there were two kinds of suburban development. The first involved outward expansion all along the urban periphery, creating a pattern of yearly growth like the annual rings on a tree. Despite the fairly small numbers of inhabitants, the suburban districts for the affluent took up a great deal of this space. Usually located on the other side of town and occupying much less space per capita were modest apartment blocks for the working classes and factories for industrial production. The other kind of suburban development appeared along railroad lines radiating outward from the city, creating small commuter suburban settlements that appeared on maps like the beads on a necklace.

Finally, at the edge of the urban galaxy could often be found large exurban regions. At first, in Europe, the largest amount of this land was occupied by the large estates of the landed aristocracy. Increasingly in the nineteenth century, in both North America

and Europe, successful middle-class merchants sought to emulate the aristocracy by buying property and building country houses. These properties were often located outside small villages where there were urban services and good railroad connections back to the city center.

Even those who recognize that the general trend of decentralization has been essentially similar in Europe and North America sometimes say that American cities have followed a different social pattern. For example, it is often said that the wealthy have always lived in city centers in Europe with the poor at the periphery while in North America the reverse has been true. This formulation is quite misleading. In both cases there was a vast exodus of families of all kinds from the center. The difference was how quickly each left the center and how far each went. In Paris, for example, over the course of several centuries, the wealthiest families did exactly what their counterparts did in London or in New York or Boston. They kept moving from more congested districts at the center toward less dense districts in the periphery. [..]

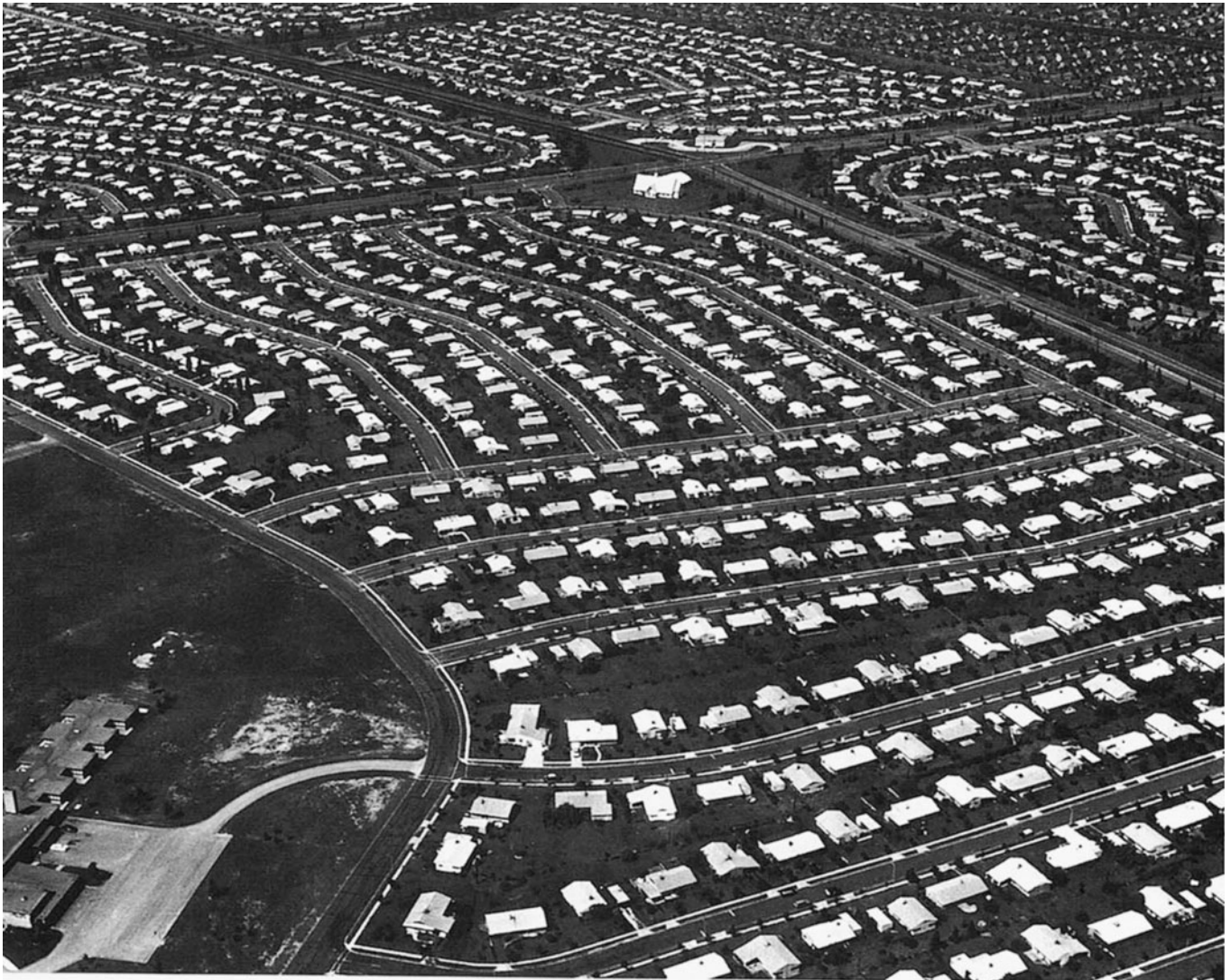
Contrary to the notion of many historians and sprawl reformers, suburbanization and decentralization are not peculiarly American. They have been pervasive characteristics of urban growth around the world for at least a century whenever cities have become more affluent.

One of the most remarkable things about the development of European and American cities and suburbs since the 1970s has been the way in which they seem to be converging. In part this is because an increasing number of American central cities are becoming denser while most European cities continue to decentralize. Moreover, the edges of cities everywhere, with their superhighways, supermarkets, and subdivisions, look increasingly similar, one to another. In fact, the parts of suburban Phoenix that have developed in the past ten or twenty years are actually quite comparable to the Parisian suburbs that have grown at the same time. [..]

We will end with an evening flight out of Los Angeles, that paragon of sprawl for several generations of urban reformers. Departing from LAX at dusk on a cloudless day, the plane will take off to the west, rising up sharply over the blue-black ocean, punctuated only by the faint lights of boats far below and the almost imperceptible outline of the Channel Islands, which, only slightly darker than the sky itself, loom against the horizon. As the plane banks to the south and then again to the east, the lights of the Los Angeles basin come into view.

Even for people who have seen it a hundred times before, this view can take one's breath away. Marking off a vast grid are the great arterial highways with their regular punctuation of yellowish sodium vapor lamps and the pools of colored light created by electric store signs at the major intersections. Snaking across the arterials are the dark linear voids of the river beds and the brightly lit freeways with their shimmering ribbon of white headlights and red tail lights. Between these brilliantly lit lines of motion are the darker residential neighborhoods with a fainter and more irregular block pattern. Only the streetlights flickering through the tree canopy and the occasional sweep of a car headlight turning into a driveway illuminate these territories.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about this panorama is its size. Even at four hundred miles per hour it takes the plane a full fifteen minutes to fly from the beach at Redondo to the place where the city lights stop in the desert beyond Palm Springs.



An aerial view of Levittown, Pennsylvania. Returning G.I.s made up the bulk of a huge demand for housing. The government introduced legislation that virtually guaranteed financing to residential developers and making housing loans easily available. Library of Congress.

The great city of today is so large and complex that it defies our attempts to describe, let alone to comprehend it.

Almost everyone at one time or another has pondered the question of who provided the real force, for better or for worse, behind a great urban panorama like this one. Some people will say that it happened this way because of planning, because of those individuals who imagined the grid and those who platted all of the subdivisions. Others instinctively counter that, in fact, developers, uninterested in planning but with a steadfast eye to the bottom line, had the upper hand. This in turn, will lead the next person to argue that, since the developers needed money, it was the owners of capital that pulled the strings. Then someone will come back with the thought that governmental organizations like Fannie Mae or the FHA set out the rules that guided the bankers. The urban historian then might observe that these regulations were put in

place based on an analysis of what already worked in the private financial market place. Very few people seem to complete the circle by observing that what worked and what didn't in the market was, in turn, based, at least in part, on the choices of millions of individuals and families about where and how they wanted to live.

Many people, especially academics, have resisted the notion that ordinary citizens have played a major role in the creation of the great cities of the world. They would argue that the average urban family actually has few choices because these choices are so heavily controlled by vast economic, political, and social systems. The family can only buy what the merchant offers or the developer builds or the government allows. They will say that it is those with power who make all the important decisions. Of course, in one sense they are correct. Everyone is constrained by what is available to them, whether by governmental decree, the marketplace, or societal pressure. But it seems fair to say that the average family in the affluent world today has more choices available to it than a similar family in any other society or era in history. Moreover, even a little reflection will suggest that very few individuals, no matter how wealthy or powerful, have much ability to change fundamentally any large piece of our built environment on their own. Even if the wealthiest family of any large American city devoted its entire fortune to creating change, this money would not go very far unless that family was able to mobilize support from many other individuals or institutions. A billion dollars, for example, in most cities would buy only about 2,000 moderately expensive houses.

At the same time, every individual has some role in determining how the city looks and functions. If I shop at a suburban Wal-Mart rather than a downtown department store or choose to live in an apartment near the old downtown rather than in a single-family house on five acres in exurbia, these choices have an effect on urban form. If my choices are echoed by those of many other people, they can have a profound effect. More than any other human artifact in the world today, our urban areas are the result of the actions of every citizen, every group, and every institution, every day. In its immense complexity and constant change, the city—whether dense and concentrated at the core, looser and more sprawling in suburbia, or in the vast tracts of exurban penumbra that extend dozens, even hundreds, of miles into what appears to be rural land—is the grandest and most marvelous work of mankind.

Source: Bruegmann, Robert. *Sprawl: A Compact History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006. Courtesy of University of Chicago Press and Robert Bruegmann.

Rural Life

One of the great markers of the modern era is the shift from a predominantly rural population to a predominantly urban population. At the same time, this has been a slow process and rural life continues to be crucially important both culturally and economically. Prior to the *Industrial Revolution*, land for agriculture and other resources was the primary source of wealth in society. While industrial and post-industrial economies no longer base wealth primarily on the productivity of land, without the rural and agricultural economy the world simply would not have anything to eat! If the image of the French countryside today is picturesque and idealized, Arthur Young's account (Document 5) of the poor condition of the French agricultural economy documents

some of the causes of the *French Revolution*. Lottie Bump's diary (Document 6) shows the amount of labor that the rural economy and domestic household required, although she does not seem to want for things or be at all unhappy in her work. William Razavi's selection (Document 7) documents the changing face of rural Iran in the twentieth century, as modern transformations have made the rural communal and feudal lifestyle of his father and grandfather little more than memories today.

5. Arthur Young: Poverty in Eighteenth-Century France

Arthur Young was one of eighteenth-century England's foremost agricultural minds. A country gentleman whose own experimental attempts at practical farming were utterly unsuccessful, he nonetheless made a career of examining agricultural techniques and conditions around England and all of Western Europe. He was appointed to the new post of Director of the English Board of Agriculture in 1794. He collected and published his descriptions of his tours of France in 1787–1789, from which this selection is taken. The last tour was interrupted at the end by the outbreak of the French Revolution. Disruptions notwithstanding, his accounts give an interesting insight into the conditions of life in the French countryside in the late eighteenth century.

Young finds the general state of the French countryside to be poor. While the benefits of the Industrial Revolution had not yet made substantial inroads in providing cheap manufactured goods, Young notes a lack of products which were not made on the farms, such as wool, leather, and glass, which shows a lack of trade and prosperity. He is surprised at the amount of agricultural labor performed by women, the lack of advanced or efficient agricultural techniques, and the inequities of the land and tax system of the French kingdom.

Not only does Young's journal give an expert historical eyewitness account of the condition of the rural French economy at the time of the French Revolution from a foreigner's point of view, but also a look at a new approach to examining this central part of daily life in the modern period. Young was very much a man of his age; the idea of considered study of agriculture, experimentation, and comparative surveys to find the best techniques in a systematic way to improve overall agricultural productivity is a social application of scientific methodologies—the beginnings of modern agricultural sciences and business practices that have transformed the economics of rural life and the modern world.

The 22d. Poverty and poor crops in Amiens; women are now ploughing with a pair of horses to sow barley. The difference of the customs of the two nations [England and France] is in nothing more striking than in the labours of the sex; in England, it is very little that they will do in the fields except to glean and make hay; the first is a party of pilfering, and the second of pleasure: in France, they plough and fill the dung-cart. Lombardy poplars seem to have been introduced here about the same time as in England. [...]

The 10th. Cross the Dordonne by a ferry...Pass Payrac, and meet many beggars, which we had not done before. All that country, girls and women, are without shoes and stockings; and ploughmen at their work have neither sabots nor feet to their stockings. This is a poverty, that strikes at the root of national prosperity; a large consumption among the poor being of more consequence than among the rich: the wealth of a nation lies in its circulation and consumption; and the case of poor people abstaining

from the use of manufactures of leather and wool ought to be considered as an evil of the first magnitude. It reminded me of the misery of Ireland. Pass Pont-de-Rondez and come to high land . . . Pass by several cottages, exceedingly well built, of stone and slate or tiles, yet without any glass to the windows; can a country be likely to thrive where the great object is to spare manufactures? Women picking weeds in their aprons for their cows, another sign of poverty I observed, during the whole way from Calais. [.]

The 12th. Walking up a long hill, to ease my mare, I was joined by a poor woman, who complained of the times, and that it was a sad country; demanding her reasons, she said her husband had but a morsel of land, one cow, and poor little horse, yet they had a franchar (42 lb.) of wheat, and three chickens, to pay as quit-rent to one Seigneur; and four franchar of oats, one chicken and 1 livre [French royal currency equal to about \$5.50 U.S. in 1790] to pay to another, besides heavy tailles [real estate taxes] and other taxes. She had seven children, and the cow's milk helped make soup. But why, instead of a horse, do not you keep another cow? Oh, her husband could not carry his produce so well without a horse; and asses are little used in that country. It was said, at present, that something was to be done by some great folks for such poor ones, but she did not know who not how, but God send us better, car les tailles & les droits nous ecrasent [because the taxes and feudal levies are crushing us]. This woman, at no great distance, might have been taken for sixty or seventy, her figure was so bent, and face so furrowed and hardened by labour, but she said she was only twenty-eight. An Englishman who has not travelled, cannot imagine the figure made by infinitely the greater part of the countrywomen in France; it speaks, at first sight, hard and severe labour: I am inclined to think, that they work harder than the men, and this, united with more miserable labour of bringing a new race of slaves into the world, destroys absolutely all symmetry of person and every feminine appearance. To what are we to attribute this difference in the manners of the lower people in these two kingdoms? To Government.

Source: Young, Arthur. *Travels during the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789 Undertaken more Particularly with a View of Ascertaining the Cultivation, Wealth, Resources, and National Prosperity of the Kingdom of France*. Dublin: R. Cross et al., 1793.

6. Lottie Bump's Vermont Diary, 1868

Lottie Bump kept a diary, not of her travels like Arthur Young (see Document 5), but of her everyday life on a farm and in the very small town of Salisbury in rural Vermont in 1868. The extended Bump family was prominent in the area, and Lottie's husband, Samuel, though farming at the beginning of the diary, opens a school in the fall and they move into the town. Her matter-of-fact reporting of items like morning temperatures at 20 degrees below zero without central heating or indoor plumbing might seem remarkable to modern-day readers; however, her accounts of whole days spent washing or ironing or 20-hour days of sausage making give a vivid impression of daily life without modern conveniences that are taken for granted today, yet at that time would have been unthinkable luxury. Her constant labor at cooking and baking, washing and housekeeping, a whole range of activities to make and maintain clothing, and, in the second half of the year, caring for a newborn, is relieved only by visiting friends and relatives, prayer meetings, and church.

Her husband's agricultural labor is parallel to hers but more seasonally determined: drawing wood and manure, plowing, planting, haying, and tending livestock. She doesn't even mention in her diary that she is pregnant, and offers no description of her labor or delivery—just announces that she is a mother and it went as well as could be expected. The necessary tasks of daily life are seldom interrupted. She mentions her husband going fishing once; holidays or important days are mentioned in passing, such as her birthday or wedding anniversary, and New Years Day, July Fourth, and Christmas even go unmentioned, with no descriptions of celebrations of any kind. Regardless of her mood or health, she seems to work very hard. Without all this work, the domestic economy of the Bump family could not function.

Jan. 1, 1868 (Wed.) Thermometer at 9 A.M. 36°. We did not rise until late this morning then I swept and ironed and Mother attended to other work, then by working all the evening I succeeded in making the flannel skirts and putting a waist on a cotton one. It has been a very windy snowy day but not much snow has fallen.

Jan. 6 Thermometer at 7 A.M. 22° below zero. It has been the coldest day we have had this month. We rose quite early but it was so cold that Samuel only drew one load of wood, and this afternoon he went to get the horses sharpened and did not get home until night. He received a letter from home saying Father is worse, and tomorrow he goes there. I did the washing and all the machine work to a shirt today and finished one mitten this evening.

(Jan.) 18 Thermometer at 7 A.M. 0°. We thought to rise early this morning but overslept and when we rose it was late before Samuel commenced drawing wood but he got three loads. Mr. Smith went from here this morning. I paid for a book for Mrs. George Thomas this morning. Mother and I worked on fancy work all day but Mr. Rice came here this evening, so I finished the trimming for my night-dress and sewed it on.

Saturday, February 8, 1868. Thermometer at 7 A.M. 27° below. We did not rise until late. It has been a beautiful day but very cold. The wind has been strong in the South. Mother and I had some housework to do and then I ripped up my green dress and partly ripped up a coat of Samuel's. Then cut and made him a pair of drawers and crocheted a little. Georgia is spending the night here. I have had a very severe headache all day.

Monday February 10, 1868. Thermometer at 7 A.M. 6° below. Another washing day has passed and we have finished two weeks washing. Mother has not been at all well today but she has kept hard at work. I did most of the washing and she did the other work and mopped. She has baked eleven pies since nine o'clock. We are all retiring very early. Wind strong in the south.

Sunday, March 1, 1868. Thermometer at 8 A.M. 12° below. We did not rise until very late this morning but it was considered early enough here. After breakfast we went over to Alice's and went to church with them. We staid all day and through to "Communion" which I enjoyed very much.

Saturday, March 14, 1868. Thermometer at 7 A.M. 48°. We rose quite early this morning and I helped get breakfast. Then I churned and swept my room, the stairs, hall and kitchen. Mother washed dishes, mopped and blacked the stove, but she ought not to have done it for her cold makes her about sick. I marked a great number of clothes this P.M. I made some trimming for mother's chemise and finished the trimming for

my drawers. Samuel sacked his wool and took it to the depot today. He has gone to meeting tonight.

Sunday, March 15, 1868. Thermometer at 7 A.M. 42°. We rose at the usual time this morning and found it had rained during the night—but it has been very clear and warm all day. Samuel has been to church and has gone to meeting this evening, but I did not think it hardly prudent for me to go and I have had a very severe pain in one limb all day. It is three years today since we were married.

Friday, March 27, 1868. Thermometer at 6 A.M. 26°. Another day has passed and now I number 21 years of age. It has been a beautiful day. Mother and I cleaned the halls and the little bedroom this morning and then after dinner Father and Mother started for Forestdale. I finished some tatting, finished my waist, and partially embroidered Samuel's slippers. Samuel worked (drawing manure) until very late tonight.

Monday, March 30, 1868. Thermometer at 6 A.M. 20°. We rose in quite good season this morning and I went to washing. Our washing was not very large so I got done at noon. Mother whitewashed the kitchen and I helped her clean it. I am very tired tonight and have been having the heart-burn terribly. Georgia and Abbie spent a few moments here this evening.

Tuesday, March 31, 1868. Thermometer at 6 A.M. 28°. This morning when I rose I thought it looked a little like storm, but it has been a beautiful day. Samuel commenced ploughing today. Tonight he is at a school meeting. Mother and I ironed this afternoon and then I walked up to Aunt Libbie's but Marion, Olive and Delia came to our house so Samuel came for me. I have tatted a little and mended pants this evening.

Monday, April 6, 1868. Thermometer at 6 A.M. 20°. I rose early this morning and helped about breakfast and then I ironed. and I had to put some waist-bands on some night-dresses. Then I mended a few articles, and this afternoon I have been fixing hoops and I am not done yet. I have been sad today but that beautiful Psalm, "The Lord is my Shepherd I shall not want" has been with me. Georgia and Abbie are here this evening.

Tuesday, April 7, 1868. Thermometer at 6 A.M. 31°. When I rose this morning I thought it looked very much like snow and it commenced early and has snowed just all day. Samuel went to the village this morning and I went to see how Helen Hamilton got along. The girls went from here this morning. I worked a little on my hoops. Knit some and tatted some today.

Thursday, May 7, 1868. I rose quite early this morning and went to work on Henry's coat. I finished it and they came for it about nine o'clock. Then I quilted most of the day, so night finds me tired. Father went to the depot today and Samuel commenced ploughing in the meadow with his three horse team. I have been making some tatting today. Oh, when shall I get everything done that I want to get done.

Monday, May 11, 1868. Thermometer at 5 A.M. 35°. I rose early this morning and as we had only 1 week's washing to do we got all cleaned up before ten o'clock. Samuel went away a little while this morning and tagged some sheep and turned them out this afternoon. Mother and I have been quilting most of the day, but we are retiring quite early. 87 sheep.

Thursday, May 28, 1868. Thermometer at 5 A.M. 57°. I rose quite early and helped about the work this morning. Then I sewed my hat. After which Mother, Aunt Esther and I went up to uncle Cyrus'. Father went to the village and when he came home,

about three o'clock, we come with him. I have made tatting most of the day. Tonight I finished a little sack. Samuel planted his corn today.

Wednesday, June 3, 1868. Thermometer at 5 A.M. 36°. It was very cold last night. I think there was a light frost on the low lands. It has been a beautiful day. Samuel, Oliver and Judson Mead went trout fishing today. Samuel enjoyed himself very much. We have a new milch cow today. The first we have had this year. I finished my little sack and my screen for the bed today beside some other sewing.

Sunday, June 14, 1868. Thermometer at 5 1/2 A.M. 57°. I did not wake until very late this morning but I was awake considerable during the night with a severe pain in my back, and that has continued to trouble me all day. I hope I shall get through my pain soon. Samuel went to church this forenoon. but I was at home. It has been a beautiful day. Miss Samson came home tonight.

Monday, June 15, 1868. Another morning finds me a mother. May God bless me in fulfilling my mission well. I had as comfortable a time as could be expected, I suppose, but I am glad it is done with and now I wish I was well, but no one knows how long it will be before I shall be well. A brave great boy. Weighs 10 pounds. Helen Boardman is here to stay with us a few days.

Sunday, July 5, 1868. Oh such a hot day as it has been. The thermometer started at 80 this morning and at half past 9 it stood at 95. It is cooler this afternoon. How much better I am than I was one week ago. Samuel has stayed at home with me all day.

Thursday, July 9, 1868. I slept well last night and rose quite early this morning and I have not lain down much during the day. Mary came over here quite early this morning and has staid all day. Samuel intended to commence haying but it has been unpleasant today so he finished his rake. I had my hair combed today.

Monday, August 10, 1868. I have helped a little today. I have washed the dishes twice and helped get breakfast and dinner, swept & c. I wish I could work as much any day. We have had no rain today and Samuel got a very large piece of grass down and part of it in the stack.

Wednesday. August 26. 1868. This morning I rose quite early and found it pleasant. Samuel got his oats into the barn and then went to East Midd[lebury]. I helped about the house until noon then I commenced my sack and got it pretty nearly done. Mother fixed one of the baby's dresses and I another today. Olive Thomas is spending the night here. There is a large fire somewhere. We can see and smell the smoke.

Friday. August 28, 1868. I rose quite early this morning and as Father and Mother concluded to go to Brandon I had all of the work to attend to. I was tired when I got it done so I rested until noon when Mrs. Walker came here, and Mrs. Scott came over here and took tea. Night finds me very tired.

Wednesday, September, 9, 1868. Samuel's school commenced today. It has been unpleasant but has not rained much. I have been busy all day but have not seemed to accomplish much. Mother has been spinning. Father is quite lame.

Saturday, September 12, 1868. I rose early and while Samuel went to the depot I packed the household goods for moving. When he got home we started right away, and tonight we are at Mr. Gibson's with all our effects in one room. The baby had his nap disturbed at noon and he has slept very little since but he has been very good. He does not feel at home and I do not either.

Sunday, September 13, 1868. There was no preaching here today but a sermon read in the morning and a prayer meeting in the afternoon and evening. Samuel attended all of these meetings and I took care of the baby. I have not enjoyed the day as well as I should of. I have read some.

Thursday, December 24, 1868. Today Mother and I have worked most of the time on Father's coat and I have been knitting again this evening. Ernest is very good. This evening I spent with Mary.

Friday, December 25, 1868. All day at Father's coat again and today I have finished a pair of socks.

Tuesday, December 29, 1868. This morning we rose at four o'clock and have had a hard day's work. Mr. Crook helped the men butcher and they got their part done early. We worked until nearly midnight and got along nicely. Got the sausage made and the mincemeat chopped, everything done that we could. Georgia and Ella came here this P.M. and Abbie is with them spending the night here.

Source: Bump, Lottie, "Diary of Lottie Bump," Unpublished manuscript, 1868. Transcription used by permission of the Henry Sheldon Museum of Vermont History, Middlebury, Vermont, and Norman and Pamela Lizotte.

7. Iran in the 1930s: Clans and Local Authority

The author of this selection, William Razavi, was born in Iran in the 1970s. He emigrated to the United States as a child with his parents who fled the regime of pro-Western monarch Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the second ruler of the Pahlavi Dynasty, in 1976, three years before the Iranian Revolution that overthrew the Shah's government. The account here, from a forthcoming book on life in Iran, recounts some of the details of his father's early life in rural Lorestan in the 1930s. Lorestan, then primarily inhabited by nomadic tribes and more settled Persian clans, is a province in the eastern part of present-day Iran geographically dominated by the Zagros Mountains and their fertile valleys. The town of Aligudarz, Seyed Razavi's hometown, was a center for the surrounding rural region, but much more a part of the rural landscape than a distinct urban environment, and 400 miles from the national capital of Tehran.

Razavi recounts the importance of clan life and extended family connections, reflected in the economic and architectural unity of the family compound. The local economy functioned much as it had for centuries, with local inhabitants working the land in an economy driven by resident agriculture and the nomadic raising of livestock; in fact, the town's most important building was a silo, and the local cleric, Razavi's grandfather, the bank.

The self-sufficiency of the economy complements the family and political structures, allowing a substantial degree of local autonomy and resistance to outside influence—even the Shah's army. In the period after that described here, economic incentives and other events ended the nomadic herding lifestyles of the Lor and Bakhtiari tribes as well as disrupting the economic and political structures that lent stability and local opportunities to many Lorestanis, resulting in many leaving Lorestan—with Razavi, for example, ending up in Texas. The daily rural life of Lorestan in 1933, with French-studying shepherds and women concealing weapons under their chadors, was poised at an interesting junction of traditional and modern.

LORESTAN, 1933

My father, Seyed Abolhassan Razavi was born in the city of Aligudarz in the eastern part of Lorestan. His was the last generation to know a semi-feudal kind of existence out in the land. His father, Mohammad Mahdi Razavi was a cleric and jurist who commanded a certain degree of regional respect and whose role as an arbiter was important enough to be legitimized by a government that needed him more than he needed them. In fact, the writ of Reza Shah's authority was still shaky with the Lors and the Bakhtiari tribesmen who had long been accustomed to their autonomy.

Aligudarz itself was divided into quarters that belonged to certain families: Razavis in the southwest, Dabiris in the Southeast and Ashrafis, Fouladvands, Tavakkolis and others in their respective areas. Many were khan families, related back to local atabegs [Ottoman Turkish officials] and chieftains. The Razavis were seyeds, descendants of the Prophet Mohammad, and thus more mobile than the local clans. Though they had long been a part of Aligudarz they were still considered outsiders into my father's own time. "Beggar seyeds from Samarra" was how it was sometimes put. Mohammad Mahdi Razavi had actually come from Khonsar, to the east in Isfahan province. It was from there that he had set out for Tehran during the Constitutional crisis at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was there during that period that his mother was shot by bandits. And it was from Khonsar that he set out with volunteers to join the Ottomans in fighting the British during the First World War. But in the chaotic atmosphere of the aftermath of that war marauding tribesmen had looted and burned his home in Khonsar and he was later treated to the spectacle of being invited over for dinner by a friend and having tea served to him on a tray that was clearly stamped with the seal of his father Mir Seyed Ismail Razavi. Shortly after that he accepted an invitation to move west to Aligudarz where his brothers lived.

The Razavi house in Aligudarz was a prototypical large compound. It would cover something like 1/8th of the modern city of Aligudarz, maybe more. Most of this interior space was an extensive orchard that featured a variety of fruit trees and other specimens. The living quarters of the extended Razavi clan all opened into the shared interior park and it was not until the late 1940s that my father's elder brother Ibrahim put up the first wall dividing Razavi from Razavi and beginning the cycle of division and destruction of the old communal way of living.

But while my grandfather lived, the home in Aligudarz was a regional center of activity. Nomadic tribesmen following their herds would pass through and pay their respects, seeking assistance in settling disputes and often banking their money in my grandfather's trust. During the late Qajar period the only law to speak of was to be found in the homes of clerics such as Mohammad Mahdi Razavi and Reza Shah was quick to affirm many of the most prominent such people in their position with official judicial magistracies in order to solidify his own power and subordinate the local chiefs to a central authority. Typically, there would be a civil magistrate or mayor who was paired with a jurist. But the pull of local autonomy was still strong and in the late 1930s when Reza Shah attempted to forcibly disarm the tribesmen the Lors and Bakhtiari responded by storing their arms in the Razavi house. When it was learned that the Army would be raiding the house my grandmother invited the whole Ashrafi clan to dinner. At the end

of the evening every Ashrafi woman carried a rifle hidden under her chador back to the Ashrafi compound right past the surrounding soldiers.

Of course, that kind of cooperation points to the connections that had long become established in Aligudarz. Razavis and Ashrafis were intermarried and close, and in some way or another all the families in Aligudarz were tied together. Rural polygamy was still common, especially for political reasons: my grandfather, for instance, had three wives.

One clear division was over language and dialect. My grandmother spoke an elegant standard Farsi [modern Persian] dialect and discouraged her children from using the local Lor dialect (at least in her presence) and didn't even approve of Khonsari, the dialect of her hometown which is almost its own distinct language.

Agriculture was done the old-fashioned way with manual labor and hand-held sickles bringing in the staple wheat and barley crops that were the mainstay of the central Zagros valleys. The most important building in Aligudarz was the silo, which was constructed by German engineers between the wars. Men and women both worked the fields. Milking of dairy animals was the exclusive province of women, as men's hands were considered too rough for the animals. Nightblindness was common and sometimes children were given raw mullets from the underground qanats [a type of aqueduct] as a home remedy.

My father recounts that his biggest concern in childhood was always shoes. He only had one pair a year, which were made to order by a cobbler at the beginning of the fall, and summers in Aligudarz he and his friends went mostly barefoot. But then, he was luckier than most as he grew up with servants and a wet-nurse among other luxuries.

Of course, Aligudarz was not without its local flavor. While many small towns around the world could boast of showing Charlie Chaplin films projected onto sheets hanging from bridges, few of those towns could boast of shepherds who learned French in their spare time and fewer still could boast (or would boast) of students and parents forming a posse and waking up a math teacher in the middle of the night to get the answer to a particularly puzzling equation that he had given as the night's homework. But there was something of a love of learning that was the hallmark of the old Aligudarz, and which explained the success of the old families as they left town and made their mark in the rest of the country.

All of this, of course, would be disrupted by the war, the Allied occupation, and the tumultuous decades of expropriation and the destruction of local powers by the Pahlavis



A *dasteh* commences their mourning procession on Ashura (10th of Muharram) in 2005. *Dastehs* (groups) are often formed by local communities, mosques, husseyniehs, guilds, charitable organizations, and fraternal orders (similar to the krewes of Mardi Gras). This *dasteh* is marching in North Central Tehran (Division 4) between the old U.S. Embassy, Bahar Avenue, and Shariati Avenue. Photo courtesy of William Razavi.

that would ultimately come back to haunt them. But for a brief while, in the early 1930s Aligudarz was Lorestan's Lake Wobegon and something of a Mark Twain idyll in rural Iran: that was Lorestan in 1933.

Source: Razavi, William M. "Turban Cowboy." Unpublished manuscript, 2007. Courtesy of William M. Razavi.

Trade and Migration

It might seem odd at first to link migration and trade, but they both address the movement of economic elements, in one case people, and in the other goods. In the case of slavery, of course, trade and migration were tragically the same thing. The movement of people and goods has undeniable economic and other consequences for daily life. Trade is one of the primary activities of economic life. In its simplest form, it is the center of the most basic economies—bartering one thing for another. Modern economies are of course vastly more sophisticated, and even the means of exchange—money—is itself traded as a commodity. With the movement of people and goods also comes the movement of ideas. People's daily lives are changed both by the availability of new and different goods, and by their interactions with the people who make those movements possible.

Adam Smith's description (Document 8) of entrenched interests and William Melrose's letter (Document 12) reveal the difficulties and suspicions sometimes attendant on new patterns of trade. While Europeans and Americans wanted Chinese tea, the Chinese did not want the influence of these cultures, and gladly traded while attempting to limit interaction—understandably resisting the threat of European domination and suspicious of the importation of highly addictive opium. Tradesmen and guilds also resisted new patterns. At the beginning of the modern period, trade and manufacturing in Europe were inhibited by the remnants of medieval and early modern systems. These had worked well in the past, but, as Adam Smith argued, these provided more protection for producers of goods and higher prices for consumers. At the same time, as the document from the *American Revolution* shows (Document 9), the inability to trade—as a result of the expected British embargo—could produce hardships and opportunities of its own.

The modern period also has seen some of the largest movements of people in human history. The shift, accelerated in the twentieth century, from rural to urban population is addressed previously (see Documents 1–4 under "Urban Life"), but that is not the only important trend. In 1700, there were only 250,000 Europeans or their descendents in America, while the current U.S. population recently surpassed 300,000,000. Within the huge movement of people to and across the North American continent, there are individual aspects worth noting. Slaves were brought from Africa and then they and their descendants were moved from place to place without their consent (Document 11). The migration westward, typified by the California gold rush in 1849, displaced virtually every American Indian nation in North America (Document 10).

Of course, the United States is not the only place where dramatic economic changes took place due to trade and migration, or where it has been difficult or controversial. Sometimes there is anti-immigrant sentiment on the part of people already living in

a place when large numbers of non-native people move in. This has happened historically in the United States, and also in recent decades in Europe, as many African and Asian people migrate there. Sometimes people arriving is not the problem, but people leaving is. One example is the plight of Jewish “refuseniks” denied permission to leave the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* (USSR) (Document 13). Sometimes migration and trade are seen as a threat to local economies or economic patterns; sometimes not. Yet the movement of people and things has unquestionably helped shape the modern world, and today it goes on, unalterably a part of daily and economic life.

8. Adam Smith: *Breaking Barriers to Trade*

The Scottish philosopher and political economist Adam Smith (1723–1790) is best known for his formulation of the theory of capitalism in his seminal text of capitalist economics, now known as The Wealth of Nations. He proposed the doctrine of the invisible hand that would move individuals to make decisions in their best economic interest, which would serve the economic interest of the nation overall. In this selection, Smith laments the restrictions placed on development of tradesmen in England by the apprenticeship systems of guilds and professional corporations. Guilds had developed in medieval Europe to assure standards, provide a system of training, and protect a profession’s collective interests. In some ways similar to the labor unions of today, guilds performed similar functions in pre-industrial societies, although the guild consisted of master craftsmen who owned and operated their own businesses, rather than laborers who worked in a field or profession for others. Whether making teapots, hats, wheels, coaches, or virtually anything else, a craftsman first had to complete an apprenticeship to a master craftsman and guild member to legally be allowed to practice a trade. Apprentices often lived with the master and worked for him without pay, and were given progressively more responsible tasks until they had thoroughly learned a trade. Sometimes boys were apprenticed as early as the age of 10 or 12.

Smith decries this system, seeing it as far more in the interest of the masters who limit competition, acquire free or cheap labor, and maximize profits. Smith argues that men can be trained in far less time than the years and years the guilds required, and the general public suffers from a system that means less competition, higher prices, inhibitions on entrepreneurship, and restrictions on pursuing one’s own economic self-interest. The freedom of the individual in economic activities that Smith endorsed and promoted is connected to other thinkers who also argue for political freedom. Critics have accused Smith’s laissez-faire (French for let it be) economic theory with relying too much on a theoretical market to regulate economic outcomes, ignoring the plight of those at the bottom of the economic ladder, and legitimizing huge inequities of wealth and exploitation of the working masses. While the merits of Smith’s theory will continue to be debated, there is no doubt that his ideas were immensely influential, contributed to the transformations of economic life in the Industrial Revolution, and stand at the beginning of the modern field of economics.

In Sheffield no master cutler can have more than one apprentice at a time by a by-law of the corporation. In Norfolk and Norwich no master weaver can have more than two apprentices under pain of forfeiting five pounds a month to the king. No master hatter can have more than two apprentices anywhere in England or in the English

plantations, under pain of forfeiting five pounds a month, half to the king and half to him who shall sue in any court of record. Both these regulations, though they have been confirmed by a public law of the kingdom, are evidently dictated by the same corporation spirit which enacted the by-law of Sheffield. The silk weavers in London had scarce been incorporated a year when they enacted a by-law restraining any master from having more than two apprentices at a time. It required a particular act of Parliament to rescind this by-law. . . .

By the 5th of Elizabeth, commonly called the Statute of Apprenticeship, it was enacted that no persons should for the future exercise any trade, craft, or mystery at the time exercised in England, unless he had previously served to it an apprenticeship of seven years at least; and what before had been the by-law of many particular corporations became in England the general public law of all the trades carried on in the market towns. For, though the words of the statute are very general and plainly seem to include the whole kingdom, by interpretation its operation has been limited to market towns, it having been held that in country villages a person may exercise several different trades, though he has not served a seven years' apprenticeship to each, they being necessary for the conveniency of the inhabitants, and the number of people frequently not being sufficient to supply each with a particular set of hands.

By a strict interpretation of the words too, the operation of this statute has been limited to those trades which were established in England before the 5th of Elizabeth and has never been extended to such as have been introduced since that time. This limitation has given occasion to several distinctions which, considered as rules of police, appear as foolish as can be imagined. It has been adjudged, for example, that a coach maker can neither himself make nor employ journeyman to make his coach wheels, but must buy them of a master wheelwright, this latter trade having been exercised in England before the 5th of Elizabeth. But a wheelwright, though he has never served an apprenticeship to a coach maker, may either make them himself or employ journeymen to make coaches, the trade of a coach maker not being within the statute because not exercised in England at the time when it was made. The manufactures of Manchester, Birmingham, and Wolverhampton are, many of them, upon this account not within the statute, not having been exercised in England before the 5th of Elizabeth.

In France the duration of apprenticeship is different in different towns and in different trades. In Paris five years is the term required in a great number; but before any person can be qualified to exercise the trade as a master he must in many of them serve five years more as a journeyman. During this latter term he is called the companion of his master and the term is called companionship. . . .

The property which every man has in his own labor, as it is the original foundation of all other property, so it is the most sacred and inviolable. The patrimony of a poor man lies in the strength and dexterity of his hands; and to hinder him from employing his strength and dexterity in what manner he thinks proper without injury to his neighbor is a plain violation of this most sacred property. It is a manifest encroachment upon the just liberty both of the workman and of those who might be disposed to employ him. As it hinders the one from working at what he thinks proper, so it hinders the others from employing whom they think proper. To judge whether he is fit to be employed may surely be trusted to the discretion of the employers whose interest it so much concerns.

The affected anxiety of the lawgiver lest they should employ an improper person is evidently as impertinent as it is oppressive.

Long apprenticeships are altogether unnecessary. The arts which are much superior to common trades, such as those of making clocks and watches, contain no such mystery as to require a long course of instruction. The first invention of such beautiful machines, indeed, and even that of some of the instruments employed in making them, have been the work of deep thought and long time, and may justly be considered as among the happiest efforts of human ingenuity. But when both have been fairly invented and are well understood, to explain to any young man in the completest manner how to apply the instruments and how to construct the machines cannot well require more than the lessons of a few weeks—perhaps those of a few days might be sufficient. In the common mechanic trade those of a few days might certainly be sufficient. The dexterity of hands indeed even in common trades cannot be acquired without much practice and experience. But a young man would practice with much more diligence and attention if from the beginning he wrought as a journeyman, being paid in proportion to the little work which he could execute and paying in his turn for the materials which he might sometimes spoil through awkwardness and inexperience. His education would generally in this way be more effectual and always less tedious and expensive.

The master indeed would be a loser. He would lose all the wages of the apprentice which he now saves for seven years together. In the end perhaps the apprentice himself would be the loser. In a trade so easily learnt he would have more competitors and his wages when he came to be a complete workman would be less than at present. The same increase in competition would reduce the profits of the masters as well as the wages of the workmen. The trades, the crafts, the mysteries would all be losers. But the public would be a gainer, the work of all artificers coming in this way much cheaper to the market.

Source: Smith, Adam. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776.

9. The Economics of the American Revolution, 1775

Between 1700 and 1775, the number of Europeans in the American colonies had grown to 2,500,000, an increase of 1,000 percent. In 1775, there was one American colonist for every three inhabitants of Britain, an increase from one for eight at the turn of the century, and many of these were either not English-born, nor even of English descent. In short, the American colonies had grown and changed tremendously in the decades before they declared independence from Great Britain in 1776.

The growing size and importance of the colonies gave them the confidence to assert their independence, but the trade with England and other nations that was crucial to America's economic success would be largely cut off by a war for independence. The following selection, from a 1775 resolution by the Pennsylvania Convention, anticipates the economic problems and needs likely to result from the American Revolution, and encourages preparations to compensate. Specialized manufactured goods were often imported to the colonies,

and raw materials such as whale oil, tobacco, indigo, and rice, among other items, were primary exports. It was seen as important not only for the potential future of the fledgling nation to be less reliant on trade to acquire certain goods, but also crucial for the potential war effort. In this context, the desire for the colonies to create self-sufficiency in a great many commodities expressed in this document of the Revolutionary period makes good sense both militarily and economically, but it also reveals how dependent on trade the colonies were, even in Philadelphia, the largest city in the colonies.

Many of the items mentioned have specific military purposes: from the obvious need for iron, steel, and gunpowder for weaponry; to sheep, dyes, and wool combs to make more cloth for blankets and uniforms; to hemp for rope, flax for sails, and copper sheathing for ship bottoms. Not only goods with direct military uses were encouraged but also salt, glass, paper, millstones, printing type, and even beer were included. Even in a revolution, daily life has to go on.

PENNSYLVANIA CONVENTION

Proceedings of the Convention for the Province of Pennsylvania, held at Philadelphia, January 23, 1775, and continued by adjournments until the 28th. [...]

Resolved unanimously, That it is the most earnest wish and desire of this Convention to see harmony restored between great Britain and the Colonies; that we will exert our utmost endeavours for the attainment of that most desirable object; that it is the opinion of this body that the commercial opposition pointed out by the Continental Congress, if faithfully adhered to, will be the means of rescuing this unhappy country from the evils meditated against it. But if the humble and loyal Petition of said Congress to his most gracious Majesty, should be disregarded, and the British Administration, instead of redressing our grievances, should determine, by force, to effect a submission to the late arbitrary acts of the British Parliament; in such a situation we hold it our indispensable duty to resist such force, and at every hazard to defend the Rights and Liberties of America.

Whereas, it has been judged necessary, for the preservation of our just Rights and Liberties, to lay a restraint on our Importations; and as the freedom, happiness, and prosperity of a state greatly depend on providing within itself a supply of necessary articles necessary for subsistence, clothing, and defence, a regard for our country, as well as common prudence, call upon us to encourage Agriculture, Manufactures, and Economy; therefore, this Convention do resolve as follows:

Resolved unanimously, That from and after the first day of March next, no person or persons should use in his, her, or their families, unless in cases of necessity, and no account sell to the Butchers, or kill for the market, any Sheep under four years old; and where there is a necessity for using any Mutton in their families, it is recommended to kill such as are the least profitable to keep.

Resolved unanimously, That we recommend the setting up of Woollen Manufactures in as many different branches as possible, especially Coating, Flannel, Blankets, Rugs or Coverlids, Hosiery, and Coarse Cloths, both broad and narrow. [...]

Resolved unanimously, That each person having proper land should raise a quantity of Flax and Hemp, sufficient not only for the use of his own family, but also to spare to others on moderate terms; and that it be recommended to the Farmers to provide

themselves with a sufficient quantity of Seed, for the proposed increase of the above articles of Hemp and Flax.

Resolved unanimously, As Salt is a daily and almost indispensable necessity of life, and the making of it among ourselves must be esteemed a valuable acquisition, we therefore recommend the making of it in the manner used in England and other countries; and are of the opinion it may be done with success in the interior part of the Province, where there are Salt springs, as well as on the sea-coast.

Resolved unanimously, That Saltpetre being an article of great use and consumption, we recommend the making of it, and are a farther opinion that it may be done to great advantage.

Resolved unanimously, That the necessity we maybe under for Gunpowder, especially in the Indian trade, induces us to recommend the manufacturing of that article as largely as possible, by such persons who are or may be owners of Powder Mills in this Province.

Resolved unanimously, That we recommend the manufacturing of Iron into Nails and Wire, and all other articles necessary for carrying on our Manufactures, evidently in general use, and which, of consequence, should our unhappy differences continue, will be in great demand.

Resolved unanimously, that we are of opinion the making of Steel ought to be largely prosecuted, as the demand for this article will be great.

Resolved unanimously, That we recommend the making of different kinds of Paper now in use among us, to the several Manufactures; and as the success of this branch depends on a supply of old Linen and Woollen Rags, request the people of this Province, in their respective houses, may order the necessary steps to be taken for preserving these otherwise useless articles.

Resolved unanimously, That as the consumption of Glass is greater than the Glass-Houses now established among us can supply, we recommend the setting up of other Glass-Houses, and are of the opinion they would turn out to the advantage of the proprietors.

Resolved unanimously, That whereas Wool Combs and Cards have for some time been manufactured in some of the neighboring Colonies, and are absolutely necessary for carrying on the Hosiery and Clothing business, we do recommend the establishment of such a Manufactory in this Province.

Resolved unanimously, That we also recommend the manufacturing of copper into Sheets, Bottoms, and Kettles.

Resolved unanimously, That we recommend the making of Tin Plates, as an article worthy of the attention of the people of this Province.

Resolved unanimously, That as Printing Types are now made to a considerable degree of perfection by an ingenious artist in Germantown, it is recommended to the printers to use such Types in preference to any which may hereafter be imported.

Resolved unanimously, That recommend the erecting a great number of Fulling-mills, and Mills for breaking, singling, and softening Hemp and Flax, and also the making of Grindstones in this country.

Resolved unanimously, that as the brewing of large quantities of Malt Liquors within this Province, would tend to render the consumption of Foreign Liquors less necessary,

it is therefore recommended that proper attention be given to the cultivation of Barley; and that the several Brewers, both in City and Country, do encourage it by giving a reasonable and sufficient price for the same.

Resolved unanimously, That we do recommend to all the inhabitants of this Province, and do promise for ourselves in particular, to use our own Manufactures, and those of other Colonies, in preference to all others.

Resolved unanimously, That for the more speedily and effectually putting these Resolves in execution, we do earnestly recommend Societies be established in different parts, and are of the opinion that Premiums ought to be granted in the several Counties, to persons who may excel in the several branches of manufactory; and we do further engage, that we, in our separate Committees, will promote them to the utmost of our power.

Resolved unanimously, That if any Manufacturer or Vendor of Goods and Merchandises in this Province, shall take advantage of the necessities of his country, by selling his Goods or Merchandise at an unusual and extravagant profit, such person shall be considered enemy to his country, and be advertised as such by the Committees of the place where the offender dwells. [...]

Ordered, That the Proceedings of this Convention be sent to the Press and printed in English and German, under the direction of the President and Messrs. Jonathan B. Smith and John Benezet.

Source: Force, Peter, ed. *American Archives: Containing a Documentary History of the English Colonies of North America from the King's Message to Parliament of March 4, 1774, to the Declaration of Independence by the United States*. Volume 1. Washington, D.C., 1837.

10. In Search of Gold in California, 1849

The territory that is today California only became part of the United States in 1848. Mexico ceded it to the United States after the Mexican-American War. That same year, gold was discovered in northern California at a place called Sutter's Mill. Wild stories of chunks of gold lying on the ground waiting to be picked up filled many with dreams of easy riches, and they flocked to the West in droves.

Alonzo Delano was just a man like thousands of others who, enticed by the promise of gold, made the trek to California in 1849 to become miners, or forty-niners. His account gives a vivid description of the difficulties of the journey and the men and animals that did not make it across the plains and mountains. In 1849, almost 100,000 people started the journey to California from the eastern United States or other countries, including China, Australia, and Latin America, with tens of thousands taking the overland route like Delano. By 1855, an estimated 300,000 people had immigrated to California, compared to a population of 15,000 non-Native Americans before gold was discovered.

Delano makes virtually no mention of the inhabitants of the land who were there before the settlers, only indicating that there was some danger of attack. The rapid growth and chaotic, almost mob mentality of the miners in establishing towns and claims shows an attitude that sees the natural environment as a landscape to be exploited for wealth and has little regard for those who were there before them.

The economic consequences of the gold rush were enormous. The value of the gold taken out of the ground gave Californians the wealth to buy many things, the waves of

settlers and fortune-seekers demanded goods and services, and within two years California became a state. The influx of immigrants seeking gold laid the basis for the development of transportation systems, the growth of the agricultural economy, and the immense future prosperity of the state: California's economy is now the seventh largest in the world. The gold alone could not have begun this transformation—the people who migrated were the real catalyst. Without the influx of the many forty-niners like Alonzo Delano, California could not have become, for good or ill, what it is today.

Our general rendezvous was to be at St. Joseph, on the Missouri, from which we intended to take our departure. I had engaged men, purchased cattle and a wagon, and subsequently laid in my supplies for the trip, at St. Louis. My wagon I shipped by water to St. Joseph, and sent my cattle across the country about the middle of March, [1849] to meet me at the place of rendezvous, in April. . . .

[May 21.] Our desire to be upon the road induced us to be stirring early, and we were moving as soon as our cattle had eaten their fill, when a drive of a mile placed us upon the great thoroughfare of the gold seekers.

For miles, to the extent of vision, an animated mass of beings broke upon our view. Long trains of wagons with their white covers were moving slowly along, a multitude of horsemen were prancing on the road, companies of men were traveling on foot, and although the scene was not a gorgeous one, yet the display of banners from many wagons, and the multitude of armed men, looked as if a mighty army was on its march; and in a few moments we took our station in the line, a component part of the motley throng of gold seekers, who were leaving home and friends far behind, to encounter the peril of mountain and plain. . . .

[June 29.] On leaving the Missouri, nearly every train was an organized company, with general regulations for mutual safety, and with a captain chosen by themselves, as a nominal head. On reaching the South Pass, we found that the great majority had either divided, or broken up entirely, making independent and helter-skelter marches towards California. . . .

[August 10.] Reports began to reach us of hard roads ahead; that that there was no grass at the Sink, or place where the river disappears in the sands of the desert, and that from that place a desert of sand, with water but once in forty-five miles, had to be crossed. In our worn-out condition this looked discouraging, and it was with a kind of dread that we looked to the passage of the sandy plain. At the same time and indefinite tale was circulated among the emigrants, that a new road had been discovered, by which the Sacramento might be reached in a shorter distance, avoiding altogether the dreaded desert; and that there was plenty of grass and water on the route. . . .

[August 11.] . . . There were a great many men daily passing, who, having worn down their cattle and mules, had abandoned their wagons, and were trying to get through as they might; but their woe-begone countenances and meagre accoutrements for such a journey, with want and excessive labor staring them in the face, excited our pity, wretched as we felt ourselves. Our own cattle had been prudently driven, and were still in good condition to perform the journey. Although our stock of provisions was getting low, we felt that under any circumstances we could get through, and notwithstanding we felt anxious, we were not discouraged. . . .

[August 15.]...It was decided, finally, that we would go the northern route, although some of our company had misgivings. The younger portion being fond of adventure, were loud in favor of the road....

[August 16.]...Beyond us, far as we could see, was a barren waste, without a blade of grass or a drop of water for thirty miles at least. Instead of avoiding the desert, instead of the promised water, grass, and a better road, we were in fact upon a more dreary and wider waste, without either grass or water, and with a harder road before us....

[August 17.] As I walked on slowly and with effort, I encountered a great many animals, perishing for want of food and water, on the desert plain. Some would be just gasping for breath, others unable to stand, would issue low moans as I came up, in a most distressing manner, showing intense agony; and still others, unable to walk, seemed to brace themselves up on their legs to prevent falling, while here and there a poor ox, or horse, just able to drag himself along, would stagger towards me with a low sound, as if begging for a drop of water. My sympathies were excited at their sufferings, yet, instead of offering them aid, I was a subject for relief myself.

High above the plain, in the direction of our road, a black, bare mountain reared its head, at the distance of fifteen miles; and ten miles this side of the plains was flat, composed of baked earth, without a sign of vegetation, and in many places covered with crustations of salt. Pits had been sunk in moist places, but the water was salt as brine, and utterly useless....

The train had passed me in the night, and our cattle traveled steadily without faltering, reaching the spring about nine o'clock in the morning, after traveling nearly forty hours without food or water. If ever a cup of coffee and slice of bacon was relished by man, it was by me that morning, on arriving at the encampment a little after ten.

We found this to be an oasis in the desert. A large hot spring, nearly three rods [fifty feet] in diameter, and very deep, irrigated about twenty acres of ground—the water cooling as it ran off....

[August 20.]...Through the day there was a constant arrival of wagons, and by night there were several hundred men together; yet we learned by a mule train that at least one hundred and fifty wagons had turned back to the first spring west of the Humboldt, on learning the dangers of crossing the desert, taking wisely the old road again. This change of route, however, did not continue long, and the rear trains, comprising a large portion of the emigration, took our route, and suffered even worse than we did. It was resolved that several trains should always travel within supporting distance of each other, so that in case of an attack from the Indians, a sufficient body of men should be together to protect themselves.... Reports again reached us corroborating the great loss of cattle on the desert beyond the Sink. The road was filled with dead animals, and the offensive effluvia had produced much sickness; but shortly afterward, our own portion of the desert presented the same catastrophe, and the road was lined with the dead bodies of worn out and starved animals, and their debilitated masters, in many cases, were left to struggle on foot, combating hunger, thirst and fatigue, in a desperate exertion to get through....

[September 17.]...Ascending to the top of an inclined plain, the long-sought, long-wished-for and welcome valley of the Sacramento, lay before me, five or six miles distant....

In May, 1850, a report reached the settlements that a wonderful lake had been discovered, an hundred miles back among the mountains, towards the head of the Middle Fork of Feather river, the shores of which abounded with gold, and to such an extent that it lay like pebbles on the beach. An extraordinary ferment among the people ensued, and a grand rush was made from the towns, in search of this splendid El Dorado. Stores were left to take care of themselves, business of all kinds was dropped, mules were suddenly bought up at exorbitant prices, and crowds started off to search for the golden lake.

Days passed away, when at length adventurers began to return, with disappointed looks, and their worn out and dilapidated garments showed that they had “seen some service,” and it proved that, though several lakes had been discovered, the Gold Lake *par excellence* was not found. The mountains swarmed with men, exhausted and worn out with toil and hunger; mules were starved, or killed by falling from precipices. Still the search was continued over snow forty or fifty feet deep, till the highest ridge of the Sierra was passed, when the disappointed crowds began to return, without getting a glimpse of the grand *desideratum*, having had their labor for their pains. Yet this sally was not without some practical and beneficial results. The country was more perfectly explored, some rich diggings were found, and, as usual, a few among the many were benefited. A new field for enterprise was opened, and within a month, roads were made and traversed by wagons, trading posts were established, and a new mining country was opened, which really proved in the main to be rich, and had it not been for the gold-lake fever, it might have remained many months undiscovered and unoccupied. . . .

From the mouth of Nelson’s Creek to its source, men were at work in digging. Sometimes the stream was turned from its bed, and the channel worked; in other places, wing dams were thrown out, and the bed partially worked; while in some, the banks only were dug. Some of these, as is the case everywhere in the mines, paid well, some, fair wages, while many were failures. One evening, while waiting for my second supply of goods, I strolled by a deserted camp. I was attracted to the ruins of a shanty, by observing the effigy of a man standing upright in an old, torn shirt, a pair of ragged pantaloons, and boots which looked as if they had been clambering over rocks since they were made—in short, the image represented a lean, meager, worn-out and woe-begone miner, such as might daily be seen at almost every point in the upper mines. On the shirt was inscribed, in a good business hand, “My claim failed—will you pay the taxes?” (an allusion to the tax on foreigners.) Appended to the figure was a paper, bearing the following words: “Californians—Oh, Californians, look at me! Once fat and saucy as a privateersman, but now—look ye—a miserable skeleton. In a word, I am a used up man. . . .”

Ludicrous as it may appear, it was a truthful commentary on the efforts of hundreds of poor fellows in the “golden land.” This company had penetrated the mountain snows with infinite labor, in the early part of the season, enduring hardships of no ordinary character—had patiently toiled for weeks, living on the coarsest fare; had spent time and money building a dam and digging a race through rocks to drain off the water; endured wet and cold, in the chilling atmosphere of the country, and when the last stone was turned, at the very close of all this labor, they did not find a single cent to reward them for their toil and privations, and what was still more aggravating, a small, wing dam, on the very claim below them, yielded several thousand dollars. Having paid out

their money, and lost their labor, they were compelled to abandon the claim, and search for other diggings, where the result might be precisely the same. . . .

The population of Independence represented almost every State in the Union, while France, England, Ireland, Germany, and even Bohemia, had their delegates. As soon as breakfast was dispatched, all hands were engaged in digging and washing gold in the banks, or in the bed of the stream. When evening came, large fires were built, around which the miners congregated, some engrossed with thoughts of home and friends, some to talk of new discoveries, and richer diggings somewhere else; or, sometimes a subject of debate was started, and the evening was whiled away in pleasant, and often instructive, discussion, while many, for whom this kind of recreation had not excitement enough, resorted to dealing monte, on a small scale, thus either exciting or keeping up a passion for play. Some weeks were passed in this way under the clear blue sky of the mountains, and many had made respectable piles. I highly enjoyed the wild scenery, and, quite as, the wild life we were leading, for there were many accomplished and intelligent men; and a subject for amusement or debate was rarely wanting. As for ceremony or dress, it gave us no trouble: we were all alike. . . . At length a monte dealer arrived, with a respectable bank.

A change had been gradually coming over many of our people, and for three or four days several industrious men had commenced drinking, and after the monte bank was set up, it seemed as if the long smothered fire burst forth into a flame. Labor, with few exceptions, seemed suspended, and a great many miners spent their time in riot and debauchery. . . . The monte dealer, who, in his way was a gentleman, and honorable according to the notions of that class of men, won in two nights three thousand dollars! When he had collected his taxes on our bar, he went to Onion Valley, six miles distant, and lost in one night four thousand, exemplifying the fact, that a gambler may be rich to-day, and a beggar to-morrow. . . .

Source: Delano, Alonzo. *Life on the Plains and Among the Diggings: Being Scenes and Adventures of an Over-land Journey to California: With Particular Incidents of the Route, Mistakes, and Sufferings of the Emigrants, the Indian Tribes, the Present and the Future of the Great West*. Auburn, NY: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1854.

11. A Georgia Slave Auction, 1859

This excerpt, taken from Horace Greeley's New York Tribune, an extremely popular anti-slavery newspaper, describes in precise and ironic detail the carnival atmosphere of a large slave auction in Savannah, Georgia, in 1859. Slavery had been legal in all the English colonies that became the United States, but was outlawed by the northern states in the early National period. Sectionalist tensions would finally lead to the secession of southern states and the American Civil War from 1861 to 1865, the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, and the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, which abolished slavery in the United States.

As repugnant at it seems today, slavery had been an important part of life in many countries besides the United States. England outlawed the slave trade in 1807 and slavery throughout its empire in 1833. Non-racial slavery was also practiced in the modern world, but it too died out as a legal institution. The Russian Empire emancipated its serfs about

the same time as the United States, in 1861, but slavery remained a part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire until it was dissolved after the First World War in 1919.

While the political and cultural motives and consequences of racial slavery are deep-seated, and throughout the modern era a variety of arguments were offered justifying the continued ownership of one human by another, the underlying motivation for slavery can be seen as principally economic: the owner of a slave obtains the value of the slave's labor without having to pay wages. Economists have documented the significant economic advantages of slave ownership and slavery as an institution in the antebellum American South. There is no doubt that slave labor was valuable, as the prices mentioned in this article reveal.

The injustice of the institution of slavery is on full display in this article. The excitement and bustle of the white slave traders, who fill the hotels and places of entertainment with energy and anticipation, is in sharp contrast to the slaves themselves, one of whom is described as begging a buyer to purchase him and his family to keep them together, or parading themselves to demonstrate their physical fitness or attributes. The men and women for sale are inspected, made to run, and have their teeth checked like livestock. While this article was written to encourage its audience to support the abolition of slavery in a society that still allowed it, the affect on a contemporary audience, long after slavery has ceased, is still dramatic.

The largest sale of human chattels that has ever been made in Star-Spangled America for several years took place on Wednesday and Thursday of last week, at the Race Course near the City of Savannah, Georgia. The lot consisted of four hundred and thirty-six men, women, children and infants, being that half of the negro stock remaining on the old Major Butler plantations which fell to one of the two heirs to that estate....

The sale had been advertised largely for many weeks, and as the negroes were known to be a choice lot and very desirable property, the attendance of buyers was large. The breaking up of an old family estate is so uncommon an occurrence that the affair was regarded with unusual interest throughout the South. For several days before the sale every hotel in Savannah was crowded with negro speculators from North and South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana, who had been attracted hither by the prospects of making good bargains. Nothing was heard for days, in the bar-rooms and public rooms but talk of the great sale, criticisms of the business affairs of Mr. Butler, and speculations as to the probable prices the stock would bring. The office of Joseph Bryan the negro broker who had the management of the sale, was thronged every day by eager inquirers in search of information, and by some who were anxious to buy, but were uncertain as to whether their securities would prove acceptable. Little parties were made up from the various hotels every day to visit the Race-Course, distant some three miles from the city, to look over the chattels, discuss their points, and make memoranda for guidance on the day of sale. The buyers were generally of a rough breed, slangy, profane and bearish, being for the most part, from the back river and swamp plantations, where the elegancies of polite life had not perhaps developed to their fullest extent [...]

The following curiously sad scene is the type of a score of others that were enacted:

"Elisha," chattel No. 5 in the catalogue, had taken a fancy to a benevolent looking middle-aged gentleman, who was inspecting the stock, and thus used his powers of

persuasion to induce the benevolent man to purchase him, with his wife, boy and girl, Molly, Israel and Sevanda, chattels Nos. 6, 7, and 8. The earnestness with which the poor fellow pressed his suit, knowing, as he did, that perhaps the happiness of his whole life depended on his success, was interesting, and the arguments he used were most pathetic. He made no appeal to the feelings of the buyer; he rested no hope on his charity and kindness, but only strove to show how well worth his dollars were the bone and blood he was entreating him to buy.

"Look at me, Mas'r; am prime rice planter; sho' you won't find a better man den me; no better on de whole plantation; not a bit old yet; do mo' work den ever; do carpenter wook, too, little; better buy me, Mas'r; I'se be good sarvant, Mas'r. Molly, too, my wife, Sa, fus rate rice hand; mos as good as me. Stan' out yer, Molly, and let the gen'lm'n see."

Molly advances, with her hands crossed on her bosom, and makes a quick short curtsy, and stands mute, looking appealingly in the benevolent man's face. But Elisha talks all the faster.

"Show mas'r yer arm Molly—good arm dat mas'r—she do a heap of work mo' with dat arm yet. Let good mas'r see yer teeth Molly—see dat mas'r, teeth all regular, all good—she'm young gal yet. Come out yer Israel, walk aroun' an' let the gen'lm'n see how spry you be"—

Then, pointing to the three-year-old girl who stood with her chubby hand to her mouth, holding on to her mother's dress, and uncertain what to make of the strange scene.

"Little Vardy's on'y a chile yet; make prime gal by-and-by. Better buy us mas'r, we'm fus' rate bargain"—and so on. But the benevolent man found where he could drive a closer bargain, and so bought somebody else. . . .

Mr. Walsh mounted the stand and announced the terms of the sale, "one-third cash, the remainder payable in two equal annual installments, bearing interest from the day of the sale, to be secured by approved mortgage and personal security, or approved acceptances on Savannah, Ga., or Charleston, S.C. Purchasers to pay for papers." The buyers, who were present to the number of about two hundred, clustered around the platform; while the negroes, who were not likely to be immediately wanted, gathered into sad groups in the background to watch the progress of the selling in which they were so sorrowfully interested. The wind howled outside, and through the open side of the building the driving rain came pouring in; the bar downstairs ceased for a short time its brisk trade; the buyers lit fresh cigars, got ready their catalogues and pencils, and the first lot of human chattels are led upon the stand, not by a white man, but by a sleek mulatto, himself a slave, and who seems to regard the selling of his brethren, in which he so glibly assists, as a capital joke. It had been announced that the negroes would be sold in "families," that is to say, a man would not be parted from his wife, or a mother from a very young child. There is perhaps as much policy as humanity in this arrangement, for thereby many aged and unserviceable people are disposed of, who otherwise would not find a ready sale. [...]

The expression on the faces of all who stepped on the block was always the same, and told of more anguish than it is in the power of words to express. Blighted homes, crushed hopes and broken hearts was the sad story to be read in all the anxious faces.

Some of them regarded the sale with perfect indifference, never making a motion save to turn from one side to the other at the word of the dapper Mr. Bryan, that all the crowd might have a fair view of their proportions, and then, when the sale was accomplished, stepping down from the block without caring to cast even a look at the buyer, who now held all their happiness in his hands. Others, again, strained their eyes with eager glances from one buyer to another as the bidding went on, trying with earnest attention to follow the rapid voice of the auctioneer. Sometimes, two persons only would be bidding for the same chattel, all the others having resigned the contest, and then the poor creature on the block, conceiving an instantaneous preference for one of the buyers over the other, would regard the rivalry with the intensest interest, the expression of his face changing with every bid, settling into a half smile of joy if the favorite buyer persevered unto the end and secured the property, and settling down into a look of hopeless despair if the other won the victory. . . .

The auctioneer brought up Joshua's Molly and family. He announced that Molly insisted that she was lame in her left foot, and perversely would walk lame, although, for his part, he did not believe a word of it. He had caused her to be examined by an eminent physician in Savannah, which medical light had declared that Joshua's Molly was not lame, but was only shamming. However, the gentlemen must judge for themselves and bid accordingly. So Molly was put through her paces, and compelled to trot up and down along the stage, to go up and down the steps, and to exercise her feet in various ways, but always with the same result, the left foot *would* be lame. She was finally sold for \$695 [about \$18,000 today].

Whether she really was lame or not, no one knows but herself, but it must be remembered that to a slave a lameness, or anything that decreases his market value, is a thing to be rejoiced over. A man in the prime of life, worth \$1,600 or thereabouts [over \$42,000 today], can have little hope of ever being able, by any little savings of his own, to purchase his liberty. But, let him have a rupture, or lose a limb, or sustain any other injury that renders him of much less service to his owner, and reduces his value to \$300 or \$400, and he may hope to accumulate that sum, and eventually to purchase his liberty. Freedom without health is infinitely sweeter than health without freedom.

And so the great sale went on for two long days, during which time there were sold 429 men, women and children. There were 436 announced to be sold, but a few were detained on the plantations by sickness. . . .

The total amount of the sale foots up \$303,850—the proceeds of the first day being \$161,480, and of the second day \$142,370. . . .

Source: "A Slave Auction," *New York Daily Tribune*, March 9, 1859.

12. Tea for Two: The Anglo-Chinese Tea Trade

Tea was first imported to Europe in the seventeenth century, and had become a staple drink in England by 1750. Like coffee, tobacco, cotton, sugar, and other products, tea was imported to Europe on a large scale. China, where much of the tea drunk in England was grown, had

strongly resisted allowing Europeans access to the interior. Although China exported much tea, porcelain, silk, and other products from 1757 to 1842, they carefully regulated this trade through the Canton system, by which the Chinese funneled all official trade through the port of Canton (Guangzhou), which by 1800 was the third largest city in the world. European nations also controlled the trade through powerful chartered monopoly trading companies, like the British East India Company, which had a larger army and navy than the United States.

Hoping to offset the balance of trade that was favorable to the Chinese, the British began illegally importing large quantities of cheaply produced Indian opium, and the resulting addiction of a significant part of the Chinese population made it easier to gain greater influence and control. The monopoly system ended on both sides in 1842 after the Chinese defeat by Britain in the first Opium War, which opened more Chinese ports and allowed more British companies to trade.

William Melrose, a Scotsman whose family was in the tea trade, spent a decade in Canton trading in tea starting in 1845. Melrose's letters demonstrate his knowledge of the tea trade and the many economic factors that would go into his decisions, including the cost and quality of the tea, its quantity, the exchange rate for the notes he used to pay for the tea, the shipping cost, the supplies of various teas shipped to Britain, the demand and prices of the British tea markets, and other factors.

Melrose's letters are not all facts and figures. He offers a view of trade that is in some ways akin to debates on trade today. There is a justifiable fear, especially on the part of the Chinese, that the increased trade will bring not only wealth—exports to the West were very profitable for the Chinese, but also undesirable foreign influences and negative consequences. A business trip from Canton to Shanghai could be a risky proposition, stemming from the hostility of the Chinese populace.

Nonetheless, the scale of the trade created sophisticated international structures to regulate and facilitate the commerce in tea and other goods flowing through Chinese ports. The system of regulated trade developed by the English and Chinese in the nineteenth century is indicative of the new patterns of international commerce that would dominate much of the modern world, bringing with it liberated market forces, complex international banking systems, and improving transportation and communication systems. The trading networks helped create the colonial issues that plague much of the developing world today, but these networks also created the economic basis for modern national and international economies.

William to Mr. Simpson

Canton, 21 July 1851

I have yours of 17th and 21st May. I started for this place soon after I dispatched your last month's letters from Macao but have done nothing yet. The market is not open here yet, that is, properly opened. [...]

At Shanghai they are going ahead, 71 chops [groups of chests of the same type and quality] by last advice settled from Tls 15 to 211/2 [Tls means Taels per picul, taels were units of Chinese currency equal to one ounce of silver and piculs units of weight equal to 133 pounds]. I have seen some samples; the high priced appear to me very dear, nothing but tarry Pekoe flavour, not nearly so good as ours per Aden to Liverpool and far more tarry. I do not think they have any fine [tea] up there this year, but I will see samples and prices tomorrow and will be able to tell you more about it. I hear some of the Congous they shipped from there last year were awful trash. If low [grade] Congous come down [in price] at home and any of that low stuff get in after it, it will leave a balance on the

wrong side. A good many people have gone up from here to Shanghai this year and a great many ships. They must have made good profits last year which is sending them all up there and it must have all been made on low [grade] Congou. [...]

There are very few fine chops of Congou this year, not over a dozen, a few second class and all the rest are as tarry as you could wish. If you hold the Souchongs they will come in very well yet. About 230 chops of Congou are down and nearly all tarry; and if those that are to come are as bad, and the chances are that they will be, a good two thirds of the Congou export will be tarry, say 25,000,000 pounds. Now one million or so of Souchong will hardly be known amongst it. Just think, every chop of Congou is nearly 600 to 800 chests and the most of those tarry, some of them bitter with tar. What are a few chops of (150 to 200 chests) Souchong to mix with them! [...]

[The] exchange [rate] still keeps up, 4 s. 10 d. [4 shillings and 10 pence], and most are of the opinion that it is going higher. I notice what you say about selling the bills first in case exchange may rise after the teas are bought; but it is just six of one and half a dozen of the other because you may sell your bills first and then tea may get up, and it is more subject to fluctuation than exchange is. A tael on a Tls 16 Congou makes a difference of 6%, a thing which frequently takes place, and sometimes double that, say



J. C. Heard painting of an East Indian merchantman approaching Bombay, 1850. Courtesy of Photos.com.

12%. In exchange there is seldom that change in a month; besides you must remember the risk of keeping dollars here. The Bank won't take them and all you have to depend on is some secured Chinaman, generally safe certainly, but still accidents will happen; a fire may take place and the mob plunder your treasury and a row may take place and you have to cut your lucky and leave all. You seem to think business can be done here with as much ease and security as in London or Edinburgh.

As for travelling, you must think our accommodation in that respect beats all railways. In one of your last you told me that I should have gone to Shanghai to buy a few chops of Congou which were not to be had in Canton and were to be had there, and that I was not justified in not going, no more than you would be if you got an order for a hogshead of London porter and did not go to London to execute the order in the event of it not being available in Edinburgh. So you compare a voyage to Shanghai to a ride in a railway coach to London—a voyage of 800 miles along the most dangerous coast in the world where, if you do happen to be wrecked and escape drowning, you are sure at least of being killed. Read about the crews of the *Nerbudda* and *Ann* and others. Read the *China Mail* about six weeks back only, about the crew of the *Larpen* on her way to Shanghai—only two men saved out of the whole crew, although all escaped shipwreck to be shot in the water, or beheaded on shore. And this you compare to starting after a comfortable supper and bottle of ale with your head well wrapped up, all ready for a nap in a railway carriage with seats as soft as a feather bed.

I wonder they do not have steamers from Hong Kong to Shanghai. They have taken off the one that used to ply and no word of another to be put on. Surely they will have one soon; the opium trade itself would pay a steamer.

Source: Melrose, William. *William Melrose in China, 1845–1855: The Letters of a Scottish Tea Merchant*. Edited by Hoh-cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui. Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1973. Courtesy of the Scottish History Society.

13. “Refusenik” Soviet Jews and Emigration

The creation of the state of Israel in 1948 prompted perhaps the largest emigration of Jews in history. Many Jews living in Arab countries and regions, such as the North African coast, left for Israel; in Europe, many Jews who survived the Holocaust fled to Israel. Many Jews living within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), however, were not allowed to leave.

The history of Jews within the Russian and subsequent Soviet Empire has been a difficult one. The Russian Empire was no exception to the anti-Semitism that existed across Europe. Before the Russian Revolution of 1917, Jews were confined to a region called the Pale of Settlement, and only a certain number of Jews were given government permission to receive a higher education or live in capital cities. The Russians invented the word “pogrom,” which means a violent repression focused on an ethnic or religious group, especially Jews. After the Russian Revolution, despite the Soviet government’s claims to have established freedom of religion and ethnic equality in the USSR, Jews continued to be discriminated against and were often refused permission to leave.

The following documents include a report written by Soviet authorities explaining why permission to emigrate should be denied, a letter written by a Jew in the Ukraine, a republic of the USSR, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations (from whose hands it found its way to Soviet authorities), and a report on the problem of pro-emigration sentiment and the state's efforts to counteract it. The Soviet policy of refusing exit visas to Jews who wished to emigrate became an international issue in the 1960s and 1970s, with the term "refusenik" being coined to describe those who were not allowed to leave. A large number applied after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, and were refused.

Permission was often denied on the grounds that the émigré had at one time had access to sensitive or secret information, as is the case with Aleksandr Abramovich. In many cases, the information or technology possessed by would-be émigrés was insignificant, but still provided an excuse for repression. Simply applying to emigrate would often result in being dismissed from one's job and having other social and cultural pressures applied. The act of asking to leave the Soviet Union was a political and social taboo—even potentially a crime. Zionism itself was viewed as anti-Soviet; the Soviet Union viewed culture from the point of view of economic class, not an ethnic or religious one. Since the process took months, and applications at most points in time usually were refused, trying to emigrate was a serious risk. Yet thousands did so, even from the upper levels of society, as Kapto's report points out.

25 November 1967

Secret

To CPU CC [Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee]

Re No. 62/2662/01 of 6 November 1967

We hereby report that citizen Aleksandr Mikhailovich Abramovich—born in 1913, a native of the city of Novosibirsk, a Jew, citizen of the USSR, not a party member, in the past a CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] member (expelled from the party in 1959 for loss of membership card), married, in possession of a higher education, a lieutenant-colonel in the reserves—works as a construction engineer at the building material factory in Ivano-Frankovsk and lives in the city of Ivano-Frankovsk on 59 Moskovska Street, apartment no. 4. In the last three years he has been actively pursuing the goal of emigrating from the Soviet Union to Israel or to another capitalist country.

Abramovich's family is composed of four persons: Matelia Iankeleevna, wife, born in 1916 in the city of Liubash in the Minsk Oblast of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, a Jewess, works as a copy machine operator at the building material factory. Irina Aleksandrovna, daughter, born in 1939, a Moscow native, Jewess, has a technical high school education and works as a foreman at the research factory of the Scientific Research Institute of Computerized Control Equipment and lives in the city of Severo-Donetsk in the Lugansk Oblast. Elena Aleksandrovna Abramovich, born in 1948, a native of Donetsk, has a high school education and lives with her parents.

Citizen Abramovich graduated from the physics department of the University of Leningrad in 1937, after which he enlisted in the Soviet army and enrolled in the F.E. Dzerzhinskii Military Artillery Academy. After graduating he received the diploma of a military mechanical engineer of radio engineering and precision instruments.

During his entire service in the Soviet army, from 1937 to 1955, he was a lecturer on military instruments in military schools in the cities of Tula, Leningrad and Zhitomir. In addition, he worked in an industrial institute. This institute has a series of publications and patents in secret military technology of which he is the author.

Abramovich is anti-Soviet and has Zionist leanings. He calumniates Soviet reality, expresses treacherous views and is described by his colleagues as a chicaner and a slanderer.

In 1965, 1966 and 1967 Abramovich sent almost two and a half thousand complaints and appeals to party and Soviet organs, to CPSU CC and CPU CC members, to USSR and UkSSR [Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet [highest Soviet legislative body] members and to all the embassies in Moscow, in which he persistently pleaded to be given permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union. Lacking any grounds for emigrating from the Soviet Union to Israel, Abramovich presents his religious persuasions as his motive.

The Abramovich family is well-to-do. All the family members are working. They have a three-room flat and their own light motor vehicle.

Considering that Abramovich is of an anti-Soviet and nationalist disposition, is privy to military and economic secrets and may know of the location of highly classified installations on the territory of Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, the obkom [regional committee of the Communist Party] considers his emigration, together with family members, to be out of the question.

Reply to the author of the letter was submitted
Secretary, Ivano-Frankovsk Obkom
I. Mitiura
Kharkov, 11 May 1970

...

TO UN SECRETARY-GENERAL U THANT,
TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GREAT POWERS
AT THE FOUR-POWER MEETINGS ON THE MIDDLE EAST

I understand very well that at a time when the UN is powerless to solve the problems of entire peoples, an individual person has little hope of focusing attention on his fate, even if that fate is a reflection of some of the century's great events.

Compared to those who are dying in Indochina, starving in Eastern Nigeria or languishing in prisons in numerous countries around the world, there is no great tragedy in my life. I received a higher education and I have a job and a family. Why, in my situation, should I disturb the world's conscience?

I do not expect sympathy or help from those who think that it is sufficient to guarantee a person a minimum or maximum level of material well being. I turn to you in the hope that you share the conviction that the conscience, the national sentiment and the spiritual condition of a person, no less than his life and physical freedom, deserves the attention and protection of international organizations and world opinion. I am a Jew—not a member of the Russian intelligentsia nor a Soviet citizen of Jewish origin—but a Jew first and foremost. A Jew by birth and, to a considerable degree, by upbringing and on the basis of my world view as well. [...]

Since childhood I have felt completely void of national feeling when I think of Russia and Russian history....I am in Russia, this is Kharkov, Moscow...How did I come to be here? How was I born here? My paternal grandfather was born in Poland. My maternal grandfather was from Lithuania where they were merchants and rabbis, having originally come from Holland. I must continue on my way. My true motherland is already somewhere close by. Why are they detaining me?

I want to go to Israel. I have wanted to go there all my life, ever since I was 13 or 14, once I learned that we were Jews and that the country of Israel is our historic motherland. The conviction that we must return and revive our state was my first thought after learning of the catastrophe which befell us eighteen centuries ago and the consequent exile. There was no one around me who could have suggested such an idea, and I knew nothing about the existence of Zionism. In my mind there is no simpler or more natural idea. When the state of Israel was founded in 1948 I was 21 years old, my sole desire was to go there. [...]

I was imprisoned for ten years by a decision made in my absence by the Special Commission (a punitive organ in existence during the period of Stalin's personality cult). I was confined in special camps in Kolyma.

In 1956 I was released "due to the inexpediency of my further detention"—I was freed by a commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Before delivering the decision to release me, the chairman's final question to me was, "And what is your attitude now to the State of Israel?" I remarked that I would always remain faithful to the people and State of Israel. The conversation was recorded by a stenographer.

After the Six Day War, in 1968 I once again had an opportunity to confirm my allegiance to Israel in the presence of representatives of Soviet organs. In 1969 my request for an exit visa to Israel on the basis of an invitation by relatives was rejected.

I am turning to you in the hope that my yoke will be heard and that I shall be able to fulfill my life's desire. [...]

In conclusion, I want to say that my desire to leave for Israel is not in protest against Soviet life. I can affirm with all responsibility that neither in Russia nor in any other country of the world was there ever, nor could there ever be, a society for which I would be willing to reject Israel. For, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem..."

With respect,

Elfim Haim' Spivakovskii

Krasnoznamennaia St., No.16,

Block 1, Apt. 5, Kharkov, USSR

...

REPORT OF THE UKRAINE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL
COMMITTEE SECRETARY, O.S. KAPTO, ON INTENSIFICATION OF
THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ANTI-SOVIET ZIONIST PROPAGANDA
AND PREVENTING PRO-EMIGRATION ATTITUDES AMONG A
CERTAIN SECTOR OF THE REPUBLIC'S JEWISH POPULATION

A study of the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee's resolution "Measures for Further Exposure of the Reactionary Essence of International Zionism and Anti-Soviet Zionist Propaganda" and the relevant resolution of the CPU Central

Committee indicated that party committees in the republic have begun to deal more concretely with these issues and to address them more frequently at their meetings. Several organizational measures have been implemented. Commissions of the Central Committee and party obkoms that are concerned with foreign policy propaganda and the ideological struggle have begun operations. A sector has been established in the division of propaganda and agitation of the CPSU Central Committee that is entrusted with coordinating all counter-propaganda work. One official in the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of each party obkom is now specializing in problems of counter-propaganda.

In the Higher Party School of the CPU Central Committee two-year courses have been organized to train lecturers to speak on the struggle against bourgeois nationalism and Zionism. Groups of lecturers prepared to speak on this issue have been organized in the lecture sections of party obkoms and of gorkoms [city committees of the Communist Party], as well as under the auspices of the boards of the UkSSR Znanie [Knowledge] Society and its regional organizations. The training of members of these groups has been organized. An ongoing republic-wide seminar, Patriotic and internationalist education of the workers and an intensification of the struggle against international Zionism, has been established. The materials used in this seminar are being published in separate booklets for official use.

A division for a critique of the ideology and policy of bourgeois nationalism is operating at the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Social and Economic Studies of Foreign Countries. It has been resolved that from the start of the new academic year several institutes of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences and institutions of higher learning in the republic will offer graduate training to students that specialize in a critique of the ideology and policy of international Zionism.

There has been improvement in the coordination of the mass media efforts to expose subversive anti-Soviet propaganda. Republic newspapers and journals, as well as television and radio, are generating statements that address these issues on the basis of coordinated quarterly plans. Goskomizdat [Government publishing authority] has worked out a long-term plan for producing literature on the struggle against international Zionism.

At the same time, an analysis indicates that the assertiveness and, even more so, the effectiveness of counter-propaganda work remains low, and there are serious shortcomings in the way it is organized. [...]

The number of emigrants leaving for capitalist countries has grown in recent years. Whereas from 1970 to 1977 an average of 5,000 to 6,000 Jews left the republic annually—principally to Israel—in 1978 alone about 11,500 left. In the first half of the present year the number is close to 9,000. The greatest number of emigrants comes from the Kiev, Odessa, Chernovtsy, Transcarpathia and Lvov Oblasts: in 1978 a total of 12,500 persons left the republic, 10,500 of them coming from those areas. Over 9,000 of them went to Israel. The strongest pro-emigration sentiment is manifested by Jews employed in the spheres of commerce, consumer services, medicine, science, and culture.

In the past three years alone, 625 teachers have emigrated, including 280 from Odessa Oblast and 110 from Chernovtsy Oblast. In the past year-and-a-half over 100 applications for exit visas have been received from teachers in Odessa music schools.

In the past six years, 14 members of the UkSSR Artists Union, 40 workers of organizations supervised by the UkSSR Art Fund and eight workers of the Kiev Art Institute, including holders of Ph.D. degrees left the republic. In the past seven years, 82 persons who worked in the republic's film studios emigrated to Israel and other capitalist countries.

The number of persons leaving the country who work in the republic's medical institutes and medical institutions has increased. About 2,000 left between 1971 and July 1979; 425 left in the first six months of this year. Among those who emigrated were two persons with post-doctoral degrees, 27 with Ph.D.s, 790 with a higher education, 108 former members of the CPSU and 83 former Komsomol members. [...]

An organized effort to prepare individuals of Jewish nationality for departure abroad has been noted. They enroll in foreign language courses, acquire specialties that are in demand and so forth. For example, among the 565 individuals of Jewish nationality studying in the English division courses in Kiev, over 200 received invitations to leave for Israel or other capitalist countries. The majority of those attending do not need knowledge of a foreign language to fulfill work responsibilities. However, they present the relevant certification from their place of work, often signed by individuals who do not have the right to sign.

A. Kapto
CPU CC Secretary

Source: Khanin, Vladimir. *Documents on Ukrainian-Jewish Identity and Emigration, 1944–1990*. Copyright © 2002 Routledge/ATP. Reproduced by permission of Taylor & Francis Books UK.

Part IV

INTELLECTUAL LIFE

The intellectual aspect of daily life is both broad and vital to the human experience. Sometimes it is easy to look at the changes in the modern world and see first the material changes in technology and infrastructure, communications and computers. It is important to remember that the capacity to create all these things comes from the human mind. It is important to remember that ideas, while hard to see, have just as significant an impact on the daily lives of people as material things do.

The *modern* period witnessed the rise of new, very successful types of education at different levels, including mass public education and the evolution of the modern university. Frederick the Great's instructions (Document 1) and Amasa Moore's letters (Document 2) show both of these modern systems in their early stages. Education, though, is not synonymous with academic instruction. It includes schooling, but in its broader meaning it concerns the basic formation of a person's knowledge, as well as beliefs, customs, attitudes, conscience, and so forth. In this more general sense, education can be seen as one of the linchpins of intellectual life. J. Robert Oppenheimer (Document 7) and his fellow scientists' ability to build a nuclear weapon, Percy Bysshe Shelley's (Document 14) passionate defense of the value of poetry, and Edward Jenner's (Document 9) insights into how to prevent smallpox in millions: all of these documents reflect in their own way the educations of their respective authors.

The widespread application of the scientific method is a central part of the development of modern life. Science has proven to be a dominant intellectual paradigm and a powerful tool for creating and evaluating knowledge. Montesquieu's experiments (Document 4) with sheep tongues heralded the beginning of social sciences in the Enlightenment, and Samuel Wilson's positivism (Document 5) and Frederick Winslow Taylor's (Document 6) management systems show how flexible, dynamic, and pervasive scientific methodology has become in the modern world. Medicine's achievements are based largely on the application of science-based research to medical practices, from Jenner's promotions of the first reliable vaccines in the eighteenth century to the international fight against Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) in the twenty-first century.

In the world of art and literature, there have also been dramatic changes. If modern education, science, and medicine have helped shape ideas and institutions, so have the arts. The support of a wealthy patron has been displaced by the public exhibition

or museum as the primary locations for the consumption of art, and art itself has been through profound changes. In a similar way, expanding literacy has created mass audiences and transformed the scope and styles of literature. William Gilpin's (Document 18) theory of the picturesque shares the basic impulses of *Romanticism* with Shelley's defense of poetry and is a far cry from Kazimir Malevich's (Document 19) radical manifesto, but all of them seek to lead society to new ways of seeing, feeling, and understanding the everyday world around us, a task that artists and writers only consciously assumed in the modern period.

In fact, critical consciousness is another hallmark of modern intellectual life, as art and literature lead contemporary culture to continually question many of the ideas and institutions it has created. Vitaly Komar and Alex Melamid (Document 20) teaching elephants to paint questions the premises of modern art; Oppenheimer is deeply concerned about the uses of atomic science; David Crystal (Document 16) warns that the dominance of several globalizing languages threatens the loss of the thousands of unique viewpoints encoded in dying languages. All the fields of intellectual life—education, art, language, literature, science, and medicine—have changed radically in the modern period and developed unique modern institutions and forms, and no account of modern daily life is complete, or even possible, without them.

Education

Education is as old as humans, but it is not the same thing as formal instruction. The oldest educational institutions in the Western world are European universities, the oldest of which trace their origins to the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Before the modern era, primary and secondary education was the province of private tutors and religious institutions. Only in the eighteenth century did the idea of government-sponsored public education arise, and it did not become widespread for another 100 years. Even today, millions of children do not have the chance to go to school. In his instructions for education in eighteenth-century *Prussia*, the eastern German state around which modern-day Germany was formed in 1871, Frederick the Great (Document 1) offers a strict regimen for Prussian schools. Virtually every aspect of the school day, down to the smallest details, was spelled out in Frederick's regulations.

In Europe, public educational systems such as Frederick's were designed to train disciplined, informed citizens with the skills and knowledge to function in European societies. However, as Europeans spread to control large parts of Asia, Africa, and America they brought their education systems with them, along with the belief that they had an obligation not only to rule the peoples who lived in these places, but also to educate and civilize them. At the end of the nineteenth century, Mary Kingsley (Document 3) pointed out that what worked well and may have been appropriate to England, France, Germany, or the United States, did not necessarily fit so well in Africa, where education had historically been conducted in a much less formal way and created and sustained rich cultures—though cultures that were vastly different from those of Europe.

Amasa Moore's (Document 2) perspective is not that of an educator looking at the system from the outside, but of a student at a small American college who is seeing things from the inside. Less directly concerned with the merits of the educational

system than the practical needs of being a part of it, Moore offers a look at the many challenges facing a young college student seeking a higher education in the early years of the American nation.

Frederick the Great wanted to assure a basic level of moral and intellectual formation for all his subjects. Kingsley critiques the attempts of missionaries and other Europeans to inculcate European ideas in colonial subjects. Moore's higher education would induct him into a class of elites with privileged knowledge and skills that would set him apart from most of the population. Globally, less than one percent of people today have a college degree, so Moore's elite status still remains, although basic and higher academic education is far more widespread. This expansion of educational systems in the modern world has been one of the many changes in education in the last 300 years, as those systems both create and reflect the changing nature of everyday life in the modern world.

1. Origins of Public Education: Frederick the Great's Regulations for Prussian Schools

When most people think of education in the modern world, they think of government-sponsored public schools supported by taxes providing universal compulsory instruction. It strikes most people as reasonable that the education of the entire population is desirable and important enough to devote a significant amount of social resources to it and to delegate this responsibility to the state. This idea, however, is very much a modern notion. Before the modern era, most instruction below the collegiate level was the province of private tutors hired by wealthier families or was provided by clergy or other religious institutions. Literacy was unusual outside the upper classes.

Many of the changes in the modern world, such as the growth of centralized state power, the development of participatory government, new ideas about the nature of humans and their relationship to the world, and developing technological and demographic changes, made public education an increasingly appealing and attractive idea. Frederick the Great, king of the German state of Prussia from 1740 to 1786, was one of the first rulers to see the advantages of using the state's resources to create a well-trained and virtuous population. He established the first national system of public schools and wrote many of the regulations for their operation himself. The following selection is an excerpt from his instructions, issued in 1763, which strictly regimented and ordered the course of instruction. Much of the basic curricular content is still familiar today, including reading, writing, and arithmetic, with the addition of compulsory moral and religious education that was seen as at least as important as any other part of the curriculum.

In issuing these regulations that created the first system of compulsory public schools run by a government in Europe, Frederick laid the foundations, both in conceiving the state's role in education and articulating the basic institutional structures for the modern education systems of virtually every Western and industrialized nation around the world.

General School Regulations, August 12, 1763.

We Frederick, by the grace of God, King, etc.:

Whereas, to our great displeasure, we have perceived that schools and the instruction of youth in the country have come to be greatly neglected, and that by the

inexperience of many sacristans and schoolmasters, the young people grow up in stupidity and ignorance, it is our well considered and serious pleasure, that instruction in the country, throughout all our provinces, should be placed on a better footing, and be better organized than heretofore. For, as we earnestly strive for the true welfare of our country, and of all classes of people; now that quiet and general peace have been restored, we find it necessary and wholesome to have a good foundation laid in the schools by a rational and Christian education of the young for the fear of God and other useful ends. Therefore, by the power of our own highest motive, of our care and paternal disposition for the best good of all our subjects, we command hereby, all governors, consistories and other collegiates of our country; that they shall, on their part, contribute all they can, with affection and zeal, to maintain the following General School Regulations, and in future to arrange all things in accordance with the law to the end that ignorance, so injurious and unbecoming to Christianity, may be prevented and lessened, and the coming time may train and educate in the schools more enlightened and virtuous subjects.

Section 1. First, it is our pleasure that all our subjects, parents, guardians or masters, whose duty it is to educate the young, shall send their children to school, and those confided to their care, boys and girls, if not sooner, certainly when they reach the age of five years; and shall continue regularly to do so, and require them to go to school until they are thirteen or fourteen years old, and know not only what is necessary of Christianity, fluent reading and writing, but can give answer in everything which they learn from the school books, prescribed and approved by our consistory.

§2. Masters to whom children in Prussia, by custom are bound to render work for certain years, are seriously advised not to withdraw such children from school until they can read well, and have laid a good foundation in Christian knowledge; also made a beginning in writing, and can present a certificate from the minister and school master to this effect to the school-visitors. Parents and guardians ought much more to consider it their bounden duty that their children and wards receive sufficient instruction in the necessary branches. [...]

§12. Since the chief requisite in a good school is a competent and faithful teacher, it is our gracious and earnest will, that one and all, who have the right of appointment, shall take heed to bring only well qualified persons into office as teachers and sacristans. A schoolmaster should not only possess the necessary attainments and skill in instruction, but should be an example to the children, and not tear down by his daily life what he builds up by his teaching. He should therefore strive after godliness, and guard against everything which might give offence or temptation to parents or children. Above all things, he should endeavor to obtain a correct knowledge of God and of Christ, thereby laying a foundation to honest life and true Christianity, and feeling that they are entrusted with their office from God, as followers of the Saviour, and in it have an opportunity, by diligence and good example, not only to render the children happy in the present life, but also to prepare them for eternal blessedness. [...]

§17. The daily work of the school should begin with prayer to the Giver of all good gifts, that He will send His divine blessing on their work, and give them a heart full of tenderness and sincerity towards the children entrusted to their care, that may do willingly and without passion all that is incumbent upon them as teachers; being always reminded that they can have no influence over children, nor win their hearts without

the divine assistance of Jesus, the friend of children, and of His holy spirit. During the instructions they should devoutly pray that they may not only keep their minds composed, but that God will bless their work, and to planting and watering graciously give His increase.

Teachers should also devise various means to win the confidence of young pupils, especially of the bashful and slow, and to render their task easy. To this end, they should make themselves familiar with the third part of the "*Berlin Schoolbook*," by which all the elementary branches are successfully taught. [...]

§19. The order of school shall be thus:

In the first hour of the morning they will—

First. Sing a hymn, the words being slowly pronounced by the schoolmaster, and sung by the children after him. Every month, but one hymn, designated by the clergyman, and not too long or unfamiliar, shall be learned and sung, in order that the old and young may remember the words and tune by frequent repetition. While singing, the teacher must see that all participate, and no child should be permitted to hold open the hymnbook and sing from it, but all should be required to follow him.

Second. After the hymn, a prayer shall be offered, either by the master, or one of the pupils may be allowed to read slowly and distinctly a prescribed prayer, while the rest join in silence. Then all should directly offer up a common prayer, learned by heart; and after the reading of psalm for the month by one of the pupils, the devotional exercise should close with the Lord's prayer. Any tardy children must wait at the door until the prayer is ended, in order not to disturb the others.

Third. After prayer such a portion of the catechism is explained that in every six weeks the book is gone through. In this exercise the following method should be adopted: The portion to be interpreted must be read by the children until it is familiar to most of them. Then the words and their meaning are explained, by questions and answers, and verified by passages from the Scriptures; and finally the children should be told how to apply the truth of what they hear to practical life. For little children Luther's smaller catechism should be used; for the more advanced the clergyman and schoolmaster should use the larger catechism with interpretations.

During the remaining hours of the morning, exercises in reading, spelling, and the ABCs should follow according to the proficiency of the pupils.

(1.) In the first half hour the advanced pupils read a chapter from the Old or New Testament, sometimes together, sometimes a certain portion of the class, alternating with a single pupil, as the teacher may designate to keep the order and attention of all alive.

(2.) The next half hour is devoted to spelling, either by the entire class in concert or each child alone. Sometimes a word is written on the "tafel" (*blackboard*), which all are required to spell and pronounce. During this lesson with the younger pupils the older are practiced in finding passages of Scripture or hymns in the hymnbook; or they commit to memory verses and the names of Biblical books in their succession, that they may become ready in consulting the Scriptures.

(3.) The next hour is devoted to the ABC classes, with copying on their tablets one or two letters from the larger tablet, the teacher often calling them to name the letters, or show them on their slates, while he is hearing an advanced class spell, or attending to their writing, which last is in this wise:

(1.) The larger children write during the first half of the third hour, when their work is inspected and corrected in the next half hour. That no child may be neglected, the teacher keeps a list of the scholars, who present their copy-books in succession, and he continues the next day where he left off. In this manner every child will have his book returned and corrected several times each week.

Here it should be remarked, that the left side of the copy-book should be written and corrected first, and the scholar should re-write the same exercise on the right-hand page, free of the errors pointed out by the teacher.

(2.) While the larger pupils are writing, the spelling class is to be exercised and made familiar with the rules of reading, and the powers of letters. While the larger scholars have their copies corrected, the spelling class may now and then recite their Bible-verse for the week. Towards the end of the third morning-hour, the whole school is called to prayer, after which the teacher reads the psalm or part of the hymn designated for the season, and then the pupils are quietly dismissed. The master looks to their behavior in going home, that carelessness and wickedness may not dissipate the instructions of the morning.

During the first hour of the afternoon the whole school is occupied with the teacher, and after singing some verses and reading a psalm, they are taught biblical history and the "Manual for the instruction of children in country-schools."

The second hour of the afternoon, the classes alternately learn portions of the catechism. This may be done after the method shown in the third part of the Berlin Reader, by writing down the first letters, or in the following manner:

(1.) The teacher reads repeatedly, slowly and distinctly, the portion which the children are to commit, while the pupils follow in the open book mentally. Then the children read the exercises in concert, while the middle and spelling class listen.

(2.) After this is done, the teacher reads aloud from comma to comma, while the children repeat until they know it by heart; then he proceeds with the next paragraph in the same manner, explaining the Bible phraseology of the catechism, which the children learn together. As regards the interpretation of Luther's catechism, the larger children will learn that by frequent repetition; the middle class, and the small pupils meanwhile listening attentively. After the first class has in concert repeated the lesson a few times, the teacher indicates the individuals to recite the lesson from memory, and thus he satisfies himself as to their mastery of it.

(3.) Finally each class recites its weekly Bible-verse, varying in length according to the age of the pupils. In this manner children generally learn the portions of the catechism and Christian Doctrine in their proper connection, together with their Bible-verses, a psalm and a hymn every month.

The next half hour, the larger children attend to reading, the middle class to spelling, and the lower class to their letters, as in the morning.

During the third and last hour of the afternoon, the first class shall write and cipher; while the middle class continue their spelling, and the little children the A,B,C.

On Saturday, instead of the catechism in the first hour of the morning, the children will repeat the Bible-verses, psalms and hymns they have learned, of which the teacher keeps a memorandum. Then, from week to week, he relates to them a history from the Old or New Testament, explains the same and shows its application to life and conduct.

For the older children he may use the Biblical chart, to aid them in more perfectly understanding the Holy Scriptures. After this they shall read the gospel or the epistle for the next Sunday. Next they write on their slate, of which the teacher corrects the orthography. At the conclusion of the school, the children shall be earnestly exhorted to behave well on Sunday; to be quiet and devotional at church; to listen and treasure up the word of God for their salvation.

The schoolmaster, during all the hours above designated, must be constantly with the children, and never be absent from school one hour, much less one day, without the knowledge of the pastor and the permission of his superiors, in which case he must in time provide another person to teach the school, that the young may not be neglected.

In large cities, and villages, where there is more than one class-room, it shall be reported by the inspectors and clergymen to our provincial consistory, which will regulate the order of lessons and method of instruction according to the conditions of the place.

Source: Barnard, Henry, ed. *Memoirs of Eminent Teachers and Educators with Contributions to the History of Education in Germany*. Rev. ed. Hartford, CT: Brown & Gross, 1878.

2. College Life in Vermont in 1817

A college education was a privilege reserved for relatively few in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the days before financial aid programs, going to college was an expense only those who already had wealth could afford. A college education might be required for certain professions, such as lawyers, ministers, physicians, and, of course, professors, but not many others.

This selection is a previously unpublished letter from a student at Middlebury College in Middlebury, Vermont, to his father shortly after the student's arrival to begin his studies in 1817. Even though it was written nearly 200 years ago, many things are recognizable to students today: housing issues, buying books, fitting in, the underlying excitement and apprehension about being away from home, sharing with roommates, and even doing laundry. A major concern for Amasa Moore and his family, as for many students today, was money. Moore's father is evidently very concerned about costs; his son is aware he needs to account for virtually every penny he has spent—and he has spent virtually every penny his father has given him and is asking for more. He also tells stories of the happenings at school—in this case, the tragic death of one of the professors—who dies in Moore's own room.

At the same time, an American college in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was very different from a college today. Most were affiliated with religious groups and training ministers was a central task. Very few admitted women. Social life was more connected with educational life and groups like fraternities and sororities did not yet exist. Most colleges were very small by contemporary standards, with no more than a few hundred students, a handful of faculty, a small library, and limited facilities. In fact, the Philomathean Society, a social and literary group Moore was encouraged to join, like most students at Middlebury did, had a better library than the college and existed to supplement the curriculum, rather than provide respite from its rigors. The university does not, as many do today, provide rooms or dining facilities for the students, and Moore must make his own arrangements.

Higher education in the United States and around the world has changed significantly in the modern period. Colleges and universities are much larger and more accessible, some with tens of thousands of students; have highly specialized faculty and billions of dollars in resources; and offer an immense range of degrees and training. For the students, alumni, and faculty of today, just as for Moore and his classmates and professors who went before them, education is a part of everyday life.

Middlebury Septem'r 27th 1817

Having been favored with a prosperous journey being partly settled in my room and partially initiated in this institution, I for the first time address you from Middlebury College. Not that on this account I should wish you to expect that my letters should be better composed written or more correct than they have been heretofore (because I have not yet had time to improve) but that I should give a true statement of my affairs as I was directed by Mama.

And this I will endeavor to do as near as I am able—as follows
I received \$28.

Steamboat passage	\$1.50
Trunk and bed portage, Supper, Lodging	\$0.75
Stage passage	\$2.50
Breakfast	\$0.40
Tr'k and b'd portage to the College	\$0.25
Total	\$5.30
To Mr. Brown Cloth and trimmings	\$9.50
To Room Rent	\$6.00
To Books, a Greek Menora and Caesar	\$2.00
To Crape for the funeral of Professor Allen	\$0.12
To one Tenter box with a steel wheel	\$0.75
To My share of procuring benches for our recitation room	\$0.25
To getting one coat made	\$4.00
Total	\$27.92

All of which expenses I have conceived to have been perfectly necessary and therefore transmit them to your inspection. The Caesar & Greek Menora are the first two books which we study. One of them at the bookstore generally costs more than I gave for both—but One of the last freshman Class sold them to me. In the course of six or eight weeks Other books will be necessary.

As our lessons do not at present occupy all our time, our tutor has recommended to all of us to join the Phylomathesian society as soon as we possibly can because it has the best selection of books. Admittance is one dollar.

The price of wood here is \$2 per Cord however my roommate gets the first cord or half cord.

I have inquired of a number of students what they gave for board and find the standard price to be \$2.00. Professor Huff boards for that, he has now two boarders and they tell me that he does not wish to take more.



The Old Chapel of Middlebury College in Vermont. Library of Congress.

A Mr. Heart about the same distance from the College boards for the same price two dollars, he keeps several boarders and they all think it the best boarding house in town, he adapts his meal times to the convenience of his boarders who are all students and makes it a practice to have his meals in preparation at the ringing of the bells which is considered as no small convenience.

Whereas at my present boarding place I am obliged frequently to wait an hour for a meal, which not only puts me back in my studies but which may be the means of putting me behind in my class. It cannot be expected that at a public house where there is much company that the convenience of one student a regular boarder should be attended to.

A Stove would save much wood and much more comfortable than a fire place if you think it proper to send one. One joint of pipe and an elbow is all the pipe that is required as it must go in the fire place. I shall be obliged to buy Soap, candles, wood, ink, quills, and paper, all of which my room mate at present supplies.

President Davis is now here, but the people are all up in arms against him, he offered to officiate in office while he remained here, his proposals were rejected by other officers.

Probably you have heard of that dreadful event which took place here on Tuesday last if not perhaps a short imperfect recital may not be uninteresting—as I have gathered it from the students.

Last Tuesday Professor Allen went on the top of the New College for the purpose of fixing some of the chimnies which smoked. To effect this he laid a plank across the college [building] from the top of one chimney to the other. He then laid a long pole which might be four or five inches through at one end and three or four at the other lengthways of the college extending from one chimney to another and a ladder was put up against the middle chimney. He then laid a board from the plank to the pole for a staging. He placed one of his knees on the pole and the other on the board, and was in the act of nailing a board to the pole when the pole broke where there had been an augur hole bored. He fell on the roof, which is ten feet, and then slid slowly towards the edge of the roof, while in this situation he made some useless efforts to save himself and when he arrived at the edge caught hold of it and then looked to the scholars who were on the roof [rather] than at the pole which came rolling after and which instantaneously precipitated him headlong to the ground. He struck on his head and shoulders and curled up in a heap.

The scholars descended in tumultuous haste jumping through and over the banisters from the top of the stairs to the bottom until they reached the ground. "Allen is

dead” was reiterated from every tongue and thrilled through every breast with freezing horror. A general shriek from all present proclaimed to the inhabitants the misfortune. All within hearing rushed to the spot. The deepest interest, the greatest anxiety was depicted in every countenance.

Allen was taken up and conveyed to the room which I now occupy as there was no nearer bed—where he died the following night in extreme pain.

From the roof of the College to the ground is at least 40 feet and ten more to the top of the Chimney.

Professor Allen was almost the idol of this town. But as I am unable to do him justice by recounting his merits I shall leave them for persons of better abilities to eulogize upon.

They cannot do my washing at Mr. Mattocks. Please tell Mama not to be concerned for fear that should lose my Cloaths on this account as I shall make a practice of writing down the number that send to be washed.

Give my love to all our family and friends

And be assured that shall ever remain

Your affectionate Son,

Amasa Moore

Source: Amasa Moore Papers. Courtesy of College Archives, Special Collections, Middlebury College.

3. Mary Kingsley: Colonialism and Education in Late Nineteenth-Century Africa

Mary Kingsley was an Englishwoman who spent several years traveling in Africa at the end of the nineteenth century. She became famous for her works describing African life and customs, her research in natural sciences, her enthusiasm for native African ways, and her controversial but well-informed criticisms of European colonial administration and education. Although she previously had never been outside of England for any significant time, she found her way to places in West Africa no European had been before, climbing mountains, canoeing up rivers, escaping crocodiles, and studying cannibalistic tribes in person.

In the following excerpt from her first book, she critiques the system of education that has been set up by various colonial powers as being impractical and misdirected. The subjects and curricula in colonial schools she sees as offering little of practical value to African students, both male and female, and in fact even doing them significant harm. While there is still an element of superiority to her tone, there is also a legitimate knowledge and respect for African cultures, customs, and institutions. She claimed that the attempts by Europeans, especially missionaries, to teach Africans using European models were having a cumulative negative effect. According to Kingsley, colonial instruction was disrupting native African educational and social systems and failing to replace them with a stable system of its own instead of bringing civilization and creating Europeanized African societies.

She does not reproach European colonialism, nor does she seem to oppose the paternalistic attitudes toward African groups that is part of European colonization and domination, but instead she advocates European intervention and education that more directly addresses the needs of local populations and recognizes and respects the values and structures of

African cultures and ways. Her influence in Britain was so great that some of her ideas were translated into changes in British colonial policies.

In some ways, she anticipated many of the criticisms leveled against European colonialism in the later twentieth century. Colonialism and its consequences are still central issues for Africa today, in education and many other areas. At the same time, that does not mean that pre-colonial life in Africa was utopian, or that there have been no benefits to instruction in modern European technologies, social sciences, religious beliefs, and other fields in Africa. Regardless, Kingsley's perspective raises questions about the role of education and modern life that are complex, to say the least.

It is regarded as futile to attempt to get any real hold over the children unless they are removed from the influence of the country fashions that surround them in their village homes; therefore the schools are boarding; hence the entire care of the children, including feeding and clothing, falls on the missionary.

The French government has made things harder by decreeing that the children should be taught French. It does not require that evangelistic work should be carried on in French, but that if foreign languages are taught, that language shall be French first. The general feeling of the missionaries is against this, because of the great difficulty in teaching the native this delicate and highly complex language. English, the Africans pick up sooner than any foreign language. . . . Indeed, I believe that if the missionary was left alone he would not teach any European language, but confine himself to using the native languages in its phonetically written-down form; because the Africans learn to read this very quickly, and the missionary can confine their reading to those books he thinks suitable for perusal by his flock—namely, the Bible, hymn-books, and Bunyan's *Holy War*.

The native does not see things in this light, and half the time comes only to learn, what he calls "sense," *i.e.* white man's ways and language, which will enable him to trade with greater advantage. Still, I think the French government is right, from what I have seen in our own possessions of the disadvantage, expense, and inconvenience of the bulk of the governed not knowing the language of their governors, both parties having therefore frequently to depend on native interpreters; and native interpreters are "deceitful above all things and desperately wicked" occasionally, and the just administration of the country under these conditions is almost impossible.

You may say, Why should not the government official learn the native language like the missionary? and I think government officials who are settled like missionaries on the Coast should do so, but if you enforced this rule in Congo Français, where the government officials fly to and fro, Mezzofantis [from Cardinal Giuseppe Mezzofanti, a famous polyglot] only need apply for appointments. Take the Gaboon district, to use the hand, but not obsolete division of the colony. This district, being the seaboard one, is where most of the dealings with the natives occur. In my small way I have met there with representatives of tribes speaking Shekani, Balungi, M'benga, M'billo, M'pongwe, Bakele, Ncomi, Igalwa, Adooma, Ajumba, and Fan, and there are plenty more. Neither are any of these tribes neatly confined to distinct districts, so that you might teach your unfortunate official one language, and then tie him down in one place, where he could use it. Certain districts have a preponderance of certain tribes, but that is all. The Fans

are everywhere in the northern districts of the Ogowé: but among them, in the districts below Lembarene, you will find Igalwa and Ajumba villages, side by side, with likely enough just across the stream a Bakele one. Above Talagouga, until you get to Boué, you could get along with Fan alone; but there is no government rule that requires languages up there because, barring keeping the Ogowé open to the French flag, it is not interfered with; and then when you get up to Franceville above Boué, there is quite another group of languages, Okota, Batoke, Adooma, &c., &c., and the Middle Congo languages. To require a knowledge of all these languages would be absurd, and necessitate the multiplication of officials to an enormous extent.

But to return to the Mission Évangélique schools. This mission does not undertake technical instruction. All the training the boys get is religious and scholastic. The girls fare somewhat better, for they get in addition instruction from the mission ladies in sewing, washing, and ironing, and for the rest of it they have an uncommonly pleasant and easy time, which they most bitterly regret as past when they go to their husbands, for husbands they each of them have.

It is strange that no technical instruction is given by any government out here. All of the governments support mission schools by grants: but the natives turned out by the schools are at the best only fit for clerks, and the rest of the world seems to have got a glut of clerks already, and Africa does not want clerks yet; it wants planters—I do not say only plantation hands, for I am sure from what I have seen in Cameroons of the self-taught native planters there, that intelligent Africans could do an immense amount to develop the resources of the country. The Roman Catholic mission and Landana carries on great work in giving agricultural instruction in improved methods: but most of the other technical mission stations confine their attention to teaching carpentering, bricklaying, smith's work, tailoring, bookbinding and prints, trades which, save the two first named, Africa is not yet in urgent need to be taught.

The teaching even of sewing, washing, and ironing is a little previous. Good Mme. Jacot will weary herself for months to teach a Fan girl how to make herself a dress, and the girl will learn eagerly, and so keenly enjoy the dress when it is made that it breaks one's heart when one knows that this same girl, when her husband takes her to his village soon, in spite of the two dresses the mission gave her, will be reduced to a bit of filthy rag, which will serve her for dress, sheet, towel and dish cloth; for even were her husband willing to get her more cloth to exercise her dressmaking accomplishments on, he dare not. Men are men, and women are women all the world over; and what would his other wives, and his mother and sisters say? Then the washing and ironing are quite parlour accomplishments when your husband does not wear a shirt, and household linen is non-existent as is the case among the Fans and many other African tribes. There are other things that the women might be taught with greater advantage to them and those round them. [...]

Nothing strikes one so much, in studying the degeneration of these native tribes, as the direct effect that civilization and reformation has in hastening it. The worst enemy to the existence of the African tribe, is the one who comes to it and says:—Now you must civilize, and come to school, and leave off all those awful goings-on of yours, and settle down quietly. The tribe does so; the African is teachable and tractable; and then the ladies and some of the young men are happy and content with the excitement of

European clothes and frequent Church services; but the older men and some of the bolder young men soon get bored with these things and the, to them, irksome restraints, and they go in for too much rum, or mope themselves to death, or return to their native customs. The African treats his religion much as other men do: when he gets slightly educated, a little scientific one might say, he removes from his religion all the disagreeable parts. He promptly eliminates its equivalent Hell, represented in Fetishism by immediate and not future retribution. Then goes his rigid Sabbath-keeping, and food-restriction equivalent and he has nothing left but the agreeable portions; dances, polygamy, and so on; and it's a very bad thing for him. I only state these things so as to urge upon people at home the importance of combining technical instruction in their mission teaching which by instilling into the African mind ideas of discipline, and providing him with manual occupation, will save him from these relapses which are now the reproach of missionary effort, and the curse and degradation of the African.

Source: Kingsley, Mary H. *Travels in West Africa: Congo Français, Corisco and Cameroons*. London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1897.

Science

Science has developed remarkably in the modern period. Although the scientific method was being worked out before the modern era began, the full effects of science as a way of understanding and exploring the world have become an integral part of daily life in the modern world. Science has altered how we know and describe ourselves and the world around us, and it is most often to science that people turn for real knowledge. Science, though, is a method of learning and knowing, and in many areas it has taken time for science to learn about things. Well into the modern period, ideas like substantial ether (a substance that filled in all the empty space in the universe) or abiogenesis (the propagation of life from decaying materials, such as maggots from meat, mice from hay, and so on) that have been discarded by science were still commonly held.

The field of applicability of the scientific method has only expanded in the modern period. The eighteenth-century movement called the *Enlightenment* took the method that had had such success in the beginning to describe the physical world and began to apply its method to the analysis and understanding of human society. Montesquieu (Document 4) offered an analogy between human governments and thawing sheep tongues under a microscope. While not credible today, Montesquieu's need to support his theories on politics with natural science shows that the application of the scientific method was spreading beyond its original scope. This trend is also evident with scientific management or *Taylorism* (Document 6), which attempted to apply science to industry, and give human workers a mechanical, machine-like efficiency.

For some, like Samuel Wilson (Document 5), there seemed little that science could not know, and varieties of scientific *Positivism* developed by Auguste Comte and others in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries became increasingly popular as new discoveries in science seemed to indicate the possibility of victory over all the mysteries of the universe and the rejection of ways of understanding the world based in faith or pure thought. The twentieth century also saw many scientists and others begin to confront the negative potential of scientific knowledge, as scientists like Albert *Einstein* and

J. Robert Oppenheimer (Document 7) not only discovered the secrets of the atom and the relationship between matter and energy, but gave humanity the capacity to destroy itself through its own scientific accomplishments. Among other factors, applications of science in the events of the twentieth century caused many to question the assumptions of the benevolent progress of science and its advances in knowledge and human capacities.

In contrast with the positivism of Wilson and others, late twentieth-century science has witnessed the introduction of some scientific acknowledgement of the limits of positive scientific knowledge, with emerging ideas like fuzzy math, chaos theory, and string theory. Some scientists and scientific ideas have sought to recognize that science may have limits in what it can know. Even if science does seem to see some limits, its potential to influence everyday life seems not yet to have reached them; science is responsible for an extraordinary amount of knowledge about the world, and the scientific method is one of the most dominant ideas in human intellectual life in the modern age.

4. Montesquieu on Sex and Sheep's Tongues

Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, was one of the foremost political minds of the eighteenth century. His most important publication, from which this selection is taken, called The Spirit of the Laws, is a monumental work on history, law, politics, and social theory. His work was highly influential among political thinkers of the time, including the founders of the United States; the U.S. Constitution's principle of separation of powers, for example, is directly attributable to Montesquieu's influence on James Madison and other framers. Because Montesquieu was known as a political theorist and social satirist, it might seem odd to find him included in the section on science; however, it is the connections that Montesquieu and others of his time made between scientific methods and political and social thought that make him appropriate here.

The Enlightenment saw an important shift in the scope of scientific thought. If, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, science had emerged as a powerful method of learning and knowing about the physical universe and challenged the explanations of ancient wisdom and religious doctrines, in the eighteenth century, those same scientific methods began to be applied not only to the physical world, but also to the social world as well. In this sense, the era saw the beginning of what are today called the social sciences. Adam Smith founded modern economics; Jean-Jacques Rousseau laid out influential plans for the education of children. Montesquieu formulated an alternative to monarchical or despotic governments. As part of his research, he watched a frozen sheep tongue thaw under a microscope—and then wrote about politics.

Montesquieu's experiments with microscopic examination of the surface of the tongue of a sheep might strike us as odd or distasteful, but in the 1730s the microscope was a new tool for biological research, and this was cutting-edge science. The leap that is most interesting is from the physical world to the social, and it is on full display in Montesquieu's work. One of Montesquieu's peculiar ideas was that climate had an influence on the character of populations. He claims people from the south, where the climate is hotter, are inherently lazier, more sensual and sexually licentious, and more deceitful, cowardly, and criminal. While the proposition is rife with racial and cultural prejudices, the evidence he gathers from the

observation of the surface of a sheep's tongue in colder and warmer temperatures he uses to support his theory of the activity of nervous glands of humans in accordance with eighteenth-century physiology, and the consequent effects on government, politics, law, and social life.

Certainly few people today would agree with Montesquieu that the effect of temperature on livestock tongues is evidence of the general temperament of populations in different climates, but the connections that Montesquieu tried to make are noteworthy as indicators of the beginnings of modern politics, sociology, anthropology, geography, and other social sciences.

Book XIV. Of Laws in Relation to the Nature of the Climate

1. General Idea. If it be true that the temper of the mind and the passions of the heart are extremely different in different climates, the laws ought to be in relation both to the variety of those passions and to the variety of those tempers.

2. Of the Difference of Men in different Climates. Cold air constringes the extremities of the external fibres of the body; this increases their elasticity, and favours the return of the blood from the extreme parts to the heart. It contracts those very fibres; consequently it increases also their force. On the contrary, warm air relaxes and lengthens the extremes of the fibres; of course it diminishes their force and elasticity.

People are therefore more vigorous in cold climates. Here the action of the heart and the reaction of the extremities of the fibres are better performed, the temperature of the humours is greater, the blood moves more freely towards the heart, and reciprocally the heart has more power. This superiority of strength must produce various effects; for instance, a greater boldness, that is, more courage; a greater sense of superiority, that is, less desire of revenge; a greater opinion of security, that is, more frankness, less suspicion, policy, and cunning. In short, this must be productive of very different tempers. Put a man into a close, warm place, and for the reasons above given he will feel a great faintness. If under this circumstance you propose a bold enterprise to him, I believe you will find him very little disposed towards it; his present weakness will throw him into despondency; he will be afraid of everything, being in a state of total incapacity. The inhabitants of warm countries are, like old men, timorous; the people in cold countries are, like young men, brave. If we reflect on the late wars, which are more recent in our memory, and in which we can better distinguish some particular effects that escape us at a greater distance of time, we shall find that the northern people, transplanted into southern regions, did not perform such exploits as their countrymen who, fighting in their own climate, possessed their full vigour and courage. [...]

The nerves that terminate from all parts in the cutis form each a nervous bundle; generally speaking, the whole nerve is not moved, but a very minute part. In warm climates, where the cutis is relaxed, the ends of the nerves are expanded and laid open to the weakest action of the smallest objects. In cold countries the cutis is constricted and the papillæ compressed: the miliary glands are in some measure paralytic; and the sensation does not reach the brain, except when it is very strong and proceeds from the whole nerve at once. Now, imagination, taste, sensibility, and vivacity depend on an infinite number of small sensations.

I have observed the outermost part of a sheep's tongue, where, to the naked eye, it seems covered with papillæ. On these papillæ I have discerned through a microscope

small hairs, or a kind of down; between the papillæ were pyramids shaped towards the ends like pincers. Very likely these pyramids are the principal organ of taste.

I caused the half of this tongue to be frozen, and, observing it with the naked eye, I found the papillæ considerably diminished: even some rows of them were sunk into their sheath. The outermost part I examined with the microscope, and perceived no pyramids. In proportion as the frost went off, the papillæ seemed to the naked eye to rise, and with the microscope the miliary glands began to appear.

This observation confirms what I have been saying, that in cold countries the nervous glands are less expanded: they sink deeper into their sheaths, or they are sheltered from the action of external objects; consequently they have not such lively sensations.

In cold countries they have very little sensibility to pleasure; in temperate countries, they have more; in warm countries, their sensibility is exquisite. As climates are distinguished by degrees of latitude, we might distinguish them also in some measure by those of sensibility. I have been at the opera in England and in Italy, where I have seen the same pieces and the same performers: and yet the same music produces such different effects on the two nations: one is so cold and phlegmatic, and the other so lively and enraptured, that it seems almost inconceivable.

From this delicacy of organs peculiar to warm climates it follows that the soul is most sensibly moved by whatever relates to the union of the two sexes: here everything leads to this object. In northern climates scarcely has the animal part of love a power of making itself felt. In temperate climates, love, attended by a thousand appendages, endeavours to please by things that have at first the appearance, though not the reality, of this passion. In warmer climates it is liked for its own sake, it is the only cause of happiness, it is life itself.

In southern countries a machine of a delicate frame but strong sensibility resigns itself either to a love which rises and is incessantly laid in a seraglio, or to a passion which leaves women in a greater independence, and is consequently exposed to a thousand inquietudes. In northern regions a machine robust and heavy finds pleasure in whatever is apt to throw the spirits into motion, such as hunting, travelling, war, and wine. If we travel towards the north, we meet with people who have few vices, many virtues, and a great share of frankness and sincerity. If we draw near the south, we fancy ourselves entirely removed from the verge of morality; here the strongest passions are productive of all manner of crimes, each man endeavouring, let the means be what they will, to indulge his inordinate desires. In temperate climates we find the inhabitants inconstant in their manners, as well as in their vices and virtues: the climate has not a quality determinate enough to fix them.

The heat of the climate may be so excessive as to deprive the body of all vigour and strength. Then the faintness is communicated to the mind; there is no curiosity, no enterprise, no generosity of sentiment; the inclinations are all passive; indolence constitutes the utmost happiness; scarcely any punishment is so severe as mental employment; and slavery is more supportable than the force and vigour of mind necessary for human conduct.

Source: Secondat, Charles de, Baron de Montesquieu. *The Spirit of Laws*. Translated by Thomas Nugent. London: J. Nourse and P. Vaillant, 1750.

5. Samuel Wilson: Mount Ararat and Positivism

Mount Ararat, the central element in this selection, is traditionally the place where the Book of Genesis says Noah's Ark landed, and one of the highest peaks in Western Asia. In this excerpt from his book on travels in Persia, Samuel Wilson—missionary and scholar of Islam and Persia at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries—describes his encounter with the mountain and his thoughts about it. Wilson's description comes from a point of view that is willing to relate many of the myths and legends about Ararat for their poetic beauty or rhetorical effect, but these he does not accept as real knowledge about the mountain.

Wilson creates a contrast between pre-modern ways of knowing and modern knowledge based on scientific method and observation. The scientific revolution that began before the advent of the modern period changed the nature of knowing in the modern world. An important idea that emerged in connection with science in the nineteenth century was that of scientific positivism, most famously articulated by the French philosopher Auguste Comte, who proposed that the scientific method was the only truly reliable way of gaining knowledge about the world. Previous modes of knowledge, like theological and metaphysical knowledge, represented preliminary steps in human knowledge and social development. Using the scientific method, the human mind could finally arrive at real, positive knowledge instead of speculation and superstition.

The scientific impulse to learn also led to a vogue for exploring in the nineteenth century among Europeans and Americans. In the name of science and the advancement of human knowledge, scientist-explorers who brought back new observations and evidence from far-off and exotic places were admired, and Wilson admires those who conquered the mysteries of Mt. Ararat in the same way.

Whether Noah's Ark or any other story about Mt. Ararat is true or not is in some sense beside the point. While there is no doubt that scientific knowledge has greatly increased in the modern period and expanded humans' understanding of the world in which we live, Wilson's story still seems divided between the revelations of myth and story on one hand, and the compelling reality of observed, measured, and verifiable fact on the other—though this is enough evidence to affirm that science and scientific thought was an essential element in everyday life.

Proceeding further, almost the only object which could draw our attention was Ararat, which for three days was almost constantly in view. It was the last sight at night and the first in the morning. There it stood, silent, solitary, awe-inspiring, mysterious, grand. The clouds had rolled away and left it distinct in all its majestic outline and massiveness. The ages, like the clouds, have come and gone, but it remains immovable. Since the ark rested on its heights there have been movements in heaven above and on the earth beneath—earthquake, storm, and flood—but it remains, presumably, substantially the same. Like the old ocean, a thousand years sweep over it in vain. It reminded one of Napoleon's address under the shadow of the pyramids. In forty centuries what has it not seen of the rise and fall of empires and the wonderful movements of the race of Noah? He sits a king, wrapped in his snowy robes, and with a perennial crown upon his brow. Though the puppet kings of man may include him in their dominion, he scorns subjection to their sway, and even bids defiance to the king of day. However near and furiously Apollo may drive his chariot and let his horses blow their

warm breath upon him, neither the fire from his eye, the heat from the wheels, nor the warm breath of the horses can cause the whiteness of his countenance to color, or tan his fair complexion. His foot may become scorched and burned, his twin brother, the Little Ararat, may lay aside his crown, by the Great Ararat, unsubdued, lifts his proud head nearer to the throne in the sky and acknowledges no allegiance. The Little Ararat is like an earthly dynasty, which for a season wears the insignia of supremacy and then must surrender them; but the Great Ararat is like God himself, whose dominion is everlasting.

Ararat is not now the mysterious and unknown mountain, the center of myths and legends and of superstitious awe among the natives, and of vague admiration and reverence from the Christian world. It is true, the popular associations still cling around it. Bryce in his work [James Bryce, "Transcaucasia and Ararat in 1876"] describing his ascent, gives an extended notice of these traditions. It was supposed to be the center of the earth. It was connected with the Chaldean worship of the stars. Upon it stood a pillar with the figure of a star. Before the birth of Christ twelve wise men were stationed by the pillar to watch for the appearing of the star in the east, which three of them followed, when it appeared, to Bethlehem.

Its summit was declared to be inaccessible, and it became almost an article of faith with the Armenians, and a firm belief among all the natives, that God would not permit it to be ascended; nor are they convinced that this has ever been done. So much stronger, observes a traveler, is prejudice than evidence. On its top were said to be the remains of the ark. Far in the distant past the monk Jacob attempted its ascent, to obtain some of the precious relics. In the midst of each attempt he was overcome with sleep, and found himself on awakening at the same point where he started. The third time an angel told him that it was forbidden man to touch the vessel in which the race had been preserved, but he gave him a piece of the ark as a reward for his perseverance. The relic is said to be still preserved in the treasury of the monastery of Etchmiadzin.

All these myths have been rudely shattered and cast in to the vortex in which the legendary lore of the nations is fast disappearing. Modern adventure and scientific investigation, which compass sea and land in the search for truth, have dispelled all these fancies, and have given us much information about this Koh-i-Nuh [Persian/Farsi name for Ararat, meaning "Noah's Mountain"]. Daring travelers, from Parrot, in 1835, to Allen and Sachtleben, the bicyclists, who waved the American flag on it July 4, 1890, have scaled its glaciers and crossed its ravines and stood upon its summit. Its altitude has been measured. Its geological structure has been critically treated by the celebrated Hermann Abich. Its great chasm on the north and east sides has a perpendicular height of four thousand feet. Its fissures and its glaciers have been described. I will not repeat the description. Its solitary position adds much to its grandeur. At Karmalou, a station directly east of the mount, we ascended to the flat roof of one of the native houses and took a long and meditative view of Ararat. Though thirty miles away, the levelness of the country and the lack of intervening objects made this appear scarcely credible. From the plain the Great Ararat rises in irregular form to the height of seventeen thousand feet above sea-level. Its line of perpetual snow is thirteenth thousand four hundred feet. The little Ararat is almost a perfect cone, thirteen thousand feet high, and, though below the level of the perpetual snow, was for a considerable distance down covered

with the white winding-sheet, owing to the rigorous season. Its summit is the boundary-line of the empires of the czar, the sultan, and the shah.

Source: Wilson, S. G. *Persian Life and Customs: With Scenes and Incidents of the Residence and Travel in the Land of the Lion and the Sun*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1899.

6. Scientific Management

The idea of scientific management was pioneered by Frederick Winslow Taylor, a mechanical engineer by trade and an industrial experimenter, who thought to apply the scientific method to help satisfy the ambition for achieving efficiency in industrial management and production processes. The idea was called scientific management by its promoters and Taylorism by its detractors. The following selection is not by Taylor himself, but from a compilation of sources by followers of Taylor's ideas, published the year before he died in 1915.

Taylor's theories represent the conscious application of the scientific method to further areas of human endeavor. In addition to analyzing human society scientifically like Montesquieu (see Document 4), and exploring the natural world scientifically like Wilson (see Document 5), Taylor wanted to use science to answer questions like "What is the most efficient way for a person to perform this task?" His methods recorded dramatic successes at increasing efficiency and productivity, and his ideas became very popular, not only in capitalist nations but also in the Soviet Union, where the Communist government unevenly tried to apply Taylor's ideas to aid its drive for rapid industrialization. (See Capitalism and Communism in the Glossary.)

Central components of the scientific management system were time and motion studies, which analyzed different labor tasks and broke them down into simple component parts, which on analysis could be revised to provide the most efficient way to do a task. Taylor sought to make human functions in industrial processes more efficient by timing, classifying, and analyzing human actions as mechanical operations. He also sought to scientifically select and train workers to do certain tasks, to plan and manage tasks, and to ensure workers did their tasks the right way.

Most of the theories of scientific management are no longer used in management. They came to be criticized for carrying division of labor to an extreme and creating a dehumanizing work environment. Nonetheless, Taylor and his studies substantially changed how work was understood, performed, and managed, and elements or derivations of his theories survive in practice today—another application of science to everyday life.

As has already been intimated, the art of industrial administration was stationary for a long period of time. In spite of tremendous changes in our social, economic and industrial systems, we have been content to adapt or modify methods which originated thousands of years ago. I may liken the system of administration which obtains in most industrial plants to one of those "old homesteads" which dot our New England landscape. They started as a log cabin, to which was successively added a lean-to, a barn, a shed, an ell, an upper story, and other "modern conveniences." As a result, they are roomy—and also inconvenient. The common system of industrial administration is constructed of the surviving remains of Greek slavery, Roman Militarism, Saxon serfdom, the mediaeval guilds, and various other historical oddities, slightly altered to

adapt them to the twentieth century conditions, and engrafted on one another in very much the same way as the additions to the old house. This system of management has been a growth in which each manager appropriated those developments of the past which appealed to him. Sometimes methods were adopted as a result of a carefully and properly conducted investigation, but nine times out of ten they were adopted because the manager “guessed” they were the best ones. [...]

Scientific management, on the other hand, has been developed by the engineer. Scientific management aims at the careful investigation of every problem of the industrial world in order to determine its best solution. It is not content to rely upon records, or upon the judgment of the most experienced workman. It brings to its aid all the resources of science. Every possible method of performing a piece of work is carefully analyzed and the best elements of all of the methods combined in order to form a new method. Having established the best methods of work, scientific management then instructs the workman how best to perform his task, and offers an incentive to do it in the prescribed manner. Scientific management is often called the “Taylor System” in honor of its foremost exponent. Scientific management is not an invention but a discovery. It is the application of the scientific method of research to the problems of the industrial world. In so far as it is concerned with the investigation of these problems, it is science and nothing else. In so far as it is concerned with the proper application of the results of these investigations, it is management and nothing else. The combination is therefore correctly termed “scientific management.”

If, in the near future, it is extensively applied to all industries or even to any one industry, it will give rise to very serious political, social and economic problems as well as intensify a great many of the problems that are now pressing for a solution. It will be seen, then, that the application of scientific management in industrial administration is not only important to the factory owner, the superintendent, and the workman, but to the law maker, the citizen and, in fact, to every man, woman and child in the country. The field of industrial administration is a very great one, but we cannot appreciate the importance of a right understanding of the problems which will be raised by the extensive introduction of scientific management until we realize how this field is interrelated with our entire political and social system. [...]

Time study is the one element in scientific management beyond all others making possible the “transfer of skill from management to men.” The nature of time study, however, is but imperfectly understood and it is therefore important to define it clearly. “Time study” consists of two broad divisions, first, analytical work, and second, constructive work.

The analytical work of time study is as follows:

- (a) Divide the work of a man performing any job into simple elementary movements.
- (b) Pick out all useless movements and discard them.
- (c) Study, one after another, just how each of several skilled workmen makes each elementary movement, and with the aid of a stop-watch select the quickest and best method of making each elementary movement known in the trade.
- (d) Describe, record and index each elementary movement, with its proper time, so that it can be quickly found.

- (e) Study and record the percentage which must be added to the actual working time of a good workman to cover unavoidable delays, interruptions, and minor accidents, etc.
- (f) Study and record the percentage which must be added to cover the newness of a good workman to a job, the first few times that he does it. (This percentage is quite large on jobs made up of a large number of different elements composing a long sequence infrequently repeated. This factor grows smaller, however, as the work consists of a smaller number of different elements in a sequence that is more frequently repeated.)
- (g) Study and record the percentage of time that must be allowed for rest, and the intervals at which the rest must be taken, in order to offset physical fatigue.

The constructive work of time study is as follows:

- (h) Add together into various groups such combinations of elementary movements as are frequently used in the same sequence in the trade, and record and index these groups so that they can be readily found.
- (i) From these several records, it is comparatively easy to select the proper series of motions which should be used by a workman in making any particular article, and by summing the times of these movements, and adding proper percentage allowances, to find the proper time for doing almost any class of work.
- (k) The analysis of a piece of work into its elements almost always reveals the fact that many of the conditions surrounding and accompanying the work are defective; for instance, that improper tools are used, that the machines used in connection with it need perfecting, that the sanitary conditions are bad, etc., and knowledge so obtained leads frequently to constructive work of a high order, to the standardization of tools and conditions, to the invention of superior methods and machines. It is unusual to make a study such as this of the elementary movements of the workmen in a trade.

Source: Thompson, Clarence Bertrand, ed. *Scientific Management: A Collection of the More Significant Articles Describing the Taylor System of Management*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.

7. J. Robert Oppenheimer on the Atomic Age

One of the most significant scientific discoveries of the twentieth century is the development of atomic theory, with the resulting development of nuclear weapons. The first nuclear weapons were built in 1945 by the Manhattan Project, the name for the U.S. government's secret program to build atomic weapons during the Second World War. Once the bombs were built, the decisions about whether to use them and when, where, and how were obviously not made by the scientists who built them, but by political and military authorities. The bombs built by the Manhattan Project and used against Japan in 1945 yielded the approximate destructive power of between 15,000,000 and 20,000,000 tons of TNT (15–20 kilotons) each. Today nuclear weapons can yield hundreds of times that much destructive power (devices yielding 50 megatons were tested during the Cold War).

J. Robert Oppenheimer was a brilliant mathematician and physicist, as well as one of the directors of the Manhattan Project. Oppenheimer and other scientists became concerned about the moral and political consequences of the applications of the science they had pioneered, and this excerpt, from a speech Oppenheimer made in 1945 to a concerned group called the Association of Los Alamos Scientists, named after the location of the Manhattan Project in Los Alamos, New Mexico, is interesting in several regards.

Oppenheimer's speech indicates how unsure many were of the consequences of the atomic age, but he does clearly understand that the power of nuclear weapons was a whole new type, not another degree, of power and that it was an epoch-making alteration of how science and the world were viewed, analogous to the Renaissance or evolution. At the same time, he is optimistic about the power of science to improve things, despite the incredible destructive power unleashed on the world by the atomic bomb. He also argues that it was impossible in a sense not to build the bomb—that science will make progress and it cannot be stopped, only directed, and should not be stopped as there is an inherent good in the knowledge it obtains.

He also understands that the destructive power of nuclear weapons will alter the state of world politics, but he still has hope for peace. In a sense, he was prescient: despite the tensions of the Cold War, the assurance of total mutual destruction with nuclear weapons kept the Soviet Union and the United States officially at peace through the rest of the twentieth century. Although many other applied nuclear technologies have also been developed, issues such as nuclear waste, the dangers of radioactivity, and the proliferation of weapons continue to make this science a controversial part of everyday life.

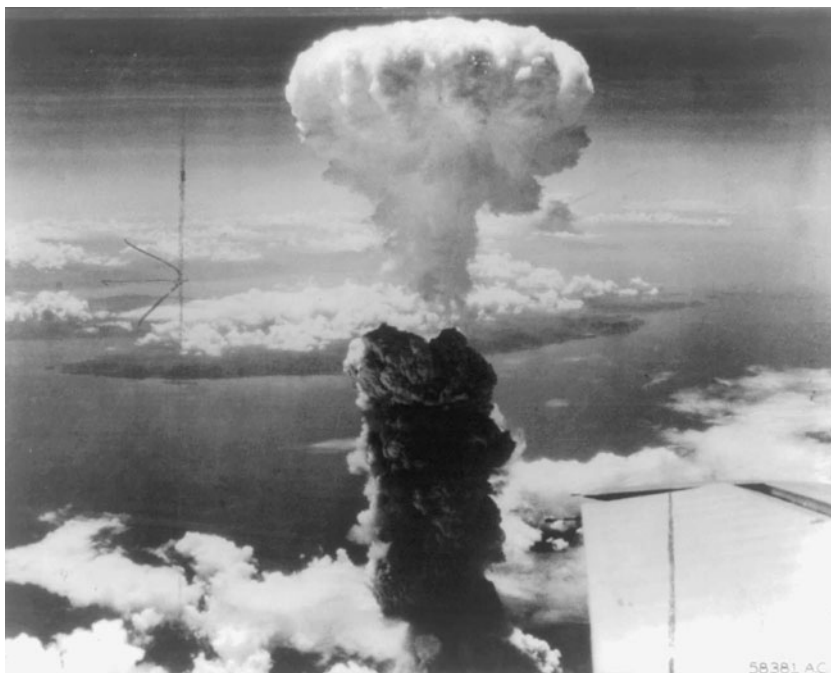
SPEECH TO THE ASSOCIATION OF LOS ALAMOS SCIENTISTS

Los Alamos, November 2, 1945

I am grateful to the Executive Committee for this chance to talk to you. I should like to talk tonight—if some of you have long memories perhaps you will regard it as justified—as a fellow scientist, and at least as a fellow worrier about the fix we are in. I do not have anything very radical to say, or anything that will strike most of you with a great flash of enlightenment. I don't have anything to say that will be of an immense encouragement. [...]

I think there are issues which are quite simple and quite deep, and which involve us as a group of scientists—involve us more, perhaps than any other group in the world. I think that it can only help to look a little at what our situation is—at what has happened to us—and that this must give us some honesty, some insight, which will be a source of strength in what may be the not-too-easy days ahead. I would like to take it as deep and serious as I know how, and then perhaps come to more immediate questions in the course of the discussion later. I want anyone who feels like it to ask me a question and if I can't answer it, as will often be the case, I will just have to say so.

What has happened to us—it is really rather major, it is so major that I think in some ways one returns to the greatest developments of the twentieth century, to the discovery of relativity, and to the whole development of atomic theory and its interpretation in terms of complementarity, for analogy. These things, as you know, forced us to re-consider the relations between science and common sense. They forced on us the recognition that the fact that we were in the habit of talking a certain language and



Atomic bombing of Nagasaki, Japan, 1945. Library of Congress.

using certain concepts did not necessarily imply that there was anything in the real world to correspond to these. [...]

But the real impact of the creation of the atomic bomb and atomic weapons—to understand that one has to look further back, look, I think, to the times when physical science was growing in the days of the renaissance, and when the threat that science offered was felt so deeply throughout the Christian world. The analogy is, of course, not perfect. You may even wish to think of the days in the last century when the theories of evolution seemed a threat to the values by which men lived. The analogy is not perfect because there is nothing in atomic weapons—there is certainly nothing that we have done here or in the physics or chemistry that immediately preceded our work here—in which

any revolutionary ideas were involved. I don't think that the conceptions of nuclear fission have strained any man's attempts to understand them, and I don't feel that any of us have really learned in a deep sense very much from following this up. It is in a quite different way. It is not an idea—it is a development and a reality—but it has in common with the early days of physical science the fact that the very existence of science is threatened, and its value is threatened. [...]

But when you come right down to it the reason that we did this job is because it was an organic necessity. If you are a scientist you cannot stop such a thing. If you are a scientist you believe that it is good to find out how the world works; that it is good to find out what the realities are; that it is good to turn over to mankind at large the greatest possible power to control the world and to deal with it according to its lights and its values. [...]

It is not possible to be a scientist unless you believe that it is good to learn. It is not good to be a scientist, and it is not possible, unless you think that it is of the highest value to share your knowledge, to share it with anyone who is interested. It is not possible to be a scientist unless you believe that the knowledge of the world, and the power which this gives, is a thing which is of intrinsic value to humanity, and that you are using it to help in the spread of knowledge, and are willing to take the consequences. And, therefore, I think that this resistance which we feel and see all around us to anything which is an attempt to treat science of the future as though it were rather a dangerous thing, a thing that must be watched and managed, is resisted not because of its inconvenience—I think we are in a position where we must be willing to take any inconvenience—but resisted because it is based on a philosophy incompatible with that by which we live, and have learned to live in the past. [...]

I think it is for us to accept it as a very grave crisis, to realize that these atomic weapons which we have started to make are very terrible, that they involve a change, that they are not just a slight modification: to accept this, and to accept with it the necessity for those transformations in the world which will make it possible to integrate these developments into human life. [...]

It is clear to me that wars have changed. It is clear to me that if these first bombs—the bomb that was dropped on Nagasaki—that if these can destroy ten square miles, then that is really quite something. It is clear to me that they are going to be very cheap if anyone wants to make them; it is clear to me that this is a situation where a quantitative change, and a change in which the advantage of aggression compared to defense—of attack compared to defense—is shifted, where this quantitative change has all the character of a change in quality, of a change in the nature of the world. I know that whereas wars have become intolerable, and the question would have been raised and would have been pursued after this war, more ardently than after the last, of whether there was not some method by which they could be averted. But I think the advent of the atomic bomb and the facts which will get around that they are not too hard to make—that they will be universal if people wish to make them universal, that they will not constitute a real drain on the economy of any strong nation, and that their power of destruction will grow and is already incomparably greater than that of any other weapon—I think these things create a new situation, so new that there is some danger, even some danger in believing, that what we have is a new argument for arrangements, for hopes, that existed before this development took place. By that I mean that much as I like to hear advocates of a world federation, or advocates of a United Nations organization, who have been talking of these things for years—much as I like to hear them say that here is a new argument, I think that they are in part missing the point, because the point is not that atomic weapons constitute a new argument. There have always been good arguments. The point is that atomic weapons constitute also a field, a new field, and a new opportunity for realizing preconditions. I think when people talk of the fact that this is not only a great peril, but a great hope, this is what they should mean. I do not think they should mean the unknown, though sure, value of industrial and scientific virtues of atomic energy, but rather the simple fact that in this field, because it is a threat, because it is a peril, and because it has certain special characteristics, to which I will return, there exists a possibility of realizing, of beginning to realize, those changes which are needed if there is to be any peace.

I think that we have no hope at all if we yield in our belief in the value of science, in the good that it can be to the world to know about reality, about nature, to attain a gradually greater and greater control of nature, to learn, to teach, to understand. I think that if we lose our faith in this we stop being scientists, we sell out our heritage, we lose what we have most of value for this time of crisis.

But there is another thing: we are not only scientists; we are men, too. We cannot forget our dependence on our fellow men. I mean not only our material dependence, without which no science would be possible, and without which we could not work; I mean also our deep moral dependence, in that the value of science must lie in the world of men, that all our roots lie there. These are the strongest bonds in the world, stronger

than those even that bind us to one another, these are the deepest bonds—that bind us to our fellow men.

Source: Oppenheimer, J. Robert. *Letters and Recollections*. Edited by Charles Wiener. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980.

Health and Medicine

Modern Western medicine has applied scientific methods to explore the structure, functions, and diseases of the human body and mind. There are, of course, alternative theories of medicine—Chinese, Indian, and other traditional medicines, homeopathy, and spiritual or religious-inspired medical theories—and many of these are growing in popularity. Most modern medicine practiced today, although it is scientifically based and has recorded significant success, is not perfect, and sometimes harmful therapies or erroneous ideas have persisted, as in Isabella Beeton's recommendation (Document 10) of bloodletting, and even the best efforts have been unable to conquer many diseases, such as cancer and Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS).

Much new knowledge has been gained by medical science in the modern period. The study of anatomy in eighteenth-century Europe was an area of great interest, even spreading as far as Japan, as the text by Sugita describes (Document 8). The letters to Edward Jenner (Document 9) show the important changes in another area, that of vaccination. Some innovations in surgical techniques and antiseptic practices are documented by the description of World War I-era medicine (Document 11). Together, these accounts give further evidence of the ways medicine positively affected everyday life. There are, of course, many areas of major medical achievements in the modern period that are not mentioned in the entries for example: germ theory, antibiotics, anesthetics, imaging technologies, advanced pharmaceuticals, and organ transplants.

One way overall health can be measured is in how long people live on average. In this regard, modern medicine has been very successful, extending the average expected lifespan of 30–35 years in 1700—where it had been for most of human history—to over 70 years in most developed nations and in some countries over 80 years by 2000. The most difficult part of living a long time was surviving birth and childhood, and medical science has been a major factor in reducing infant mortality to less than one percent in many countries. In addition to modern medical knowledge and health care institutions, stable, diverse food supplies, new knowledge in nutrition, and the development of public health systems are also major factors in helping people living longer and healthier lives, although these benefits are not universal.

Another criticism of medical and health care systems is the substantial global disparities in medical care. In much of sub-Saharan Africa, for example, life expectancy is not significantly longer today than in prehistoric times, in part because of complex social, cultural, and economic problems, and in part because of health issues like the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Document 12).

Today, physicians and other health care providers have wiped out diseases like smallpox that at the beginning of the modern era killed millions. They also routinely perform complex, lifesaving surgeries that before modern medicine would have been

impossible, and they continue to seek new therapies and cures. Medicine and health care has an important role to play in everyday life—even influencing if, and how long, everyday life goes on.

8. Dutch Anatomy Books in Japan

The scientific principle of learning by experimental observation encountered obstacles in the medical profession, since it was essentially impossible to observe many of the body's internal structures and processes while patients were still alive. Attitudes based on religious beliefs restricted access to the remains of the dead in many cultures, and until well into the modern period, science did not have the cultural force to assert its need for an exception to the cultural norms for treatment of human bodies for study.

Under *sakoku*—the isolation policy followed by the Japanese government between 1639 and 1853—it was illegal in Japan for Japanese to leave or for foreigners to enter, making the island nation a closed society, although it was not as closed as is sometimes assumed. Trade was allowed, but only with specific nations in specific ports under strict regulations. The Dutch East India Company was the only European nation with any trading rights in Japan, and it was through these limited Dutch contacts that the Japanese were able to learn about European science and other European technologies and ideas.

The following selection, written by Genpaku Sugita, an eighteenth-century Japanese physician, describes the impression of Dutch anatomical texts on the medical profession in Japan. The accuracy of Dutch knowledge is clearly superior in Sugita's mind to the state of Japanese information, which drew largely from Chinese sources. Although at the time disease and its processes were not well understood in Europe, the study of anatomy by Europeans had been flourishing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries despite restrictions, and the results of this practical experience impressed Sugita in 1771.

Japan had a large urban, literate population, and Sugita's work is part of the wider Japanese intellectual movement called *rangaku*, or “Dutch studies,” which sought to exploit the access to European intellectual and technical materials through the trading access with the Dutch at the port of Nagasaki. This movement helped lay the foundation not only for the better practice of medicine, but also for Japan's social, cultural, and technological transformation in the later nineteenth century.

March 4, 1771 (the 8th Year of Meiwa Era). The Dissection at Kotsugahara.

Toramatsu, an Eta [the lowest caste in the social system, a sort of untouchable] and a skillful dissector, was expected to perform the task, but he failed to appear on account of a sudden illness. His 90 year old grandfather, a sturdy-looking man, took his place. He said that he had performed a number of dissections ever since his youth. In dissecting the human body, the custom till then was to leave everything to such outcast people. They would cut open the body and point out such organs as the lungs, the liver and the kidneys and the observing doctors simply watched them and came away. All they could say then was: “We actually viewed the inwards of a human body.” With no sign tag attached to each organ, all they could do was listen to the dissector's words and nod.

On this occasion too, the old man went on explaining various organs such as the heart, the liver, the gall-bladder and the stomach. Further, he pointed to some other

things and said: “I don’t know what they are, but they have always been there in all the bodies which I have so far dissected.” Checking them later with the Dutch charts, we were able to identify them to be the main arteries and veins and suprarenal glands. The old man also said: “In my past experience of dissection, the doctors present never showed puzzle or asked questions specifically about one thing or another.”

Comparing the things we saw with the pictures in the Dutch book Ryotaku and I had with us, we were amazed at their perfect agreement. There was no such divisions either as the six lobes and two auricles of the lungs or the three left lobes and four right lobes of the liver mentioned in old medical books. Also, the positions and the forms of the intestines and the stomach were very different from the traditional descriptions.

The Shogun’s official doctors—Yosen Okada and Rissen Fujimoto—had beheld dissections seven or eight times before, but always what they saw were different from what had been taught in the past thousand years, and their puzzle had never been solved. They said they had been making sketches every time they saw something that struck them as strange. On this basis, I suppose, they had written that perhaps the Chinese and the Japanese were different in their internal structures. This I had read.

After the dissection was over, we were tempted to examine the forms of the bones too, and picked up some of the sun bleached bones scattered around the ground. We found that they were nothing like those described in the old books, but were exactly as represented in the Dutch book. We were completely amazed.

Source: Sugita, Genpaku. *Dawn of Western Science in Japan*. Translated by Ryōzō Matsumoto and Eiichi Kiyooka. Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1969.

9. Vaccination for Smallpox

Smallpox, also known as *variola* in the eighteenth century, was a fearsome disease. It killed an estimated 400,000 Europeans a year in the eighteenth century, with a mortality rate of between 20 and 60 percent, and up to 98 percent in infants and children. Because it was unknown in the New World and Australia where there was virtually no hereditary resistance, smallpox decimated Native American and Australian Aboriginal populations after European contact. It continued to kill millions around the world into the twentieth century. Those who did survive were often left blind or disfigured by scars. However, survivors were also effectively immune to the disease, which eventually led to preventative treatments.

The procedure called *variolation* or *inoculation* (from the Latin word “to graft”), whereby a person would be intentionally infected with active smallpox from another person, had been known in Africa, Asia, and India long before it became part of European medical practice in the eighteenth century. It dramatically decreased the mortality rate, although some patients still died, and there was also the risk of other blood-borne infections with the treatment. When Joseph Marshall, the writer of the two letters reproduced below, refers to “the inoculated smallpox” it is to this less potent infection made by inoculation that he refers.

This entry offers a pair of letters by Marshall, an English physician, to Edward Jenner, an English physician and scientist who is often credited with popularizing the procedure of vaccination. Jenner began using cowpox, a disease similar to smallpox but less virulent, to

create cross-immunity. Jenner was the first to scientifically study the use of this type of inoculation, and he tirelessly promoted the use of the new technique, called vaccination (from vaccinia, the Latin name for cowpox) to protect people from infection with smallpox.

Jenner was successful in showing cross-inoculation worked in practice, in part on the basis of evidence gathered by other physicians like the author of these letters, even though he was working with an imperfect theory of disease and little knowledge of germ theory, microbiology, or immunology, fields later pioneered by the Frenchman Louis Pasteur, who named his treatments “vaccines” in honor of Jenner’s work.

Smallpox vaccinations have proven so effective that by 1979 the disease had effectively been wiped out, the only human disease known to have been completely eradicated. Children are no longer routinely vaccinated, since there is virtually no threat. The medical science that Jenner promoted has made smallpox, and the suffering and death that it caused, no longer a part of everyday life.

Dear Sir:

My neighbour, Mr. Hicks, having mentioned your wish to be informed of the progress of the inoculation here for the cow-pox, and he also having taken the trouble to transmit to you my minutes of the cases which have fallen under my care, I hope you will pardon the further trouble I now give you in stating the observations I have made upon the subject. When first informed of it, having two children who had not had the smallpox, I determined to inoculate them for the cow-pox whenever I should be so fortunate as to procure matter proper for the purpose. I was, therefore, particularly happy when I was informed that I could procure matter from some of those whom you had inoculated. In the first instance I had no intention of extending the disease further than my own family, but the very extensive influence which the conviction of its efficacy in resisting the smallpox has had upon the minds of the people in general has rendered that intention nugatory, as you will perceive, by the continuation of my cases enclosed in this letter, by which it will appear that since the 22d of March I have inoculated an hundred and seven persons; which, considering the retired situation I resided in, is a very great number. There are also other considerations which, besides that of its influence in resisting the smallpox, appear to have had their weight; the peculiar mildness of the disease, the known safety of it, and its not having in any instance prevented the patient from following his ordinary business. In all the cases under my care there have only occurred two or three which required any application, owing to erysipelatous inflammation on the arm, and they immediately yielded to it. In the remainder the constitutional illness has been slight but sufficiently marked, and considerably less than I ever observed in the same number inoculated with the smallpox. In only one or two of the cases have any other eruptions appeared than those around the spot where the matter was inserted, and those near the infected part. Neither does there appear in the cow-pox to be the least exciting cause to any other disease, which in the smallpox has been frequently observed, the constitution remaining in as full health and vigour after the termination of the disease as before the infection. Another important consideration appears to be the impossibility of the disease being communicated except by actual contact of the matter of the pustule, and consequently the perfect safety of the remaining part of the family, supposing only one or two should wish to be inoculated at the same time.

Upon the whole, it appears evident to me that the cow-pox is a pleasanter, shorter, and infinitely more safe disease than the inoculated smallpox when conducted in the most careful and approved manner; neither is the local affection of the inoculated part, or the constitutional illness, near so violent. I speak with confidence on the subject, having had an opportunity of observing its effects upon a variety of constitutions, from three months old to sixty years; and to which I have paid particular attention. In the cases alluded to here you will observe that the removal from the original source of the matter had made no alteration or change in the nature or appearance of the disease, and that it may be continued, *ad infinitum* (I imagine), from one person to another (if care be observed in taking the matter at a proper period) without any necessity of recurring to the original matter of the cow.

I should be happy if any endeavors of mine could tend further to elucidate the subject, and shall be much gratified in sending you any further observations I may be enabled to make.

I have the pleasure to subscribe myself,

Dear sir, etc.

Joseph H. Marshall

Eastington, Gloucestershire, April 26, 1799.

...

Dear Sir:

Since the date of my former letter I have continued to inoculate with the cow-pox virus. Including the cases before enumerated, the number now amounts to four hundred and twenty-three. It would be tedious and useless to detail the progress of the disease in each individual—it is sufficient to observe that I noticed no deviation in any respect from the cases I formerly adduced. The general appearances of the arm exactly corresponded with the account given in your first publication. When they were disposed to become troublesome by erysipelatous inflammation, and application of equal parts of vinegar and water always answered the desired intention. I must not omit to inform you that when the disease had duly acted upon the constitution I have frequently used the vitriolic acid. A portion of a drop applied with the head of a probe or any convenient utensil upon the pustule, suffered to remain about forty seconds, and afterwards washed off with sponge and water, never failed to stop its progress and expedite the formation of a scab.

I have already subjected two hundred and eleven of my patients to the action of the variolous matter, *but every one resisted it*.

The result of my experiments (Which were made with every requisite caution) has fully convinced me that the true cow-pox is a safe and infallible preventive from the smallpox; that in no case which has fallen under my observation has it been in any considerable degree troublesome, much less have I seen any thing like danger; for in no instance were the patients prevented from following their ordinary employments.

In Dr. Woodville's publication on the cow-pox I notice an extraordinary fact. He says that the generality of his patients had pustules. It certainly appears extremely extraordinary that in all my cases there never was but one pustule, which appeared on

a patient's elbow on the inoculated arm, and matured. It appeared exactly like that on the incised part.

The whole of my observations, founded as it appears on an extensive experience, leads me to these obvious conclusions; that those cases which have been or may be adduced against the preventive powers of the cow-pox could not have been those of the true kind, since it must appear to be absolutely impossible that I should have succeeded in such a number of cases without a single exception if such a preventive power did not exist. I cannot entertain a doubt that the inoculated cow-pox must quickly supersede that of the smallpox. If the many important advantages which must result from the new practice are duly considered, we may reasonably infer that the public benefit, the sure test of the real merit of discoveries, will render it generally extensive.

To you, Sir, as the discoverer of this highly beneficial practice, mankind are under the highest obligations. As a private individual I participate in the general feeling; more particularly as you have afforded me an opportunity of noticing the effects of a singular disease, and of viewing the progress of the most curious experiment that ever was recorded in the history of physiology.

I remain, dear sir, etc.

Joseph H. Marshall

Source: Eliot, Charles W., ed. *Scientific Papers: Physiology, Medicine, Surgery, Geology*. The Harvard Classics, Volume 38. New York: P. F. Collier & Son Company, 1910.

10. Mrs. Beeton and Bleeding

Although scientific medicine learned much about the structure and function of the body early in the modern age, effective treatments for many diseases were slower to be discovered. Isabella Beeton was a nineteenth-century English housewife and domestic author who wrote an extremely popular book on household management, one of the last sections of which was medical advice. At a time when a doctor may not always have been either nearby or effective, Beeton offers remedies that combine clinical experience with folk remedies and popular ideas, some of which have since been thoroughly discredited. Some of the treatments described by Beeton for serious conditions also document the limits of the knowledge of popular—and even professional—medicine in the last half of the nineteenth century.

Mrs. Beeton's recommendation to bleed a patient in a fit of apoplexy—a condition most often caused by what is now called a stroke—offers some understanding of the medical problem, but is not an especially effective treatment. Even after the ancient theory of the four bodily humors (blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile) codified by the Roman physician Galen that described disease in terms of the balance or imbalance of the humors lost popularity in the modern age, some physicians continued to bleed patients. Debates over the merits of bleeding continued well into the nineteenth century, although many of the underlying principles had been discredited, and Beeton recommended and prescribed bleeding as an emergency treatment even in 1861, based on what she claimed was reliable medical advice. Other treatments seem to have little to do with modern medicine at all, such as stopping a nosebleed by dropping a key down a child's back.

Another serious disease with a treatment recommended by Beeton that seems odd today is cholera, a life-threatening, highly infectious bacterial dysentery that dehydrates the body

and can cause shock and death as quickly as 12–24 hours. Transmitted though contact with infected waste and water, it spread epidemically, killing hundreds of thousands through the nineteenth century. Cholera morbus was also a general term in the nineteenth century for gastrointestinal infections and diarrhea. Beeton's first medical advice is actually a laxative, which would only accelerate the problem. She spends much time trying to offer advice to prevent agitating the bowels and so on, but the real danger of cholera is dehydration causing death. Cleanliness is indeed a good defense, as Beeton says, but modern water and sewage treatment, and in cases of infection, antibiotics, are a much surer cure. Today cholera is still a danger in some places, where public health practices and safe drinking water supplies do not exist. The remedies Beeton describes, whether the best that medicine could do, or traditional treatments, or sincere quackery, nonetheless offer a glimpse into medical practice as conducted in everyday life, rather than theory or research, in the middle of the nineteenth century.

HOW TO BLEED.

2605. In cases of great emergency, such as the strong kind of apoplexy, and when a surgeon cannot possibly be obtained for some considerable time, the life of the patient depends almost entirely upon the fact of his being bled or not. We therefore give instructions how the operation of bleeding is to be performed, but caution the reader only to attempt it in cases of the greatest emergency. Place a handkerchief or piece of tape rather but not too tightly round the arm, about three or four inches above the elbow. This will cause the veins below to swell and become very evident. If this is not sufficient, the hand should be constantly and quickly opened and shut for the same purpose. There will now be seen, passing up the middle of the fore-arm, a vein which, just below the bend of the elbow, sends a branch inwards and outwards, each branch shortly joining another large vein. It is from the *outer* branch—that the person is to be bled. The right arm is the one mostly operated on. The operator should take the lancet in his right hand, between the thumb and first finger, place the thumb of his left hand on the vein below the part where he is going to bleed from, and then gently thrust the tip of the lancet into the vein, and, taking care not to push it too deeply, cut in a gently curved direction, thus and bring it out, point upwards, at about half an inch from the part of the vein into which he had thrust it. The vein must be cut lengthways, and not across. When sufficient blood has been taken away, remove the bandage from above the elbow, and place the thumb of the left hand firmly over the cut, until all the bleeding ceases. A small pad of lint is then to be put over the cut, with a larger pad over it, and the two kept in their places by means of a handkerchief or linen roller bound pretty tightly over them and round the arm. [...]

2607. BLEEDING FROM THE NOSE.—Many children, especially those of a sanguineous temperament, are subject to sudden discharges of blood from some part of the body; and as all such fluxes are in general the result of an effort of nature to relieve the system from some overload or pressure, such discharges, unless in excess, and when likely to produce debility, should not be rashly or too abruptly checked. In general, these discharges are confined to the summer or spring months of the year, and follow pains in the head, a sense of drowsiness, languor, or oppression; and, as such symptoms are relieved by the loss of blood, the hemorrhage should, to a certain extent, be encouraged.

When, however, the bleeding is excessive, or returns too frequently, it becomes necessary to apply means to subdue or mitigate the amount. For this purpose the sudden and unexpected application of cold is itself sufficient, in most cases, to arrest the most active hemorrhage. A wet towel laid suddenly on the back, between the shoulders, and placing the child in a recumbent posture, is often sufficient to effect the object; where, however, the effusion resists such simple means, napkins wrung out of cold water must be laid across the forehead and nose, the hands dipped in cold water, and a bottle of hot water applied to the feet. If, in spite of these means, the bleeding continues, a little fine wool or a few folds of lint, tied together by a piece of thread, must be pushed up the nostril from which the blood flows, to act as a plug and pressure on the bleeding vessel. When the discharge has entirely ceased, the plug is to be pulled out by means of the thread. To prevent a repetition of the hemorrhage, the body should be sponged every morning with cold water, and the child put under a course of steel wine, have open-air exercise, and, if possible, salt-water bathing. For children, a key suddenly dropped down the back between the skin and clothes, will often immediately arrest a copious bleeding. [...]

2624. THE CHOLERA AND AUTUMNAL COMPLAINTS.—To oppose cholera, there seems no surer or better means than cleanliness, sobriety, and judicious ventilation. Where there is dirt, that is the place for cholera; where windows and doors are kept most jealously shut, there cholera will find easiest entrance; and people who indulge in intemperate diet during the hot days of autumn are actually courting death. To repeat it, cleanliness, sobriety, and free ventilation almost always defy the pestilence; but, in case of attack, immediate recourse should be had to a physician. The faculty say that a large number of lives have been lost, in many seasons, solely from delay in seeking medical assistance. They even assert that, taken early, the cholera is by no means a fatal disorder. The copious use of salt is recommended on very excellent authority. Other autumnal complaints there are, of which diarrhoea is the worst example. They come on with pain, flatulence, sickness, with or without vomiting, followed by loss of appetite, general lassitude, and weakness. If attended to at the first appearance, they may soon be conquered; for which purpose it is necessary to assist nature in throwing off the contents of the bowels, which may be one by means of the following prescription:—Take of calomel 3 grains, rhubarb 8 grains; mix and take it in a little honey or jelly, and repeat the dose three times, at the intervals of four or five hours. The next purpose to be answered is the defence of the lining membrane of the intestines from their acrid contents, which will be best effected by drinking copiously of linseed tea, or of a drink made by pouring boiling water on quince-seeds, which are of a very mucilaginous nature; or, what is still better, full draughts of whey. If the complaint continue after these means have been employed, some astringent or binding medicine will be required, as the subjoined:—Take of prepared chalk 2 drachms, cinnamon-water 7 oz., syrup of poppies 1 oz.; mix, and take 3 tablespoonfuls every four hours. Should this fail to complete the cure, 1/2 oz. of tincture of catechu, or of kino, may be added to it, and then it will seldom fail; or a teaspoonful of the tincture of kino alone, with a little water, every three hours, till the diarrhoea is checked. While any symptoms of derangement are present, particular attention must be paid to the diet, which should be of a soothing, lubricating, and light nature, as instanced in veal or chicken broth, which should contain but little salt. Rice, batter, and bread puddings will be generally relished, and be eaten with

advantage; but the stomach is too much impaired to digest food of a more solid nature. Indeed, we should give that organ, together with the bowels, as little trouble as possible, while they are so incapable of acting in their accustomed manner. Much mischief is frequently produced by the absurd practice of taking tincture of rhubarb, which is almost certain of aggravating that species of disorder of which we have now treated; for it is a spirit as strong as brandy, and cannot fail of producing harm upon a surface which is rendered tender by the formation and contact of vitiated bile. But our last advice is, upon the first appearance of such symptoms as are above detailed, have *immediate* recourse to a doctor, where possible.

Source: Beeton, Isabella. *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management: Comprising Information for the Mistress, Housekeeper, Cook, Kitchen-Maid, Butler, Footman, Coachman, Valet, Upper and Under House-Maids, Lady's Maid, Maid-of-all-Work, Laundry-Maid, Nurse and Nurse-Maid, Monthly, Wet, and Sick-Nurses, etc. etc., Also Sanitary, Medical, and Legal Memoranda, with a History of the Origin, Properties, and Uses of All Things Connected with Home Life and Comfort.* London: S. O. Beeton, 1861.

11. Battlefield Medicine during World War I

Before and during World War I, called by most at the time the Great War, the modern age had developed means of waging war that were far more efficient at killing people than even a few decades previous. Long-range artillery, landmines, barbed wire, machine guns, poison gas, tanks, trinitrotoluene (TNT), and aircraft were just a few of the new weapons employed. The resulting casualties were shocking.

At the same time, the large numbers of casualties necessitated treatment of those who were wounded but not killed. The same intensity in warfare that drives innovation in technology and strategy can also result in new treatments and better care for the wounded. Battlefield medicine was certainly not a new area of medicine, and it, too, benefited from improvements in practice during the course of the war from 1914 to 1918. Better transportation and evacuation systems, x-rays for finding foreign objects in wounded soldiers' bodies, anesthesia and antiseptic techniques to prevent infection, blood transfusions, and improving surgical techniques all contributed to better care for the wounded. Although the causes of infection were understood, treatments were only preventative, and antibiotic drugs to combat infections were unknown.

This selection, from a volume on the war published in 1918, the year it ended, describes anecdotally some of the new techniques to prevent disease and the sensational surgical procedures performed in British hospitals. The optimistic tone seems rather out of place for the grim stories recounted: shattered jaws, broken bones screwed together, surgeons plucking shrapnel from a man's heart, and an amputated leg riding around London in a taxicab. Soldiers' uniforms were sterilized so when they were shot the pieces of uniform that were pushed into the body by the bullet or shrapnel did not cause infections. While one might be impressed with the resourcefulness and efforts of doctors to do the best they could with the medical knowledge available, altogether they leave an impression of a nightmare reality that was not caused by the medicine, but might have been seen as more acceptable in the context of the horrors of modern life during wartime.

In every one of the belligerent countries there is now a new army, the army of maimed and crippled men. So great is their number—they are to be counted by hundreds

of thousands—and so serious is the loss to the efficiency of the respective nations that it is realized that nothing less than heroic measures can minimize the evil both to the community and to the individual sufferer. [...]

One of the striking features of the war has been the rapid progress in surgery consequent upon the necessity of saving life and limb. Surgeons have performed operations that were hardly thought possible before the war. New methods have been discovered, new appliances invented, and, indeed, an entirely new chapter has been written in the history of surgery. Soldiers, whose fighting days seemed at an end, have been remade and sent back to the front as fit and strong as when they first joined the colors.

In the old days, as any one who has read history knows, the practice was to amputate as a matter of course. Now every effort is made not to amputate, for surgery in its progress has become conservative in the best sense of the word. Thus, at the Herbert Hospital, Shooter's Hill, London, there have been between three and four thousand operations on wounded soldiers, but of these only about twenty-five have been primary amputations.

Extraordinary operations are being performed every day in cases of bone, muscle, and nerve fracture. The surgeons, discovering that the human body has greater powers of recuperation than they thought, do not hesitate to take a piece of bone from one part of a patient's anatomy and utilize it to repair another that has been destroyed or removed. At another military hospital in London there was, for example, a case of severe injury to the jaw. The surgeon removed a piece of bone about two and one half inches from the tibia (the large shin bone) of the patient and fixed it in the jaw. The man's leg has healed up, and the jaw has improved so much that eating is now a far less painful process. In very many cases a broken bone is rejoined by a steel splint screwed to the bone just as a carpenter screws together two pieces of wood. The steel plate, which is sometimes an inch wide and four or five inches long, remains permanently in the wound, together with the steel screws, without pain or inconvenience. One of the surgeons who has performed many of these operations believes that in time the steel will become dissipated in the system and disappear altogether. As iron is one of the constituents of the blood, the splint does not become a source of danger.

Wonderful successes have also been achieved with injured nerves. At the Hammer-smith General Hospital, London, for example, six useless muscles were taken from one side of a patient's wrist and transferred to the other, with the result that the hand, previously paralyzed, could once more be used. In another case the surgeon found four inches of a nerve in an arm gone. He telephoned round to the other London hospitals to inquire whether an amputation was in prospect and learned that a man was to have a leg off that afternoon. He asked that the severed limb should be put at once in a saline bath and brought to him in a taxicab. The patient was already under anaesthetic when the leg, still warm-blooded, arrived. The surgeon promptly transferred four inches of nerve from the amputated leg to the arm of the patient with a perfectly successful result.

But perhaps the most wonderful surgical triumph was that in the case of a man with a shrapnel wound. A piece of metal, about the size of a twenty-five-cent piece and much thicker, had entered the breast and lodged in the region of the heart. It was actually touching the heart and impeding its action. When the opening was made the surgeon thrust his hand right in and pulled out the piece of metal. The soldier made

a complete recovery. The triumphs of British, French, and German practitioners would fill volumes.

The bacteriologist has also played an important part in the war. In the earlier period of the war tetanus was playing havoc among the troops, and great work was done in combating its ravages by the famous French physician, Doyen, since dead. More recently an important discovery has been made by Miss Mary Davies, bacteriologist for the Robert Walton Goelet Research Fund, as the result of experiments at a hospital in France. One of the chief causes of infection has been pieces of uniform shot into the body. Miss Davies, who had already gained distinction by inoculating herself with gangrene bacilli to prove the efficacy of Taylor's specific, set to work to discover how soldiers' uniforms could be rendered aseptic. She finally devised a treatment based upon a combination of cresol and soft soap with which the clothing is to be periodically impregnated.

Mr. Lloyd George, the War Minister in England, on receiving Miss Davies's report, ordered that the British soldiers' clothes should be sterilized with her preparation. In addition to its value in reducing the proportion of highly septic wounds the preparation is also welcome as a destroyer of body lice, one of the greatest discomforts of life in the trenches.

Source: Dresser, Horatio W., ed. *The World War*. Volume 15 of *The World's Story: A History of the World in Story Song and Art*, edited by Eva March Tappan. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918.

12. Fighting HIV/AIDS in Africa in 2003

In the background of this reading is the contemporary international public health care process. It is a combination of research institutions like universities and hospitals, non-governmental organizations such as the UN's World Health Organization (WHO) and other groups, and governments and governmental organizations like the U.S.'s National Institutes for Health (NIH) and the Centers for Disease Control (CDC). Ideally these groups work together to identify global health threats and crises, conduct medical and health care research, and find treatments and policies—and funding—to deal with them.

Marie Wawer, a medical doctor and researcher from Canada with positions at Columbia University and Johns Hopkins University schools of public health, had been researching HIV transmission in Africa for 15 years in 2003. The following selection, taken from her testimony before Congress on the AIDS crisis in Africa that year, discusses the methods of transmission of HIV so that effective policies could be designed to help prevent the spread of the epidemic. Some researchers had argued that heterosexual transmission was not the primary cause, but needles reused for injections were the likely culprit, although Wawer's research contradicts those conclusions. The U.S. Congress, in deciding what kinds of HIV/AIDS programs to support, would need to understand how the disease is spread to provide support for programs that could most effectively slow its spread.

Of course, there are vast discrepancies in the health care resources available in wealthy, industrialized nations and poorer, developing nations. Like cholera or smallpox, HIV/AIDS has presented a major threat to human health on a global scale. Much attention has been devoted to HIV/AIDS in the developed world, but the burgeoning number of cases in Africa

threatens whole populations, like smallpox did a few generations ago. Although medical science has far more sophisticated tools and much greater resources than at the beginning of the modern period, the AIDS pandemic has proven difficult to control, and the everyday lives of millions of people are at stake.

THE ROLES OF SEXUAL TRANSMISSION AND UNSAFE INJECTIONS IN THE HIV EPIDEMIC IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, thank you for this opportunity to testify regarding the very important topic of HIV/AIDS prevention in Africa. Given the AIDS crisis on the African continent, every effort must be made to determine optimal approaches to prevention. [...]

WHAT DO THE DATA TELL US ABOUT HIV TRANSMISSION IN AFRICA?

1. The HIV epidemic represents a crisis in the Sub-Saharan region of Africa.

WHO estimates that there are 29.4 million HIV infected persons living in Africa, and that approximately 3.5 million new infections occurred in 2002 (WHO, 2002) This represents a severe humanitarian, social and economic burden.

Although the epidemic has stabilized and abated somewhat in Uganda, we still observe HIV rates of over 10% among adults in towns and cities. Among the 300 Ugandan researchers and health staff who work with me in Rakai, every one has lost family members to the epidemic. We thus urge that every effort be made to curb the spread of HIV.

2. What are the major routes of HIV spread in Africa?

HIV can be spread via unsafe injection practices and blood transfusion. Efforts to reduce such transmission by provision of single use syringes and needles, appropriate sterilization equipment, facilities for the disposal of contaminated injection materials, and high quality HIV screening of potential blood donors, are all highly desirable.

However, data from Africa do not support the hypothesis that unsafe injections represent a common route of HIV transmission in the Sub-Saharan region. Available evidence from a broad range of sources points to heterosexual transmission, followed by mother-to-child transmission, as the major routes of HIV spread on the continent.

EVIDENCE REGARDING ROUTES OF HIV TRANSMISSION IN AFRICA

To assess the main routes of HIV transmission, we must first examine the epidemiological patterns of infection by age, gender, and reported behaviors, and assess which modes of transmission (unsafe injections, heterosexual and/or mother-to-child) are most plausible.

Age and gender patterns of HIV infection

The data can be summarized as follows:

Rates of HIV infection are low (below 1%) in children aged 5–14, an age at which mother-to-child transmission does not occur and when sexual exposure is unlikely.

Rates of HIV infection increase, often dramatically, during adolescence and young adulthood, reflecting the onset of sexual activity. The increase is usually more rapid among females. Our data and those of others show that girls in many African settings become sexually active at younger ages than boys, and sexual debut frequently occurs with men who are some years older. This places adolescent girls at higher risk than adolescent boys. We reviewed our most recent data on HIV acquisition in Rakai, and again found these patterns: only 1% of new infections occurred among persons aged 15–16, while over 90% occurred in persons aged 17–49, the age range of peak sexual exposure. In women in particular, the rate of new infections dropped to very low levels above age 50.

In the great majority of HIV risk studies, rates of infection are closely associated with reported sexual activity, including numbers of partners. Similar patterns are observed with other STDs, such as HSV-2 (genital herpes).

The age and gender distribution of HIV in Africa does not follow the pattern of receipt of injections (for vaccination and treatment in young children; for treatment in older persons).

HIV acquisition in infants and young children.

Although most infants and young children are exposed to multiple injections (for example, for immunization) the great majority of HIV-positive children in Africa acquire HIV from their infected mothers. In the absence of preventive therapy, approximately 15–20% of HIV infected mothers transmit the virus to the infant in utero or at time of birth, and 10–15% transmit through breast milk.

Early in the recognized epidemic in Kinshasa, Zaire (currently Congo), Mann et al. reported that over a third of early childhood HIV infection was associated with blood transfusion and injections. However, it should be noted that infant testing was still under development in the mid 1980s, and such high rates of non-vertical transmission have not been reported by other researchers or in more recent years. In a study in Kampala, Uganda, 98% of HIV-infected children had an HIV-positive mother (Muller and Moser, 1992). The probable causes of infection in the 2% of HIV+ children who had uninfected mother were transfusion and injections. Researchers in Cote d'Ivoire, Tanzania and Kenya followed a total of over 660 children born to HIV-negative mothers for two years on average, and observed no HIV infections in these children (Sherry et al., Karlsson et al., Ekipni et al.). In a separate study in rural Masaka, Uganda, over 2,500 children aged 5–12 were tested for HIV and only 10 (0.4%) were found to be infected: one of these 10 infections was attributed to transfusion and one to unsafe injections (Kengeya-Kayondo et al.). When 3,941 initially HIV-negative children aged 0–12 were followed in the same district, only one child became HIV-infected over the subsequent year, probably through breast milk (the mother was HIV-positive). The authors concluded that, in this setting, no infections had arisen as a result of injections (Mulder et al.).

Biological evidence for modes of transmission

Studies have shown that transmission from an HIV-infected person to a sexual partner is strongly associated with the infected person's HIV viral load (the amount of virus in the blood) (Gray et al., Wawer et al., 2003), and with the presence of genital ulcer.

Comparison of HIV rates with rates of hepatitis C, an infection which is readily spread by injections, shows no common patterns throughout Africa. For example, South Africa has very high HIV rates but relatively low hepatitis C seroprevalence, whereas the opposite situation occurs in Tanzania (Madhava et al., WHO). However, HIV rates generally mirror those of HSV-2 (genital herpes) which is transmitted sexually, but not through unsafe injections (Wawer et al., 2001).

Unsafe injections

There can be no doubt that unsafe injections represent a public health problem. For example, they have been implicated as major routes of transmission for hepatitis B and hepatitis C (Simonsen et al.); Also, many injections given world wide are unnecessary.

Hollow gauge needles, especially those used for intravenous injections or sample collection, can retain blood. HIV has been recovered from such needles for up to several weeks (Abdola et al). It is less clear whether syringes used for non-intravenous injection (i.e., subcutaneous or intramuscular injections, the types generally administered for immunization and therapy) pose a severe risk of HIV transmission. When syringes used to provide subcutaneous or intramuscular injections to HIV-infected clinic patients were subsequently tested for HIV content using highly sensitive HIV tests, only a small number (<4%) revealed the presence of potentially infectious material (Rich et al.). There is thus likely to be variability in the risk posed by unclean needles, depending on their type, use, and whether blood is left in the needle or syringe.

Although in some studies persons with established HIV infection report receiving more injections than uninfected persons, this may reflect receipt of injections for treatment of HIV-related illness. We recently re-examined our Rakai data and found no association between reported injections and the acquisition of new HIV infection: persons who did not acquire HIV actually reported slightly more injections from all sources (government clinics, medicine shops, traditional healers) than persons who acquired HIV during follow up.

The World Health Organization estimates that approximately 1.4–2.9% (or about 50,000–100,000) cases of HIV are spread annually in Africa through unsafe injections (WHO 2002). However, the risk may be spread unevenly between countries and regions, depending on background HIV rates and injection practices. Clearly, improving injection safety and reducing the number of unnecessary injections would be of public health benefit.

3. CONCLUSIONS

The data indicate that sexual transmission, and in infants, mother-to-child transmission, represent the most common routes of HIV infection in Africa.

However, there are also data that transmission via unsafe injections does occur in Africa, although it is not a main cause of the infection. Given the diversity of the African continent, great differences in medical resources and practices, and in the background rate of HIV infection, it is not possible to arrive at a meaningful summary estimate of the proportion of infections contributed by unsafe injections. The data, however, suggest that it is low and probably below 3% in the great majority of settings.

This should not be a reason for complacency. HIV researchers should reassess existing data to provide greater precision regarding the extent of potential injection-associated transmission, and of the circumstances under which it occurs. Wherever possible, HIV studies should include questions on injection and transfusion practices. Efforts to provide an adequate and long term supply of clean injection equipment, coupled with educational programs to promote needle safety and reduce unnecessary injections, would be of public health benefit.

From the viewpoint of HIV prevention, however, the data argue for continued, concerted efforts to reduce risks of HIV transmission associated with unsafe sex and to improve prevention of mother-to-child transmission.

Source: U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions. *AIDS Crisis in Africa: Health Care Transmissions: Hearing before the Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions*. 108th Cong., 1st sess., March 27, 2003.

Language and Literature

One of the things that distinguishes humans from other forms of life is the use of language. Many other species communicate, even in sophisticated ways, but none have the abilities to create languages like humans. Language and literature are centrally important in everyday life. Language is the medium that conveys the meanings of everyday life; without it, we are effectively unable to communicate with each other.

While the use of language does not automatically mean literacy, literacy increased greatly in the modern era, making for more readers than ever before and of a much wider and diverse literature, such as religious texts, novels, poetry, and other genres. Literature and the uses of the written word continue to change as society and technology change—witness the language of instant messaging and the blogosphere as new, emerging styles and genres of writing.

The writer in the modern world was elevated from a patronage-based position of pleasing a sponsor or narrow audience to virtually a social prophet. The English poet Percy Bysshe Shelley (Document 14), typical of his time, sees the poet as an incredibly powerful person in society, and poetry, broadly construed, as one of the cornerstones of civilization. The poet's role is the revelation of beauty, truth, and the way forward for society, even defying social custom and prejudice to reveal knowledge more profound and important than the use of reason and utility could.

Not all saw controversial literature in such edifying terms, and neither were all writers or readers of literature interested in the subtleties of fine poetry. Before violent video games and loud music were corrupting young people, according to Anthony Comstock (Document 15), there was bad literature. Comstock argues for the deleterious impact of inappropriate literature on young and impressionable minds—the same impact Shelley wanted, but Shelley saw it as a tremendously good, even necessary thing. Shelley's defense of poetry extends beyond aesthetic considerations but is ultimately rooted in ideas of beauty and truth. Comstock, a less sophisticated critic of less sophisticated literature, was indifferent to the quality of the dime novel in any aesthetic sense, but is interested in the moral content and example in the sensational stories that were so popular.

While the moral value of literature may be debated, Alexis de Tocqueville (Document 13) and David Crystal (Document 16) address not literature, but language itself and its impact on everyday life. In his tour of the United States in the 1830s, de Tocqueville saw American language as an integral part of America's political, economic, and religious life. Crystal, a contemporary linguist, explains the crisis facing world languages and the dramatic loss of diversity and knowledge that accompanies the extinction of these fundamental ways of seeing and describing the world. All the authors presented here understand language as essential to the everyday life of communities, whether small and illiterate or united only by the texts they share that shape the way they see the world; language matters in everyday life.

13. Alexis de Tocqueville: Language in Democracy in 1830s America

Alexis de Tocqueville was sent by the French government to study the American prison system in the 1830s, but his interests were much wider, and he produced a text that has become a landmark of political science, history, and cultural criticism. His analysis of the American democratic system has been widely read for his insights into American life and his prescient predictions of events such as the Civil War and even the Cold War.

*One can see the influence of eighteenth-century social and political theory on de Tocqueville's thought; he sees a direct connection between the American system of government and virtually every other aspect of American life: religion, economy, politics, art, and even the language that people spoke and how it has changed compared to British English. In this selection taken from *Democracy in America*, de Tocqueville considers the effects of the American system on language. He quickly passes over the literary uses of language as being still too tied to English literature. Instead, he focuses on the everyday language of the people.*

He sees democracy exercising a leveling influence on language, making the speech of different classes of people draw closer because of greater fluidity among social groups and greater social mobility. Social origins matter less in America in de Tocqueville's eyes, and the result is a more general and uniform language based in social and political equality.

At the same time, the lack of authority, new uses for older words, and breakdown in a hierarchy of styles creates confusion and linguistic disorder that reflects a certain degree of social disorder, and these are drawbacks to this arrangement, according to de Tocqueville. The France from which de Tocqueville came had entered a period of some stability under a constitutional monarchy after decades of unrest. By the 1830s, when he visited America, the United States had, despite sectional tensions, been a stable, functioning democracy with one constitutional republican government since 1789, whereas since the French Revolution in 1789 France had had nearly a dozen different regimes. Overall, de Tocqueville sees American democracy as dynamic, egalitarian, practical, and changeable, and sees these features of American life directly reflected in the everyday language spoken by Americans.

American authors may truly be said to live rather in England than in their own country, since they constantly study the English writers and take them every day for their models. But it is not so with the bulk of the population, which is more immediately

subjected to the peculiar causes acting upon the United States. It is not, then, to the written, but to the spoken language that attention must be paid if we would detect the changes which the idiom of an aristocratic people may undergo when it becomes the language of a democracy.

Englishmen of education, and more competent judges than I can be of the nicer shades of expression, have frequently assured me that the language of the educated classes in the United States is notably different from that of the educated classes in Great Britain. They complain, not only that the Americans have brought into use a number of new words (the difference and the distance between the two countries might suffice to explain that much), but that these new words are more especially taken from the jargon of parties, the mechanical arts, or the language of trade. In addition to this, they assert that old English words are often used by the Americans in new acceptations; and lastly, that the inhabitants of the United States frequently intermingle phraseology in the strangest manner, and sometimes place words together which are always kept apart in the language of the mother country. These remarks, which were made to me at various times by persons who appeared to be worthy of credit, led me to reflect upon the subject; and my reflections brought me, by theoretical reasoning, to the same point at which my informants had arrived by practical observation.

In aristocracies language must naturally partake of that state of repose in which everything remains. Few new words are coined because few new things are made; and even if new things were made, they would be designated by known words, whose meaning had been determined by tradition. [...]

The constant agitation that prevails in a democratic community tends unceasingly, on the contrary, to change the character of the language, as it does the aspect of affairs. In the midst of this general stir and competition of minds, many new ideas are formed, old ideas are lost, or reappear, or are subdivided into an infinite variety of minor shades. The consequence is that many words must fall into desuetude, and others must be brought into use.

Besides, democratic nations love change for its own sake, and this is seen in their language as much as in their politics. Even when they have no need to change words, they sometimes have the desire.

The genius of a democratic people is not only shown by the great number of words they bring into use, but also by the nature of the ideas these new words represent. Among such a people the majority lays down the law in language as well as in everything else; its prevailing spirit is as manifest in this as in other respects. But the majority is more engaged in business than in study, in political and commercial interests than in philosophical speculation or literary pursuits. Most of the words coined or adopted for its use will bear the mark of these habits; they will mainly serve to express the wants of business, the passions of party, or the details of the public administration. In these departments the language will constantly grow, while it will gradually lose ground in metaphysics and theology.

As to the source from which democratic nations are accustomed to derive their new expressions and the manner in which they coin them, both may easily be described. Men living in democratic countries know but little of the language that was spoken at Athens or at Rome, and they do not care to dive into the lore of antiquity to find the

expression that they want. If they sometimes have recourse to learned etymologies, vanity will induce them to search for roots from the dead languages, but erudition does not naturally furnish them its resources. The most ignorant, it sometimes happens, will use them most. The eminently democratic desire to get above their own sphere will often lead them to seek to dignify a vulgar profession by a Greek or Latin name. The lower the calling is and the more remote from learning, the more pompous and erudite is its appellation. Thus the French rope-dancers have transformed themselves into *acrobates* and *funambules*. [...]

The most common expedient employed by democratic nations to make an innovation in language consists in giving an unwonted meaning to an expression already in use. This method is very simple, prompt, and convenient; no learning is required to use it correctly and ignorance itself rather facilitates the practice; but that practice is most dangerous to the language. When a democratic people double the meaning of a word in this way, they sometimes render the meaning which it retains as ambiguous as that which it acquires. An author begins by a slight deflection of a known expression from its primitive meaning, and he adapts it, thus modified, as well as he can to his subject. A second writer twists the sense of the expression in another way; a third takes possession of it for another purpose; and as there is no common appeal to the sentence of a permanent tribunal that may definitively settle the meaning of the word, it remains in an unsettled condition. The consequence is that writers hardly ever appear to dwell upon a single thought, but they always seem to aim at a group of ideas, leaving the reader to judge which of them has been hit.

This is a deplorable consequence of democracy. I had rather that the language should be made hideous with words imported from the Chinese, the Tatars, or the Hurons than that the meaning of a word in our own language should become indeterminate. Harmony and uniformity are only secondary beauties in composition: many of these things are conventional, and, strictly speaking, it is possible to do without them; but without clear phraseology there is no good language.

The principle of equality necessarily introduces several other changes into language.

In aristocratic ages, when each nation tends to stand aloof from all others and likes to have a physiognomy of its own, it often happens that several communities which have a common origin become nevertheless strangers to each other; so that, without ceasing to understand the same language, they no longer all speak it in the same manner. In these ages each nation is divided into a certain number of classes, which see but little of each other and do not intermingle. Each of these classes contracts and invariably retains habits of mind peculiar to itself and adopts by choice certain terms which afterwards pass from generation to generation, like their estates. The same idiom then comprises a language of the poor and a language of the rich, a language of the commoner and a language of the nobility, a learned language and a colloquial one. The deeper the divisions and the more impassable the barriers of society become, the more must this be the case. I would lay a wager that among the castes of India there are amazing variations of language, and that there is almost as much difference between the language of a pariah and that of a Brahmin as there is in their dress.

When, on the contrary, men, being no longer restrained by ranks, meet on terms of constant intercourse, when castes are destroyed and the classes of society are recruited

from and intermixed with each other, all the words of a language are mingled. Those which are unsuitable to the greater number perish; the remainder form a common store, whence everyone chooses pretty nearly at random. Almost all the different dialects that divided the idioms of European nations are manifestly declining; there is no patois in the New World, and it is disappearing every day from the old countries.

The influence of this revolution in social condition is as much felt in style as it is in language. Not only does everyone use the same words, but a habit springs up of using them without discrimination. The rules which style had set up are almost abolished: the line ceases to be drawn between expressions which seem by their very nature vulgar and others which appear to be refined. Persons springing from different ranks of society carry with them the terms and expressions they are accustomed to use into whatever circumstances they may enter; thus the origin of words is lost like the origin of individuals, and there is as much confusion in language as there is in society.

Source: Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*. Translated by Henry Reeve. Volume 2. New York: J. and H. G. Langley, 1841.

14. Percy Bysshe Shelley: The Power of Poetry

Percy Bysshe Shelley was one of the greatest English poets of the nineteenth century. Like his contemporaries, Lord Byron, John Keats, and others, he led a revival of poetry and helped create the image of the writer and the ideas of poetry that still influence our conceptions of literary art today. Like many members of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century literary movement known as Romanticism, Shelley eschewed organized religion and loved nature, the individual genius, the imaginative, the exotic, the sublime, and the inspiring. He saw poetry as one of the highest callings, and central to the structure and meaning of everyday life in society.

He himself was from a privileged background, but was a social rebel, challenging social norms both in his personal life and in his writing, a role that came to be seen as important to a serious writer. In response to a satirical attack on the value of poetry, Shelley penned *A Defence of Poetry* in 1821, from which this selection is taken. A poet himself, Shelley defends poetry by giving it enormous power.

On the eve of the Industrial Revolution and the heels of the Enlightenment, Shelley defends poetry from attacks on its lack of rationality, utility, and even morality. While acknowledging that rationality and utility supply physical needs and may convince people to act in rational self-interest, which secures a base of civil behavior, poetry, he insists, appeals to motives and needs greater than the base. Morality, he argues, is based in sympathy (an emotional argument typical of Romanticism), and sympathy requires imagination to see oneself in another's place. Poetry feeds the imagination best and thus promotes sympathetic feelings and moral behavior.

Poetry's use of language gives it a particularly privileged position among the arts, and makes other arts secondary to poetry. Shelley sees language as more intimately connected to thought and imagination than other forms of art. The closer proximity of language and poetic

language to the human quest for harmony and unity, for the true and the beautiful, places poetry not only at the root of the arts, but at the root of society. Shelley's argument is that poetic impulses make the everyday life of human society possible.

Because of the insight poets have, even if unconscious, into the essential tendency toward harmony, unity, beauty, and truth at the core of Shelley's understanding of human nature and civilization, poets can, in a spiritual sense, direct the course of humanity. In this sense, Shelley can claim that "poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world."

Since Shelley's time, other critics, writers, and thinkers have challenged Shelley's ideas and conclusions, although they were very popular in the nineteenth century, and elements of the role of the writer or poet and the nature of literature from Shelley's time continue to influence contemporary ideas. Even if poetry is not the root of civilization, it shows how powerful poetry was believed to be and how intimately Shelley connected literature to everyday life.

Language, color, form, and religious and civil habits of action, are all the instruments and materials of poetry; they may be called poetry by that figure of speech which considers the effect as a synonym of the cause. But poetry in a more restricted sense expresses those arrangements of language, and especially metrical language, which are created by that imperial faculty, whose throne is curtained within the invisible nature of man. And this springs from the nature itself of language, which is a more direct representation of the actions and passions of our internal being, and is susceptible of more various and delicate combinations, than color, form, or motion, and is more plastic and obedient to the control of that faculty of which it is the creation. For language is arbitrarily produced by the imagination, and has relation to thoughts alone; but all other materials, instruments, and conditions of art have relations among each other, which limit and interpose between conception and expression. The former [poetry] is as a mirror which reflects, the latter [other arts] as a cloud which enfeebles, the light of which both are mediums of communication. [...]

The whole objection, however, of the immorality of poetry rests upon a misconception of the manner in which poetry acts to produce the moral improvement of man. Ethical science arranges the elements which poetry has created, and propounds schemes and proposes examples of civil and domestic life; nor is it for want of admirable doctrines that men hate, and despise, and censure, and deceive, and subjugate one another. But poetry acts in another and diviner manner. It awakens and enlarges the mind itself by rendering it the receptacle of a thousand unapprehended combinations of thought. Poetry lifts the veil from the hidden beauty of the world, and makes familiar objects be as if they were not familiar; it reproduces all that it represents, and the impersonations clothed in its Elysian light stand thenceforward in the minds of those who have once contemplated them, as memorials of that gentle and exalted content which extends itself over all thoughts and actions with which it co-exists.

The great secret of morals is love; or a going out of our own nature, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought, action, or person, not our own. A man, to be greatly good, must imagine intensely and comprehensively; he must put himself in the place of another and of many others; the pains and pleasures of his



Joseph Severn, *Posthumous Portrait of Shelley Writing Prometheus Unbound*, oil on canvas, 1845. Keats-Shelley Memorial House, Rome, Italy / The Bridgeman Art Library.

species must become his own. The great instrument of moral good is the imagination; and poetry administers to the effect by acting upon the cause. Poetry enlarges the circumference of the imagination by replenishing it with thoughts of ever new delight, which have the power of attracting and assimilating to their own nature all other thoughts, and which form new intervals and interstices whose void for ever craves fresh food. Poetry strengthens the faculty which is the organ of the moral nature of man, in the same manner as exercise strengthens a limb. [...]

But poets have been challenged to resign the civic crown to reasoners and mechanists, on another plea. It is admitted that the exercise of the imagination is most delightful, but it is alleged that that of reason is more useful. Let us examine, as the grounds of this distinction, what is here meant by utility. Pleasure or good, in a general sense, is that which the con-

sciousness of a sensitive and intelligent being seeks, and in which, when found, it acquiesces. There are two kinds of pleasure, one durable, universal, and permanent; the other transitory and particular. Utility may either express the means of producing the former or the latter. In the former sense, whatever strengthens and purifies the affections, enlarges the imagination, and adds spirit to sense, is useful. But a narrower meaning may be assigned to the word utility, confining it to express that which banishes the importunity of the wants of our animal nature, the surrounding men with security of life, the dispersing the grosser delusions of superstition, and the conciliating such a degree of mutual forbearance among men as may consist with the motives of personal advantage.

Undoubtedly the promoters of utility, in this limited sense, have their appointed office in society. They follow the footsteps of poets, and copy the sketches of their creations into the book of common life. They make space and give time. Their exertions are of the highest value, so long as they confine their administration of the concerns of the inferior powers of our nature within the limits due to the superior ones. But whilst the skeptic destroys gross superstitions, let him spare to deface, as some of the French writers have defaced, the eternal truths charactered upon the imaginations of men. [...]

It is impossible to read the compositions of the most celebrated writers of the present day without being startled with the electric life which burns within their words. They measure the circumference and sound the depths of human nature with a comprehensive and all penetrating spirit, and they are themselves perhaps the most sincerely astonished at its manifestations; for it is less their spirit than the spirit of the age. Poets are the hierophants of an unapprehended inspiration; the mirrors of the gigantic shadows

which futurity casts upon the present; the words which express what they understand not; the trumpets which sing to battle, and feel not what they inspire; the influence which is moved not, but moves. Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world.

Source: Shelley, Percy Bysshe. "A Defence of Poetry." In *Essays, Letters from Abroad, and Fragments*. Edited by Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley. London: Edward Moxon, 1840.

15. *Dangerous Literature*

Anthony Comstock was an anti-vice crusader in New York in the last part of the nineteenth century. He used his position as postal inspector to prevent the dissemination of literature and other materials he considered immoral or improper, including pornography, birth control information, and fraudulent advertising. His efforts against corruption and immorality were informed by a very rigid Victorian sense of moral propriety. Anti-obscenity laws are still sometimes today called Comstock laws. While reviled by civil liberties groups and supported by many religious groups, the importance of Comstock's position here is not the value of his moral positions, but the importance he and so many others attached to literature in the rapidly changing social and moral conditions of the modern world.

The growth of public education and the rise of mass literacy gave rise to new types and styles of literature. Working-class people were becoming generally literate for perhaps the first time in history, and their tastes in literature were met by what were called dime novels in America, penny dreadfuls in England, *fait divers* in France, or generally termed boulevard literature. This kind of literature was produced and consumed in mass quantities with greater interest by the publisher in sales and profits and by the readers in amusement or diversion than concern for the moral or aesthetic value of the plentiful stories that were printed on cheap paper and sold on the streets.

In one regard, Comstock shares the perspective of the dime novelists: he does not care about the aesthetic or literary qualities of the literature he criticizes, although they were typically written hastily with sensational but predictable plots and stock characters. Instead, in this selection from his book *Traps for the Young*, he sees literature as a means to encourage young people to criminal, immoral behavior, to cause a breakdown in family and legal authority, and to be the origin of vice and to the detriment of clean living.

Comstock's objections to the negative effects of mass media, especially on impressionable children, find echoes throughout the twentieth century. Comic books, rock music, violence in film and video games, Internet networking and chat sites: the media have changed but the messages have been similar. In a modern world where movies and recorded music were not yet known, much less video games, Facebook, and whatever comes next, it was reading that was considered decidedly dangerous. Despite Comstock's best efforts, popular literature and its descendants continue to be a part of everyday life for millions, and its effect on aesthetics and morality remains a question that is still debated.

Satan stirred up certain of his willing tools on earth by the promise of a few paltry dollars to improve greatly on the death-dealing quality of the weekly death-traps, and forthwith came a series of new snares of fascinating construction, small and tempting in price, and baited with high-sounding names. These sure-ruin traps comprise a large variety of half-dime novels, five and ten cent story papers, and low-priced pamphlets for boys and girls.

This class includes the silly, insipid tale, the coarse, slangy story in the dialect of the barroom, the blood-and-thunder romance of border life, and the exaggerated details of crimes, real and imaginary. Some have highly colored sensational reports of real crimes, while others, and by far the larger number, deal with most improbable creations of fiction. The unreal far outstrips the real. Crimes are gilded, and lawlessness is painted to resemble valor, making a bid for bandits, brigands, murderers, thieves, and criminals in general. Who would go to the State prison, the gambling saloon, or the brothel to find a suitable companion for the child? Yet a more insidious foe is selected when these stories are allowed to become associates for the child's mind and to shape and direct the thoughts.

The finest fruits of civilization are consumed by these vermin. Nay, these products of corrupt minds are the eggs from which all kinds of villainies are hatched. Put the entire batch of these stories together, and I challenge the publishers and venders to show a single instance where any boy or girl has been elevated in morals, or where any noble or refined instinct has been developed by them.

The leading character in many, if not in the vast majority of these stories, is some boy or girl who possesses usually extraordinary beauty of countenance, the most superb clothing, abundant wealth, the strength of a giant, the agility of a squirrel, the cunning of a fox, the brazen effrontery of the most daring villain, and who is utterly destitute of any regard for the laws of God or man. Such a one is foremost among desperadoes, the companion and beau-ideal of maidens, and the high favorite of some rich person, who by his patronage and endorsement lifts the young villain into lofty positions in society, and provides liberally of his wealth to secure him immunity for his crimes. These stories link the pure maiden with the most foul and loathsome criminals. Many of them favor violation of marriage laws and cheapen female virtue. [...]

A word about bound books.

Recently I purchased a book offered for sale on the railroads, and recommended by the newsboy on a train on the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad as the "boss book," the "fastest selling book of the day." The web of the story consisted of four murders, three highway robberies, two burglaries, one blackmailing scheme, three attempts to murder women, one attempt to poison a young woman, two conspiracies to ruin a pure girl, one den of counterfeiters in full blast, two gambling halls, one confidence game, one brothel, procurers abducting a young girl for a rich man, three cases of assault and battery, one street fight, two dens of thieves, one forced marriage, two suicides, and oaths, lies, wine-drinking, smoking cigars, et cetera. The character that figured throughout all this was a beautiful young wife, who was the murderess and principal actor in all these horrible and disgusting scenes.

Again, these stories give utterly false and debasing ideas of life. All high moral purposes are made to give way to self-gratification. The great safeguard of human society—reverence to law—is broken down. Disobedience to parents is encouraged. The healthful restraint of parental authority is treated as a species of tyranny which the hero first chafes under, then resists, and lastly ignores.

The boy cheats himself by imagining he is doing a manly thing when he naturally follows a base example. To the child that chafes under home restraint, having taken the initiative step to ignore proper authority, a dangerous and lawless life comes easy.

Again, these stories breed vulgarity, profanity, loose ideas of life, impurity of thought and deed. They render the imagination unclean, destroy domestic peace, desolate homes, cheapen woman's virtue, and make foul-mouthed bullies, cheats, vagabonds, thieves, desperadoes, and libertines. They disparage honest toil, and make real life a drudge and burden. What young man will serve an apprenticeship, working early and late, if his mind is filled with the idea that sudden wealth may be acquired by following the hero of the story? In real life, to begin at the foot of the ladder and work up, step by step, is the rule; but in these stories, inexperienced youth, with no moral character, take the foremost positions, and by trick and device, knife and revolver, bribery and corruption, carry everything before them, lifting themselves in a few short weeks to positions of ease and affluence. Moral courage with such is a thing to be sneered at and despised in many of these stories. If one is asked to drink and refuses, he is set up and twitted till he yields or is compelled to by force. The idea of doing anything from principle is ridiculous in the extreme. As well fill a kerosene-oil lamp with water and expect a brilliant light. And so, in addition to all else, there is early inculcated a distaste for the good, and the piercing blast of ridicule is turned upon the reader to destroy effectually all moral character.

Many critics seem to think it necessary to quote liberally from these authors, to show the dialect or to expose to public contempt the coarse language and worse morals. It is not the writer's purpose to quote these expressions or name these publications. Those who are informed on this subject know what is meant, and others need not know further than the effects.

Source: Comstock, Anthony. *Traps for the Young*. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1883.

16. David Crystal: Dying Languages

Language is an essential part of being human: all humans have language, and language is an essential part of the human experience. Historically, languages have developed and diverged, and some have died; it is a natural part of human history. However, never have more languages been in danger of disappearing than at the start of the twenty-first century.

*David Crystal is a professional linguist who studies both English and world languages, including the disappearance of languages, a phenomenon known as "language death," which occurs when the last known (or even unknown) native speaker of a language dies. The following excerpt is taken from Crystal's 2000 book, *Language Death*, in which he documents the processes by which languages are dying around the world, and the consequences. The reasons for language death are complex; most are related to trends specific to the modern world in politics, economics, education, migration, and other areas.*

Whatever the various causes, Crystal documents the disproportionate number of speakers of world languages, and the danger of disappearing that many of the less common languages face. There have been a few well-known "last speakers" in America and Europe, but most endangered languages are in other parts of the world. Aboriginal Australian languages, Native American languages, and Siberian, Pacific Island, South American, and African tribal languages are disappearing at what Crystal calls an alarming rate, with consequences not only for the speakers of those languages, but for all of humanity.

Knowing more than one language gives people a richer and more valuable experience of life. Languages encapsulate unique ways of looking at the world, and the interaction between languages and thus between worldviews adds profoundly to the human experience. He contemplates the losses in terms of lost literatures and lost parts of human experience. Crystal argues that multilingualism is a more common state than monolingualism, and should be seen as the norm. Language is a primary means through which we make and experience everyday life, and when a language disappears, that way of experiencing life—and the possibilities of its interacting with other languages and ways of life—is gone.

We are at a critical point in human linguistic history, and most people don't know. Language death is real. Does it matter? Should we care? It does, and we should. [...] Languages are dying as I write. Everyone should be concerned, because it is everyone's loss.

The issue of language loss is itself a source of confusion. People may be aware that languages are dying, but have no idea at what rate. Depending on how they estimate that rate, so their current global guess will be affected: some take a conservative view about the matter; some are radical. Then there is the opposite situation—the fact that not all languages on earth have yet been “discovered,” thus allowing an element of growth into the situation. [...]

Beginning with the largest totals: it is evident that a very small number of languages account for a vast proportion of the world's population (thought to have passed 6 billion in mid 1999). The 8 languages over 100 million (Mandarin, Spanish, English, Bengali, Hindi, Portuguese, Russian, Japanese) have nearly 2.4 billion speakers between them; and if we extend this count to include just the top 20 languages, we find a total of 3.2 billion—over half the world's population. If we continued the analysis downwards, we would eventually find that just 4% of the world's languages are spoken by 96% of the population.

Turning this statistic on its head: 96% of the world's languages are spoken by just 4% of the population. That is the perspective within which any discussion of language death must be seen. . . . [A] quarter of the world's languages are spoken by less than 1,000 people; and well over half by less than 10,000. . . . If the figure of 20,000 (referred to as a danger-level in some parts of the world) were taken as a universal datum, this would correspond to exactly two-thirds of the world's languages. [W]e are talking about 4,000 languages. Most of these will be found in those parts of the world where languages are most numerous—notably in the equatorial regions everywhere. [...]

As we have already seen, conditions vary so much around the world that it is impossible to generalize from population alone about the rate at which languages die out. That is why there is so much variation in the claims that are currently being made, that “x% of the world's languages are going to die out in the next 100 years”—x here has been anything from 25% (a conservative estimate which correlates with the less than 100 criterion) to 80% or more (a radical estimate which correlates with the less than 100,000 criterion). It is impossible, in our present state of knowledge, to say more about these deductions other than that they are well-informed guesswork. [...]

[A] language contains our history. Through the words and idioms it uses, it provides us with clues about the earlier states of mind of its speakers, and about the kinds of

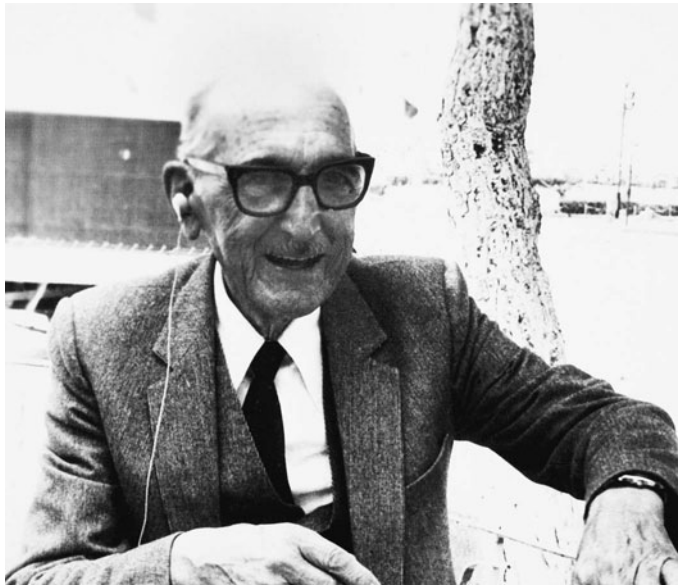
cultural contact they had. There are over 350 living languages listed in the etymological files of the Oxford English Dictionary. Each etymology demonstrates through its presence a point of contact, an index of influence. Words become part of the evidence of social history. George Steiner's comment applies: "Everything forgets. But not a language." With tens of thousands of words, idioms, and metaphors in a language's domestic vocabulary, and large numbers of grammatical constructions available to manipulate these items, it is plain that the potential for linguistic interaction, even between two languages, is immense. And with thousands of languages in the "pool" the capabilities of expression stemming from the human language capacity are almost unimaginable. It is a richness of heritage whose power to facilitate individual expression, in the form of community or personal identity, is virtually unlimited.

Because languages contribute to the sum of human knowledge... identity and history combine to ensure that each language reflects a unique encapsulation and interpretation of human existence, and this gives us yet another reason for caring when languages die. It is a motive that is more self-serving than altruistic, though no less worthy. We should care—because we can learn a great deal from them.

The view that languages other than our own provide us with a means of personal growth, as human beings, is a recurrent theme in literature, at various levels of intellectual profundity. Several proverbial expressions have captured the essential insight. From Slovakia: "With each newly learned language you acquire a new soul." From France: "A man who knows two languages is worth two men." Emerson takes up this theme: "As many languages as he has, as many friends, as many arts and trades, so many times is he a man."

The message is clearly that there is much to be learned and enjoyed in experiencing other languages. And the corollary is that we miss out on this experience if we do not avail ourselves of the opportunity to encounter at least one other language. Everyone who has travelled has felt this limitation, to at least some extent. Here is Emerson again: "No man should travel until he has learned the language of the country he visits. Otherwise he voluntarily makes himself a great baby,—so helpless and so ridiculous." There is a real sense in which a monolingual person, with a monolingual temperament, is disadvantaged, or deprived.

Monolingual people need time to take in this point. And so, before resuming the argument, it is worth a paragraph of digression to stress that there are good grounds for conceiving the natural condition of the human being to be multilingual. The human brain has the natural capacity to learn several languages, and most members of the human race live in settings where they naturally and efficiently use their brains in precisely this way. Half the human race is known to be at least bilingual, and there are probably half as many bilinguals again in those parts of the world where there have



Tevfik Esenc, the last remaining speaker of Oubykh, 1984. AP Photo.

been no studies, though cultural contacts are known to be high. People who belong to a predominantly monolingual culture are not used to seeing the world in this way, because their mindset has been established through centuries of being part of a dominant culture, in which other people learn your language and you do not learn theirs. [...]

Humanity gains so much from each fresh expression of itself in a language: “The world is a mosaic of visions. With each language that disappears, a piece of that mosaic is lost.” The best way for an educated person to feel the power of this argument, I always think, is to ask what would be missed if—through an imaginary catastrophic language disappearance—we had never had X (where X is any well-known language). What splendours of literature, in particular, would we have never experienced if some event had prematurely ended the development of French, or Spanish, or Russian? What if Norman French had succeeded in displacing Old English after 1066? No Chaucer, Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Dickens now. What if French had never been? No Molière, Hugo, Baudelaire. It has become a cliché, but that does not diminish its truth, to say that everyone would be the poorer.

Source: Crystal, David. *Language Death*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Reprinted with the permission of Cambridge University Press.

Art

Like many other forms of intellectual life in the modern world, art has undergone tremendous transformations. Many people are confused or bewildered by the work that is credited with being great works of modern art in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Of course, not all art has been abstract or non-representational, and there is much twentieth-century art that is more immediately recognizable. In fact, ease of travel, education, public museums, and the printed and electronic reproduction of art have made art more popular and accessible than ever before.

One of the trends at the beginning of the modern era was the rise of public institutions of art. In many European nations, the beginning of the modern age saw both the systematic study of the natural and human worlds, and one of the major focuses was the art of ancient Greece and Rome. This trend also led to the idea that there should be institutions to collect, display, and preserve natural specimens and human artifacts—public museums. Art was just one of the branches of collecting in early museums, and the selection about the Sloane Collection (Document 17) in the middle of the eighteenth century describes where modern museums began. In many European nations, the modern world also saw the establishment of national academies to train artists, primarily through the study of the ideas of beauty in the art of ancient Greece and Rome.

The academic system began to break down in the nineteenth century as new artistic ideas developed. William Gilpin (Document 18) is an early example of the search for explanations of artistic expression that break the academic rules of beauty, harmony, proportion, and perfection. By the early twentieth century, many artists were seeking new ways of seeing and representing the world that were increasingly abstract—but no less serious as art, even if they were not well understood. Indeed many of these artists intentionally sought to provoke and shock as part of their artistic practice. These trends led to a significant shift to non-representational art, art that did not represent anything

but itself. Kazimir Malevich's manifesto of 1915 (Document 19) that accompanied his exhibition of non-representational art gives an idea of the innovative artistic ideas of the period.

In recent decades, many artists and thinkers have begun to question the basic assumptions of the modern era about art and the role of the artist, artwork, audience, and even the notion of meaning in art. Vitaly Komar and Alex Melamid (Document 20) are postmodern artists whose work is both within the traditions of art while it poses powerful questions about art itself. (See *Postmodernism* in the Glossary.) One of their ongoing projects, part of a series they call "ecocollaboration," involves teaching Asian elephants—left unemployed by restrictions on logging—to paint, then selling their paintings to raise money for elephant conservation, thus combining environmentalism and art in a unique and irreverent way. Komar and Melamid's parodic ecocollaborations are in a way responding to the artistic revolution that Malevich helped to initiate.

Art in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has also changed not only in the way in which artists work, but also in the media. While traditional media such as painting, drawing, and sculpting remain popular, new genres have emerged, such as found art, performance art, installation art, video art, and others. Some critics feel that the very idea of art has reached the end of its social usefulness, but art will continue to affect the everyday lives not only of the artists, critics, and patrons, but also of everyone who sees and enjoys it.

17. The Beginnings of the Museum: The Sloane Collection in the Eighteenth Century

Museums often seem like perfectly natural institutions, and yet, the public museum, like the public library, is a uniquely modern institution. Beginning in the early modern period, scholars and aristocrats began amassing collections of artifacts and specimens from natural history. Art and antiquities were also valued and collected by interested individuals, including monarchs. None of these collections were open to the public, and they saw themselves as serving their owners or a select few elites or scholars who may have been invited or permitted to use the materials.

The idea of a general public museum or its related institution, the public art museum, did not really take hold until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The following selection, from an eighteenth-century British periodical, coincidentally also the first to use the term "magazine" in its current usage, describes a visit of the Prince of Wales (Frederick, son of King George II) and his wife, the Princess of Wales, as an excuse to describe the contents of Hans Sloane's collection, which he donated to the British Crown and that subsequently formed the core of the collection of what is now the British Museum. The Sloane Collection as described here included biological specimens from plants and animals; precious stones, jewelry, and geological specimens; numismatic commemorative medals from antiquity and contemporary events; anthropological and archaeological collections from ancient and global cultures; and a library of manuscripts and books. Today the British Museum is one of the largest cultural institutions in the world, with over 13 million objects in its collections.

Museums today see their roles as institutions for education, exhibition, preservation, and study and research of objects of importance and value from human culture or the

natural world. Millions of objects are held in museum collections, and hundreds of millions of people visit museums every year. They have become an important part of global culture and centers of intellectual life and are a unique development of the modern world.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES VISITING SIR HANS SLOANE

Dr. Mortimer, Secretary to the Royal Society, conducted their Royal Highnesses into the room where Sir Hans was sitting, being ancient and infirm. The Prince took a chair and sat down by the good old gentleman some time, when he expressed the great esteem and value he had for him personally, and how much the learned world was obliged to him for having collected such a vast library of curious books, and such immense treasures of the valuable and instructive productions of nature and art. Sir Hans's house forms a square of above 100 feet each side, inclosing a court and three front rooms had tables set along the middle, which were spread over with drawers fitted with all sorts of precious stones in their natural beds, or state as they are found in the earth, except the first, that contained stones formed in animals, which are so many diseases of the creature that bears them; as the most beautiful pearls, which are but warts in the shell fish; the bezoars, concretions in the stomach; and stones generated in the kidneys and bladder, of which man woefully knows the effects; but the earth in her bosom generates the verdant emerald, the purple amethyst, the golden topaz, the azure sapphire, the crimson garnet, the scarlet ruby, the brilliant diamond, the glowing opal, and all the painted varieties that Flora herself might wish to be deck'd with; here the most magnificent vessels of cornelian, onyx, sardonyx, and jasper, delighted the eye, and raised the mind to praise the great creator of all things.

When their Royal highnesses had view'd one room and went into another the scene was shifted, for, when they returned, the same tables were covered for a second course with all sorts of jewels, polish'd and set after the modern fashion; or with gems carv'd or engraved; the stately and instructive remains of antiquity; for the third course the tables were spread with gold and silver ores, with the most precious and remarkable ornaments used in the habits of men, from Siberia to the Cape of Good Hope, from Japan to Peru; and with both ancient and modern coins and medals in gold and silver, the lasting monuments of historical facts, as those of a Prusias, king of Bithynia, who betrayed his allies; of an Alexander, who, mad with ambition, over-ran and invaded his neighbors; of a Caesar, who enslaved his country to satisfy his own pride; of a Titus, the delight of mankind; of a Pope Gregory XIII recording on a silver medal his blind zeal for religion, in perpetuating thereon the massacre of the protestants in France; as did Charles IX, the then reigning king in that country; here may be seen the coins of the king of England, crown'd at Paris; a medal representing France and Spain, striving which should first pay their obeisance to Britannia; others shewing the effect of popular rage, when overmuch oppression by their superiors, as in the case of the DeWitts in Holland; the happy deliverance of Britain, by the arrival of King William; the glorious exploits of a Duke of Marlborough, and the happy arrival of the present illustrious royal family amongst us.

The gallery, 110 feet in length, presented a surprising prospect; the most beautiful corals, crystals, and figured stones; the most brilliant butterflies, and other insects,

shells painted with as great variety as the precious stones, and feathers of birds vying with gems; here the remains of the Antediluvian world excited the awful idea of that great catastrophe, so many evident testimonies of the truth of Moses's history; the variety of animals shews us great beauty of all parts of the creation.

Then a noble vista presented itself thro' several rooms filled with books, among these many hundred volumes of dry'd plants; a room full of choice and valuable manuscripts; the noble present sent by the present French king to Sir Hans, of his collections of paintings, medals, statues, palaces, & c. in 25 large atlas volumes; besides other things too many to mention here.

Below stairs some rooms are filled with the curious and venerable antiquities of Egypt, Greece, Hetruria, Rome, Britain, and even America; others with large animals preserved in the skin, the great saloon lined on every side with bottles filled with spirits, containing various animals. The halls are adorned with the horns of divers creatures, as the double horn'd Rhinoceros of Africa, the fossil deer's horns from Ireland nine feet wide; and with weapons of different countries, among which it appears that the Mayalese, and not our most Christian neighbors the French, had the honour of inventing that butcherly weapon the bayonet. Fifty volumes in folio would scarce suffice to contain a detail of this immense museum, consisting of above 200,000 articles.

Their royal highnesses were not wanting in expressing their satisfaction and pleasure, at seeing a collection, which surpass'd all the notions or ideas they had formed from even the most favorable accounts of it. The Prince on this occasion shew'd his great reading and most happy memory; for in such a multiplicity, such a variety of the productions of nature and art; upon any thing being shewn to him he had not seen before, he was ready in recollecting where he had read of it, and upon viewing the ancient and modern medals, he made so many judicious remarks, that he appear'd to be a perfect master of history and chronology; he express'd the great pleasure it gave him to see so magnificent a collection in England, esteeming it an ornament to the nation; and expressed his sentiments how much it must conduce to the benefit of learning, and how great an honour will redound to Britain, to have it established for publick use to the latest posterity.

Source: "An Account of the Prince and Princess of Wales visiting Sir Hans Sloane." *The Gentleman's Magazine*. London, July, 1748.

18. William Gilpin on the Picturesque

William Gilpin was an eighteenth-century English minister and amateur artist as well as an aesthetic philosopher. He spent much time sketching the beauty of the English countryside on walking tours and trying to account for the attractiveness of landscape paintings, which did not fit well with any existing aesthetic theory. The most popular at the time focused on an idea of the beautiful that most often related either to antique Greek and Roman originals and found the beautiful in harmony, proportion, and unity, or on eighteenth-century theories such as Edmund Burke's, which identified features such as delicacy or smoothness, broadly understood.

Dissatisfied with these, Gilpin developed a new concept, the “picturesque.” In this selection, from a 1794 collection of essays on the topic, he makes a clear distinction between real objects, which may be described as beautiful, and a separate category he establishes for art or representations of objects, which are attractive if they have a different kind of quality called the picturesque.

Gilpin proposes an idea that the picturesque is in a sense the opposite of the beautiful, having roughness in a number of aspects, especially composition and texture, as the defining feature of beauty, in contrast with Burke’s idea of smoothness. In the end, Gilpin almost gleefully gives up on determining a logical reason why the picturesque should have such appeal. Gilpin does not care if he cannot find an explanation for why the picturesque is so attractive and compelling: it is sufficient for him to know that it is.

The idea that art can be attractive or compelling without being beautiful in the traditional or classical sense gave a new kind of freedom to artists, whether they painted landscapes or not. Although Gilpin himself did not go so far, his theory is a step toward greater experimentation and allowance for individual expression. The sublime, or awesome power of nature; vigorous, evident brushwork; more energetic, dynamic compositions; and new, less smooth materials like bronze and watercolor gained currency in art. Good art could be provocative, unconventional, and even ugly; nor did it have to be real or rational. Inspiration, emotion, and self-expression became key elements of creativity, and remain central ideas to what the popular understanding of art and the artist are today.

Disputes about beauty might perhaps be involved in less confusion, if a distinction were established, which certainly exists, between such objects as are beautiful, and such as are picturesque—between those, which please the eye in their natural state; and those, which please from some quality, capable of being illustrated in painting. Ideas of beauty vary with the object, and with the eye of the spectator. Those artificial forms appear generally the most beautiful, with which we have been the most conversant. Thus the stone-mason sees beauties in a well-jointed wall, which escape the architect, who surveys the building under a different idea. And thus the painter, who compares his object with the rules of his art, sees it in a different light from the man of general taste, who surveys it only as simply beautiful.

As this difference therefore between the beautiful, and the picturesque appears really to exist, and must depend on some peculiar construction of the object; it may be worth while to examine, what that peculiar construction is. We inquire not into the general sources of beauty, either in nature, or in representation. This would lead into a nice, and scientific discussion, in which it is not our purpose to engage. The question simply is, What is that quality in objects, which particularly marks them as picturesque?

In examining the real object, we shall find, one source of beauty arises from that species of elegance, which we call smoothness, or neatness; for the terms are nearly synonymous. The higher the marble is polished, the brighter the silver is rubbed, and the more the mahogany shines, the more each is considered as an object of beauty: as if the eye delighted in gliding smoothly over a surface.

In the class of larger objects the same idea prevails. In a pile of building we wish to see neatness in every part added to the elegance of the architecture. And if we examine a piece of improved pleasure-ground, every thing rough, and slovenly offends.

Mr. Burke, enumerating the properties of beauty, considers smoothness as one of the most essential. “A very considerable part of the effect of beauty, says he, is owing to this quality: indeed the most considerable: for take any beautiful object, and give it a broken, and rugged surface, and however well-formed it may be in other respects, it pleases no longer. Whereas, let it want ever so many of the other constituents, if it want not this, it becomes more pleasing, than almost all the others without it.” How far Mr. Burke may be right in making smoothness the most considerable source of beauty, I rather doubt. A considerable one it certainly is.

Thus then, we suppose, the matter stands with regard to beautiful objects in general. But in picturesque representation it seems somewhat odd, yet we may perhaps find it equally true, that the reverse of this is the case; and that the ideas of neat and smooth, instead of being picturesque, in fact disqualify the object, in which they reside, from any pretensions to picturesque beauty. Nay farther, we do not scruple to assert, that roughness forms the most essential point of difference between the beautiful, and the picturesque; as it seems to be that particular quality, which makes objects chiefly pleasing in painting.—I use the general term roughness; but properly speaking roughness relates only to the surfaces of bodies: when we speak of their delineation, we use the word ruggedness. Both ideas however equally enter into the picturesque; and both are observable in the smaller, as well as in the larger parts of nature—in the outline, and bark of a tree, as in the rude summit, and craggy sides of a mountain. [...]

[R]oughness either real, or apparent, forms an essential difference between the beautiful, and the picturesque; it may be expected, that we should point out the reason of this difference. It is obvious enough, why the painter prefers rough objects to smooth: but it is not so obvious, why the quality of roughness should make an essential difference between the objects of nature, and the objects of artificial representation. [...]

Thus foiled, may we in the true spirit of inquiry, persist; or honestly give up the cause, and own we cannot search out the source of this difference? I am afraid this is the truth, whatever airs of dogmatizing we may assume. Inquiries into principles rarely end in satisfaction. Could we even gain satisfaction in our present question, new doubts would arise. The very first principles of our art would be questioned. [...]

Thus, in our inquiries into first principles, we go on, without end, and without satisfaction. The human understanding is unequal to the search. In philosophy we inquire for them in vain—in physics—in metaphysics—in morals. Even in the polite arts, where the subject, one could imagine, is less recondite, the inquiry, we find, is equally vague. We are puzzled, and bewildered; but not informed. All is uncertainty.

Source: Gilpin, William. *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel, and on Sketching Landscape, to Which is Added a Poem, On Landscape Painting*. London: B. Blamire, 1794.

19. Kazimir Malevich: “The Zero of Form”

The beginning of the twentieth century saw a flurry of artistic change and innovation. Artists such as Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso built on the ideas of Impressionists and others and introduced radical changes in the ways art was understood and created. Photography, too,

was crucially important, revealing not only how things looked at a particular moment, offering its own qualities as an artistic medium, but also in a sense freeing art from the demand for verisimilitude. Artists quickly seized on this to experiment with styles and ideas. In Paris and Munich, New York and Moscow, young artists gathered, debated, and argued about the new art, about the avant-garde or “leading edge” of what was seen as artistic progress.

Up until the first decades of the twentieth century, artists had always painted a picture of something else. One of the most important and radical steps in modern art was the shift to non-objective art. For the first time, painters began painting pictures of nothing else—the paintings were not pictures of anything but themselves. One of the pioneers of this dramatic change in art, Kazimir Malevich, was born in 1878 in the Ukraine to Polish parents and moved to Moscow in 1904 to pursue a career in art; he rapidly became a leader of Russian artistic Modernism.

The following selection is excerpted from Malevich’s 1915 manifesto *From Cubism and Futurism to Suprematism: The New Painterly Realism*, published in conjunction with the exhibition of paintings in a new style he called “Suprematism.” Suprematist paintings are stark, angular, and plain. They show simple, slightly irregular geometric shapes carefully chosen and placed on a white background. Most importantly, they are not simply abstract (a distorted or stylized representation), but truly non-objective.

Malevich’s writing, like his painting, is brash, declamatory, and intentionally provocative. His poor education is revealed in his bad grammar and awkward style. Still, he manages to readily insult and demean other artists and all other artistic styles, especially naturalistic and academic art. Yet there is such an extraordinary enthusiasm for the new—progress and innovation—that it overrides the negativity.

Some may dismiss Malevich’s art and manifesto, which he saw as being a first step in the transformation of modern life, as silly or unserious or as not even art, but if he and his fellow artists were serious about anything, they were serious about their art, which still remains iconoclastic and confrontational a century later.

Only when the conscious habit of seeing nature’s little nooks, Madonnas, and Venuses in pictures disappears will we witness a purely painterly work of art.

I have transformed myself in the zero of form and have fished myself out of the rubbishy slough of academic art.

I have destroyed the ring of the horizon and got out of the circle of objects, the horizon ring that has imprisoned the artist and the forms of nature.

This accursed ring, by continually revealing novelty after novelty, leads the artist away from the aim of destruction.

And only cowardly consciousness and insolvency of creative power in an artist yield to this deception and establish their art on the forms of nature, afraid of losing the foundation on which the savage and the academy have based their art.

To produce favorite objects and little nooks of nature is just like a thief being enraptured by his shackled legs.

Only dull and impotent artists veil their work with sincerity. Art requires truth, not sincerity.

Objects have vanished like smoke; to attain the new artistic culture, art advances toward creation as an end in itself and toward domination over the forms of nature. [...]

In repeating or tracing the forms of nature, we have nurtured our consciousness with a false conception of art.

The work of the primitives was taken for creation.

The classics also.

If you put the same glass down twenty times, that's also creation.

Art, as the ability to transmit what we see onto a canvas, was considered creation.

Is placing a samovar on a table also really creation?

I think quite differently.

The transmission of real objects onto a canvas is the art of skillful reproduction, that's all.

And between the art of creating and the art of repeating there is a great difference.

To create means to live, forever creating newer and newer things.

And however much we arrange furniture about rooms, we will not extend or create a new form for them.

And however many moonlit landscapes the artist paints, however many grazing cows and pretty sunsets, they will remain the same dear little cows and sunsets. Only in a much worse form.

And in fact, whether an artist is a genius or not is determined by the number of cows he paints.

The artist can be a creator only when the forms in his picture have nothing in common with nature.

For art is the ability to create a construction that derives not from the interrelation of form and color and not on the basis of aesthetic taste in a construction's compositional beauty, but on the basis of weight, speed, and direction of movement.

Forms must be given life and the right to individual existence. [...]

An artist is under a vow to be a free creator, but not a free robber.

An artist is given talent in order that he may present to life his share of creation and swell the current of life, so versatile.

Only in absolute creation will he acquire his right.

And this is possible when we free all art of philistine ideas and subject matter and teach our consciousness to see everything in nature not as real objects and forms, but as material, as masses from which forms must be made that have nothing in common with nature.

Then the habit of seeing Madonnas and Venuses in pictures, with fat, flirtatious cupids, will disappear.

Color and texture are of the greatest value in painterly creation—they are the essence of painting; but this essence has always been killed by the subject.

And if the masters of the Renaissance had discovered painterly surface, it would have been much nobler and more valuable than any Madonna or Gioconda [Mona Lisa].

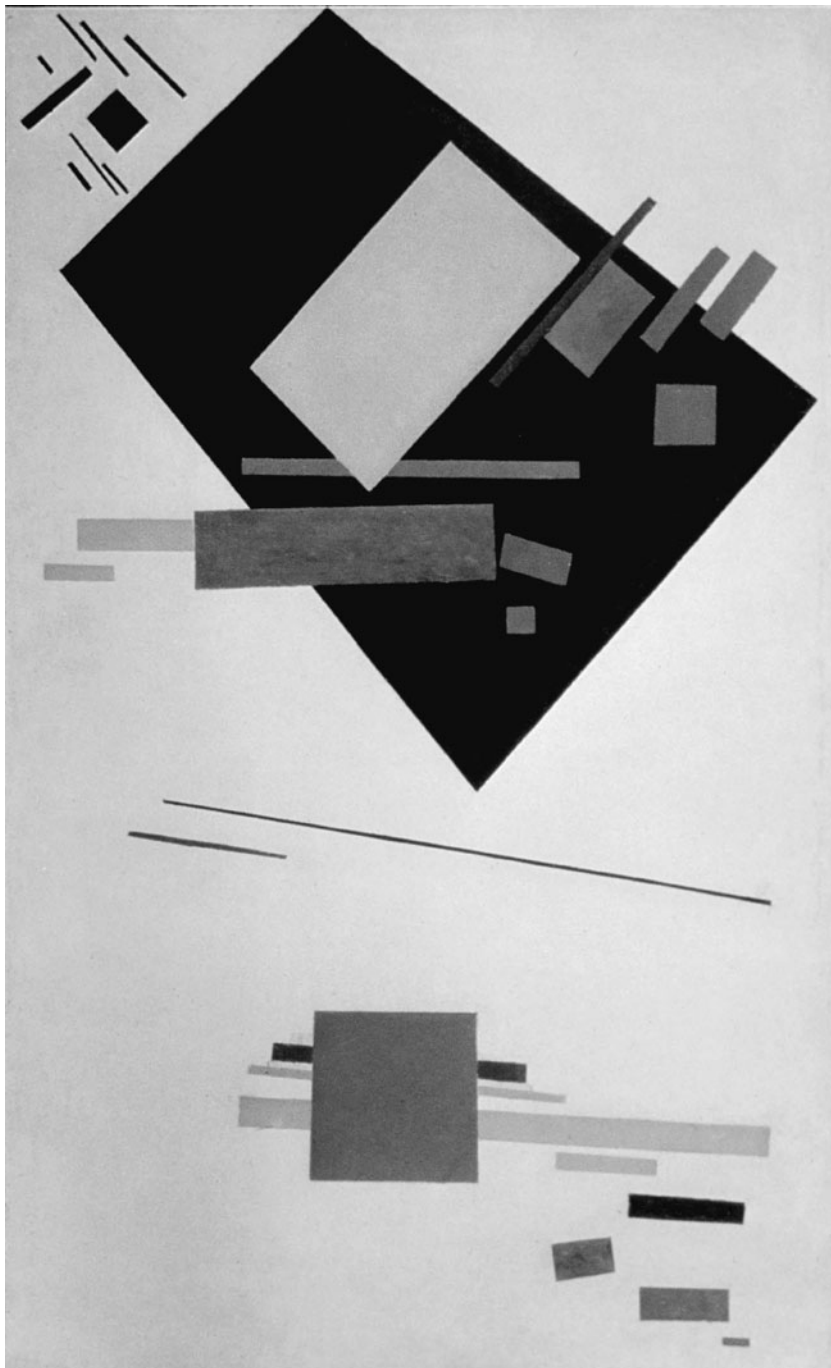
And any hewn pentagon or hexagon would have been a greater work of sculpture than the Venus de Milo or David.

The principle of the savage is to aim to create art that repeats the real forms of nature.

In intending to transmit the living form, they transmitted its corpse in the picture.

The living was turned into a motionless, dead state.

Everything was taken alive and pinned quivering to the canvas, just as insects are pinned in a collection. [...]



Suprematist Painting. Kazimir Malevich, 1915. Art Resource, NY.

Hitherto there has been a realism of objects, but not of painterly, colored units, which are constructed so that they depend neither on form, nor on color, nor on their position vis-a-vis each other.

Each form is free and individual.

Each form is a world.

The efforts of the art authorities to direct art along the path of common sense annulled creation.

And with the most talented people, real form is distortion.

Distortion was driven by the most talented to the point of disappearance, but it did not go outside the bounds of zero.

But I have transformed myself in the zero of form and through zero have reached creation, that is, suprematism, the new painterly realism—nonobjective creation.

Suprematism is the beginning of a new culture: the savage is conquered like the ape.

There is no longer love of little nooks, there is no longer love for which the truth of art was betrayed.

The square is not a subconscious form. It is the creation of intuitive reason.

The face of the new art.

The square is a living, regal infant.

The first step of pure creation in art. Before it there were naïve distortions and copies of nature.

Our world of art has become new, non-objective, pure.

Everything has disappeared; a mass of material is left from which a new form will be built.

In the art of suprematism, forms will live, like all living forms of nature. These forms announce that man has attained his equilibrium; he has left the level of single reason and reached one of double reason.

(Utilitarian reason and intuitive reason.)

The new painterly realism is a painterly one precisely because it has no realism of mountains, sky, water. . . .

Any painterly surface is more alive than any face from which a pair of eyes and a smile protrude.

A face painted in a picture gives a pitiful parody of life, and this allusion is merely a reminder of the living.

But a surface lives; it has been born. A coffin reminds us of the dead; a picture, of the living.

This is why it is strange to look at a red or black painted surface. This is why people snigger and spit at the exhibitions of new trends. Art and its new aim have always been a spittoon.

But cats get used to one place, and it is difficult to house-train them to a new one.

For such people, art is quite unnecessary, as long as their grandmothers and favorite little nooks of lilac groves are painted. [...]

I say to all: Abandon love, abandon aestheticism, abandon the baggage of wisdom, for in the new culture, your wisdom is ridiculous and insignificant. I have untied the knots of wisdom and liberated the consciousness of color!

Hurry up and shed the hardened skin of centuries, so that you can catch up with us more easily.

I have overcome the impossible and made gulfs with my breath. You are caught in the nets of the horizon, like fish!

We, suprematists, throw open the way to you.

Hurry!

For tomorrow you will not recognize us.

Source: From *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism* edited and translated by John E. Bowl
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20. Vitaly Komar and Alex Melamid: *If An Elephant Could Paint . . .*

Sometimes people look at a work of contemporary art and say (or at least think), “That looks like a monkey painted it!” In the case of a recent project by artists Vitaly Komar and Alex Melamid, it wasn’t a monkey—it was an elephant. The Asian Elephant Art and Conservation Project (AEACP) is both a non-profit environmentalist organization and an ongoing work of art by Komar and Melamid. When environmental concerns led to the banning of teak logging in Southeast Asia—putting logging elephants out of work—the fate of the pachyderms and their handlers became very precarious. Conserving these animals and teaching them to become artists is a typical maneuver for Komar and Melamid, who have a series of (sometimes unrealized) projects they call “ecollaborations,” in which they attempt to create artistic collaborations with other species, including dogs, monkeys, beavers, termites, and, most successfully, elephants.

Komar and Melamid began their careers as dissident artists in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. After having their works literally plowed under by a bulldozer at an unofficial, unsanctioned exhibition in 1974 for developing a new style of painting called “Sotsart” (a parodic combination of Dada, Pop Art, and Socialist Realism, the official

artistic style and doctrine of the Soviet Union), they left the Soviet Union in 1977 to criticize not only the Communism they left behind, but the capitalism they found in the West.

The selection, from the AEACP Web site, shows the elephant art project is serious, yet very much aware of the confrontation it provokes with ideas of art. Are elephant paintings really art? If elephants can paint works that look like human works, are the human works really art and how much value do they have? Are the elephants the artists, or are Komar and Melamid? There is a sense that they are just exploiting an art world that is gullible enough to take this seriously and buy elephant paintings, but the purchasers know what they're doing and even feel they're being ecologically responsible in the process.

If abstract and non-representational art by humans is often considered meaningless and so simple anyone could do it, two postmodern artists have combined a variety of criticisms of contemporary art with global environmentalist concerns in an ongoing postmodern art project that both validates and questions notions of art, artist, audience, creativity, and meaning in art—and connects art with the everyday life not only of people, but elephants, too.

The Asian Elephant Art & Conservation Project (AEACP) is a non-profit organization dedicated to aiding people in need and to saving the diminishing number of Asian elephants left on our planet through its work with domesticated elephants. The AEACP raises funds through the sale of artwork created by elephants in order to generate money and create awareness for the people and elephants of Asia.

The AEACP is a continuing work of art by conceptual artists, Komar & Melamid. In its creation, Komar & Melamid brought the idea of teaching elephants how to paint from US zoos to the impoverished countryside of Southeast Asia, where the much needed ban on logging in the late 80's left the remaining few thousand elephants and their caretakers out of work. The extensive logging of the countryside and the explosion of the human population in the area led to the destruction of much of the elephants' natural habitat, leaving them with no wild to return to. Thousands of elephants and their lifelong caretakers were left without financial support and have since been forced to beg for food on crowded city streets. The Asian Elephant Art & Conservation Project is designed to help these surviving elephants and the people that care for them. The project is grounded on the basis of art functioning as charity, or art for the betterment of people as a whole.

The idea of art as charity is a largely original concept, although based in a long line of art rhetoric. Back in the 1920's, the Russian theorist, Chuzhak, coined the term, "life building" based upon his studies of Alexander Bogdanov's Organizational Theory of Art, in which Bogdanov theorized that art, as with any human activity, is based upon organization. Art, Bogdanov argued, was simply the organization of colors, lines, shapes, medium, etc. Under this premise, Bogdanov claimed that art of the future would involve the actual organization of people themselves, hopefully for the betterment of those peoples' lives.

During the 60's and 70's these concepts of "life building" were revived in the works of German artist, Joseph Beuys, in what he called, "social sculpture." His works as well as the French Situationists ideas of artistic intervention were based upon the concepts of Russian Constructivism. Komar & Melamid's Asian Elephant Art & Conservation Project is a continuation of this body of thought. The marketing and sales of the elephants'

work is the pure expression of basic Constructivist theories. The major difference between this project and similar works by artists such as Andy Warhol and Jeff Koons is that the AEACP is not built on a 'business' model, but rather as a full-fledged non-profit organization designed to better the world in which we live.

The AEACP is not necessarily a vehicle for social change, as Joseph Beuys may have envisioned, but does function as a charity designed to increase peoples' consciousness and to help those individuals in need. Money that is raised by the AEACP is distributed to the people of Southeast Asia, in countries such as Thailand, Cambodia, and Indonesia. The funds raised through the sale of elephant art have real power to improve peoples' lives as well as to improve the welfare of the world's remaining elephants. In order to accomplish our existing mission, we need to expand our realm of influence and activity around the globe. [...]

The Asian Elephant Art & Conservation Project (AEACP) promotes and distributes the work of elephant artists to raise funds for elephant conservation. By exhibiting and marketing the paintings internationally, the AEACP aims to increase public awareness of the plight of Asian elephants whose numbers are dwindling at an alarming rate. In recent years, the number of domesticated elephants in Thailand alone has rapidly diminished from 11,000 to only 3,000. Deforestation of the Thai countryside has led to a ban on the logging of teak, an industry that once employed thousands of elephants. Although much needed, the logging ban left these elephants and their life-long owners (mahouts) without a livelihood.

Upon hearing of the situation in Southeast Asia, Komar & Melamid began their first collaboration with an elephant, Renee, at the Toledo Zoo in Ohio in 1995. It was here that Komar & Melamid first developed their method of teaching elephants to paint. Elephants in United States zoos have been painting successfully for two decades. One such painting pachyderm at the Phoenix Zoo named Ruby generated more than \$100,000 for the zoo in a single year. After working with elephants in the States, Komar & Melamid then introduced the idea of teaching elephants how to paint to Asia and two years later founded the Asian Elephant Art & Conservation Project.

Komar & Melamid first traveled to Thailand in 1998 and worked with elephants in Lampang, Ayutthaya, Surin, and Phuket. Later that year they gave their first lecture about their elephant art project at the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles, California. In November 1998, Komar & Melamid opened the world's first elephant art academy in Lampang. To celebrate this event, the Hilton International Hotel in Bangkok hosted the AEACP's first exhibition of elephant art.

In June 1999, Komar & Melamid were asked to represent Russia at the prestigious Venice Biennial and the duo included works by elephant artists Juthanam, Phitsamai, and Nam Chok—a historic first for elephant artists.

In August 1999, the AEACP established another colony of painting elephants near Ubud in Bali, Indonesia. In conjunction with the Mimi Ferzt Gallery in New York, a selection of elephant paintings created during this period was exhibited at the millennium art show at the Four Seasons in Bali.

In March 2000, a Christie's Auction of elephant art held in New York raised a staggering \$75,000 for elephant conservation. One painting was purchased by a collector for \$2200.

In 2001, the Sydney Museum of Contemporary Art in Australia raised \$27,000 and saw over 42,000 visitors come through its doors for the largest exhibition of elephant art to date.

In the summer of 2002, the AEACP wrapped up another exhibition and online auction of elephant art at the Berkeley Museum of Art in California, which raised an additional \$20,000 for this important cause.

The winter of 2002/2003, the AEACP established the first Cambodian elephant art center at the Tamao Wildlife Rescue Center in Phnom Penh, as well as two new centers in Thailand and two in Indonesia, one of which is located on the grounds of the magnificent Borobudur Temple in Central Java.

2003 brought the AEACP and elephant art to the shores of Japan. The Kawamura Memorial Museum of Art just outside of Tokyo held the country's first exhibition of elephant art, even bringing in a Thai elephant for the opening ceremonies. The exhibition was an amazing success, bringing much media attention to the museum. Since the close of the exhibition, two smaller gallery exhibits of elephant art have taken place in and near Tokyo.

The AEACP has received attention and support from around the globe. Komar & Melamid's work with elephants has been featured in the *New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Nation* and *Esquire*, as well as featured on CBS *Sunday Morning*, the *Lehrer NewsHour*, and a substantial segment on *60 Minutes*.

Source: Asian Elephant Art and Conservation Project website (www.elephantart.com). Text by David Ferris. Reprinted with permission.

Part V

MATERIAL LIFE

Material life covers a wide scope of everyday life—the kind of house we live in, the type of food we eat, the variety of clothes we wear, but also the technology we use to work, study, recreate, or just to get about. The stuff of everyday life satisfies our most basic need for shelter and sustenance, but it often does a great deal more than that. Scholars refer to this collectively as “material culture,” and just as archaeological objects are important sources for understanding the material life of the distant past, the same is true for the present and the recent, modern past.

This section is divided into subsections on food and drink, houses and furniture, clothing and personal appearance, and technology. The technology subsection is connected to all of the other sections in one way or another; technological changes have driven many of the changes in these aspects of material life. Connections can also readily be drawn between these areas and other aspects of daily life. Florence Nightingale’s ideas (Document 7) on cleanliness and health in housing relates to ideas current in medical science, Mary Fulton’s discussion of clothing (Document 13) touches on religion and women’s roles, Venel’s discussion of chocolate (Document 1) is easily linked with growing international trade and European expansion, and Antoinette Linnebur’s civic-minded cake recipes (Document 5) reflect an intersection with political life.

Eating and drinking are among the most common everyday human activities, but food and drink have changed fundamentally in the modern world—Isabella Beeton (Document 3) even reflects on this directly in her book on the household. In many respects, food and drink in 1700 was very different from food today. Commodities like cane sugar, chocolate, coffee, tea, and tobacco were becoming widespread but were expensive luxury goods, not staples. Canning, freezing, and refrigeration were unknown, and perishable foods out of season were a technical and logistical impossibility. Food is now global in its sources and influences, a process that has been the result of modern transportation, trade, migration, and the politics of *colonialism* and empire. Table manners, such as described by Arthur Young (Document 2), and recipe transcription, essentially reinvented by Mrs. Beeton, were different, as are the recipes—few people today eat George Washington Pie, much less Toad-in-the-Hole.

Many of the changes in food are technological as well. In food and drink many modern technologies have had far-reaching benefits. Modern agricultural techniques, food safety procedures, and transportation systems have created far greater food security for many—meaning stable, reliable food supplies. Eric Schlosser's muckraking (Document 6) points out that some of the benefits of contemporary technology also have negative aspects. Sometimes food safety systems break down, and there is much about the food we eat—such as the flavoring industry—that we don't know.

Not only the food but also the kitchens and houses in which it is cooked have been altered by developments of the modern period. The addition to domestic architecture over the last 300 years of modern conveniences such as clean running hot and cold water, wastewater sewers, automated climate control, electricity and gas utilities, and other innovations, have fundamentally changed the conditions of material life. Florence Nightingale (Document 7) argued for reforms of private domestic spaces for health reasons. Arthur Train's (Document 9) attempt to predict the future of the twentieth century is surprisingly accurate despite some missteps. The lifestyle of the *Bedouins* of Morocco could hardly be more different. Edmondo De Amicis's visit (Document 8) to Morocco also shows that modern isn't the same everywhere. There are many parts of the modern world where the material culture of industrial societies had not been adopted.

Major trends in modern clothing include the industrialization of the textile industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and introduction of synthetic fabrics in the twentieth. Styles of clothing also changed and interacted with other styles from different parts of the modern world. As is the case today, social position was also strongly indicated by clothing: Abigail Adams (Document 10) describes the elaborate dresses of social elites who were still responsible for their own designs, and Leo Deutsch (Document 12) describes being put into prisoner's garb—including having half his head shaved. Some criticize fashion for being impractical, as Florence Nightingale (Document 11) does, and some embrace it, as does Georgia Scott (Document 14) in her discussion of the head wraps of the modern Maya, and Mary Fulton (Document 13) believes her dresses help make her a religious and cultural role model.

The development of technology may seem to be a part of everyday material life that is different from the way that clothing, housing, and food are part of daily life, but technological changes are an important part of what housing looks like; how food is made, packaged, prepared, and even eaten; and what kind of materials are available for clothing and the like. New technologies like steam power, machinery, automobiles, factories, and, more recently, computers have been some of the most defining changes of the modern world, in part because of how they have affected many other aspects of life. Just in terms of material culture, for example, textile machinery and factories altered clothing, while Robert Fulton's (Document 16) steamboats and later gas-powered tractors and trucks, cousins of the automobile (Document 17), changed agriculture and transportation, transforming food and drink. The *Industrial Revolution* is only one part of technological change. The modern world is in the midst of an information revolution as well. Just like Arthur Train (Document 9) tried to imagine in 1938 what 1988 would be like in housing, Jennifer Flynn (Document 18) tries to imagine what the current past will look like from the future. Even the recent past reveals the complexity

of contemporary computing technology, which from cell phones to virtual avatars is continuing to change the material reality of everyday life.

Food and Drink

Without food and drink, humans cannot survive, and, obviously, eating and drinking are as old as human life. Yet even as the customs of eating and drinking are different in different times and places around the world, varying with culture, class, climate, and availability of food, there are modern trends in the ways that we eat and drink.

Food is part of everyday life, and is mentioned in most of the other parts of this volume. Preparing and sharing meals is one of the primary activities of domestic groups, and is central to domestic family life and cultural celebrations. Food also finds its way into religious life in fundamental ways, either as a part of ritual, like the Christian *Eucharist* or commemorative feasts, like the Jewish *Passover Seder*, or as in the food offerings to spirits in Japanese *Shinto*.

Growing and trading food for other goods and services is one of the foundations of economic life, and the global trade in food has not only spread certain food products and preparation techniques around the world, but made them central parts of trade. Many of the most popular consumables are grown in parts of the world far from where they are consumed, including coffee, tea, tobacco, and chocolate. Isabella Beeton's recipe (Document 3) for Bengal "chetney" and Gabriel Venel's entry (Document 1) on chocolate in Diderot and d'Alembert's eighteenth-century *Encyclopédie* both show the increasingly global nature of food in the modern world, as does Samuel G. Wilson's (Document 4) description of tea and tobacco in nineteenth-century *Persia* and Eric Schlosser's critique (Document 6) of the flavoring industry and—yet another uniquely modern phenomenon—the globalization of the fast food industry at the end of the twentieth century.

Mrs. Beeton was the first to write a recipe in the way almost all recipes are presented today, with a list of ingredients and amounts followed by a step-by-step description of preparation. Her menus and recipes, while not especially attractive today, also show the increasing stability of food supplies, changing ideas about what cooking is, and a new kind of book for mass modern life: the cookbook. Antoinette Linnebur (Document 5) shows another way that cooking is connected to everyday life. Using Beeton's format to write recipes, seemingly normal dessert recipes from the nineteenth century connect to a long tradition of politically motivated food. While George Washington and the Prince of Wales may have been more honored personages than politicians, it is certainly part of a tradition, now lost, to cook for your candidate.

Modern agricultural and transportation techniques have enabled many people to eat a rich, varied, and appealing diet, including a host of foods out of season and from distant places. At the same time, in other—or even the same—parts of the world, others die for want of food or suffer from malnutrition. None of the entries in this section deal directly with the global inequities of food resources, but famine, like that which underlies Arthur Young's (Document 2) visit to France and Samuel Wilson's description of impoverished Persians, still occurs, and though less common than in the pre-modern past, hunger remains an unfortunate part of modern life.

1. Chocolate: The Food of the Gods

Today chocolate is one of the favorite foods of people around the world; it was also a favorite in the eighteenth century. Known to the Spanish after their contact with Mesoamericans in the sixteenth century, chocolate became a popular luxury item in Europe, steadily gaining popularity throughout the modern period not only for its flavor, but also for its medical properties.

Chocolate, technically speaking, is a food or drink made from the fermented and roasted seeds of the tropical cacao tree, the scientific name of which (theobroma cacao) means “food of the gods,” but its significance is much more than that. It is perhaps the most popular flavor in the world, and chocolate, along with various other food and drink products that began to be imported into Europe in large quantities in the modern era, are linked to important changes in modern culture as well.

Fashionable, imported drinks such as coffee and chocolate gave rise to public places to consume them, which unlike taverns and other public houses, became places for reading the newspapers, for public political discourse, and for the interaction of a growing intelligentsia, which was enhanced, as compared to bars, by the sobriety of the patrons. Coffee houses and chocolate houses spread across Europe, bringing political and cultural activity with them. The growing demand for cocoa, which can only be grown in tropical environments, like the growth in other commodities like sugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, and tea, either for food or drink or other material needs, also had a significant economic impact on trade patterns.

At the request of Denis Diderot, one of the French leaders of the Enlightenment and one of the editors of the Encyclopédie, Gabriel Venel wrote the entry on chocolate, from which the selection is taken. His article is an interesting combination of anthropology, botany, medicine, and cookery, and he provides everything from the history of chocolate to a wide range of advice and even recipes for how to prepare it. Chocolate was important then, and is important now as the typical dessert, and an important food in many holiday celebrations. Many cannot imagine everyday life without it.

Chocolate, a type of cake or bar prepared with different ingredients but whose basic element is cocoa. See Cocoa. The beverage made from this bar retains the same name; the cocoa nut originates from the Americas: Spanish travelers established that it was much used in Mexico, when they conquered it around 1520.

Indians, who have enjoyed this beverage since the dawn of time, prepared it in a very simple way: they would roast the cocoa nuts in their clay pots, melt it in warm water and mix the result with some spice, see Spice; for more mannered people, achiote would be added to add some color to the mixture, while atolle would serve to give it more volume. Atolle is a stew made from corn flour, either spiced up by the Mexicans or whose flavor was enhanced by Spanish nuns or ladies, not with spices, but with sugar, cinnamon, scented oils, amber, musk, etc. In these regions, atolle is used in similar ways, for rising rice cream. All these ingredients mixed together give this composition so rough an appearance and so wild a taste, that a Spanish soldier once said that it would be more appropriate to the feeding of pigs than to the relish of humans; and that he would never have gotten used to it, if it were not for the shortage of wine that forced him to such a violent alternative, so that he could alternate pure water with something else.

Spaniards, who learned about this beverage from the Mexicans and were convinced, through their own experience that this beverage, though unrefined, was good for the

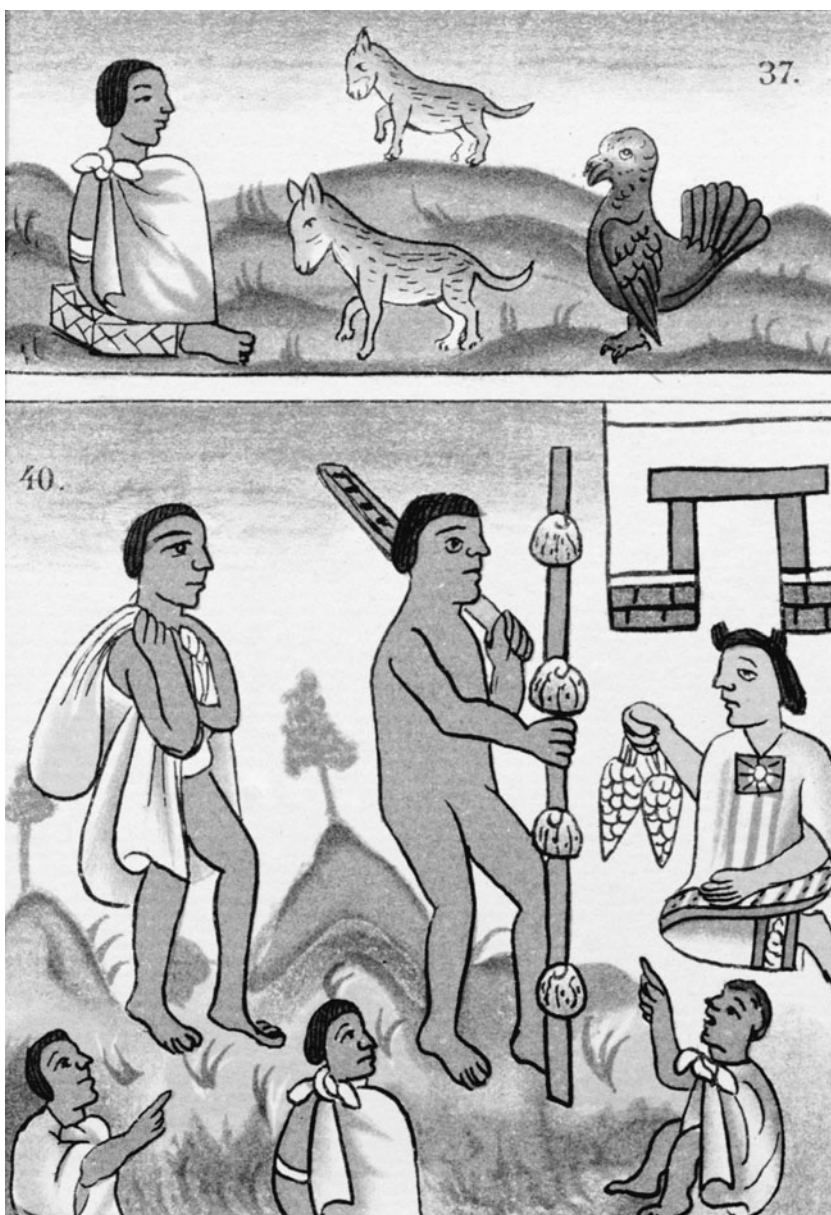
health, set out to correct its defaults by adding sugar, some ingredients from the Orient, and several local drugs that it is unnecessary to list here, as we only know their name and as, from all these extras, only the vanilla leaf traveled to our regions (similarly, cinnamon was the only ingredient that was universally approved) and proved to resist time as part of the composition of chocolate.

The sweet scent and potent taste it imparts to chocolate have made it highly recommended for it; but time has shown that it could potentially upset one's stomach, and its use has decreased; some people who favor the care of their health to the pleasure of their senses, have stopped using it completely. In Spain and in Italy, chocolate prepared without vanilla has been termed the healthy chocolate; and in our French islands in the Americas, where vanilla is neither rare nor expensive, as it can be in Europe, it is never used, when the consumption of chocolate is as high as in any other part of the world. [...]

When the cocoa paste has been well shredded on the stone (see Article Cocoa), sugar can be added once it has been filtered through a silk-cloth sifter; the secret to the true proportion of cocoa and sugar is to put equal quantity of both: one could in fact subtract one quarter out of the dosage of sugar, as it might dry up the paste too much, or render it too sensitive to changes in the air, or endanger it even more to the apparition of worms. But that suppressed quarter of sugar must be used when chocolate, the beverage, is being prepared.

Once sugar is well mixed with the cocoa paste, a very thin powder can be added, made with vanilla seeds and cinnamon sticks finely cut and sifted together; this new mixture shall be mixed on the stone; once every ingredient is well incorporated, the mixture shall be poured into chocolatière pots, the shape of which it will take, and where it will harden. When one loves scents, one could add some amber essence into the pots.

When chocolate is made without vanilla, the proportion of cinnamon is



A scene of Aztecs growing cocoa beans from the Florentine codex, c. 1570. The Art Archive / Mireille Vautier.

of two dragmes for each pound of cocoa; but if one wants to use vanilla, then the dosage of cinnamon should be cut at least in half. As for vanilla, its measurement is arbitrary: one, two, or three drops, even more, for each pound of cocoa, according to one's whim.

Chocolate chefs, to make it feel like they did use a lot of vanilla, resort to the use of pepper, ginger, etc. There exists some people of declared high taste who would not have it any other way; but, as these spices can but only lead to stomach upsets, wise people would shy away from these excesses, and will pay great attention to never enjoy any chocolate whose composition they have not ensured.

Any chocolate made in this fashion has this quality, that if one is in a hurry to go out, or one travels and lacks the time to melt it in a beverage, one could eat one ounce of the bar, and drink right after it, leaving to the stomach to mix that lunch on the go.

In the Caribbean islands, habits are to make pure cocoa bars, without any other ingredients. See Cocoa. And when one wants to turn his chocolate into a drink, here is how to proceed.

Preparation of chocolate a la French Islands in the Americas: One shreds the cocoa bars in very thin layers with a knife, or rather with a flat grater, when the bars are dry enough and not greasy; when the desired quantity has been shredded, (for example, four filled teaspoonfuls which would amount to one ounce) two or three sprinkles of cinnamon, through a sifter, can be added, as two teaspoonfuls of powdered sugar.

The mixture is then placed in a dish with a fresh egg, that is, both with the yolk and the white; mix well, using a whip until the consistence of liquid honey is reached; then, boiling liquid (water or milk, according to one's whim) can be poured as the stirring continues, so that everything mixes well.

Finally, the dish is put on the stove, or is double-boiled in a caldron filled with boiling water; as soon as the chocolate rises, the dish should be taken away from the heat; and after heavy stirring of the chocolate with the whip, the mixture is poured, in several times, and still well-whipped, in the cups. To heighten the scent, one could add before pouring the mixture a teaspoon of water scented with orange flower, in which one or two drops of amber essences had previously been dissolved.

This way of preparing chocolate has several advantages that are inherent to it, and that makes it preferable to all others.

At first, one can be sure that, if prepared according to the instructions, this chocolate has an exquisite perfume and tastes wonderfully; it is furthermore extremely gentle on your stomach, and leaves no messy residues either in the dish, or in the cups.

Secondly, one may at will prepare it as one fancies, adding more or less sugar and cinnamon, adding or not water scented with orange flower and amber essence; in a word, to make any changes that one would hold for more agreeable.

Thirdly, because nothing was added that could substitute the good qualities of the cocoa nut, the beverage proves to be so neutral that one can enjoy it at any time of the day, however old one might be, in the summer as well as in the winter, without fearing the least problem: whereas chocolate seasoned with vanilla and other sour, spicy ingredients can sometimes be dangerous, especially during the summer for the young and for those with vivacious, dry constitutions. The glass of cool water that one usually drinks before or after the chocolate can only temporarily alleviate the fire that it ignites in the blood and the entrails, once the soothing water has passed along.

Fourthly, this chocolate is so cheap that a cup of it will cost you one sou. If artisans were to learn about this aspect, few would fail to profit from such an easy, gracious, and cheap lunch that needs no other food to accompany it, be it solid or liquid. Nat. hist. of cocoa, see Cocoa.

Source: Venel, Gabriel, "Chocolate." In *La Encyclopédie*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert. Volume 3. Paris: 1751–1777. Trans. Philippe Bonin. Courtesy of Philippe Bonin.

2. French Cuisine and British Cooking

Arthur Young, on his journeys though France just before the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century, not only made extensive notes on the condition of French agriculture and economy (Economic Life, Document 5), but also, as part of his travel notes, commented on the meals he ate and the manners he observed.

Stereotypically, English cooking is disparaged and the French are the acknowledged culinary masters of the world. Young, an Englishman in France, offers little to disprove this general perspective. He claims the superiority of a handful of English dishes, but there is a sense that the claim is a formality required by patriotism: who wants boiled mutton and potatoes when you can have French food, and Young is happy to praise French cuisine.

More importantly, he comments at some length on the differences in manners and practices between the English and the French tables. Not only is Young favorably impressed by French food, as indicated by his description of some of the meals he enjoys, but he also comments at some length on the differences in manners and practices between English and French tables. One discovers, for example, that Englishmen would commonly share glasses and not use napkins or table linens, nor have dessert, except among the wealthier classes.

The variety and skill of French cooking, even in rural France in the eighteenth century, shows something of the variety and quality of food available to the traveler in France, and the diet of those who could afford such meals at the time of the French Revolution. It is also important to remember that just prior to the French Revolution there were several failed harvests and several harsh winters; the price of bread spiked and many were hungry or unable to afford food. Even so, Young tells us in his own words about the everyday food and manners of two different but related countries in the first part of the modern period.

One of the most amusing circumstances of travelling into other countries is the opportunity of remarking the difference of customs amongst different nations in the common occurrences of life. In the art of living the French have generally been esteemed by the rest of Europe to have made the greatest proficiency, and their manners have been accordingly more imitated and their customs more adopted than those of any other nation. Of their cookery there is but one opinion; for every man in Europe that can afford a great table either keeps a French cook or one instructed in the same manner. That it is far beyond our own I have no doubt in asserting. We have about half a dozen real English dishes that exceed anything, in my opinion, to be met with in France; by English dishes I mean a turbot and lobster sauce—ham and chicken—turtle—a haunch of venison—a turkey and oysters—and after these there is an end of an English table. It is an idle prejudice to class roast beef among them; for there is not better beef in the world

than at Paris. Some large pieces were almost constantly on the considerable tables I have dined at. The variety given by their cooks to the same thing is astonishing; they dress a hundred dishes in a hundred different ways, and most of them excellent; and all sorts of vegetables have a savouriness and flavour, from rich sauces, that are absolutely wanted to our greens boiled in water. This variety is not striking in the comparison of a great table in France with another in England; but it is manifest in an instant between the tables of a French and English family of small fortune. The English dinner of a joint of meat and a pudding, as it is called, or pot luck, with a neighbour, is bad luck in England; the same fortune in France gives, by means of cookery only, at least four dishes to one among us, and spreads a small table incomparably better. A regular dessert with us is expected at a considerable table only, or at a moderate one, when a formal entertainment is given; in France it is as essential to the smallest dinner as to the largest; if it consists only of a bunch of dried grapes, or an apple, it will be as regularly served as the soup. I have met with persons in England who imagine the sobriety of a French table carried to such a length that one or two glasses of wine are all that a man can get at dinner; this is an error; your servant mixes the wine and water in what proportion you please; and large bowls of clean glasses are set before the master of the house and some friends of the family at different parts of the table, for serving the richer and rarer sorts of wines, which are drunk in this manner freely enough. The whole nation are scrupulously neat in refusing to drink out of glasses used by other people. At the house of a carpenter or blacksmith a tumbler is set to every cover. This results from the common beverage being wine and water; but if at a large table, as in England, there were porter, beer, cyder, and perry, it would be impossible for three or four tumblers or goblets to stand by every plate; and equally so for the servants to keep such a number separate and distinct. In table-linen they are, I think, cleaner and wiser than the English: that the change may be incessant, it is everywhere coarse. The idea of dining without a napkin seems ridiculous to a Frenchman, but in England we dine at the tables of people of tolerable fortune without them. A journeyman carpenter in France has his napkin as regularly as his fork; and at an inn the fille [girl, hostess] always lays a clean one to every cover that is spread in the kitchen for the lowest order of pedestrian travellers. The expense of linen in England is enormous, from its fineness; surely a great change of that which is coarse would be much more rational. In point of cleanliness I think the merit of the two nations is divided; the French are cleaner in their persons, and the English in their houses; I speak of the mass of the people and not of individuals of considerable fortune.

Source: Young, Arthur. *Travels During the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789 Undertaken More Particularly with a View of Ascertaining the Cultivation, Wealth, Resources, and National Prosperity of the Kingdom of France*. Dublin: R. Cross et al., 1793.

3. Mrs. Beeton's Recipe for Bubble and Squeak

Isabella Beeton's Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management, from which the following selection is taken, not only offered advice on how to run a household (Domestic Life,

Document 2) and treat various maladies (Intellectual Life, Document 10), but also what to cook and how to do it, which accounted for much of its success. Preparing meals was one of the primary responsibilities of the nineteenth-century domestic woman, either directly or through the management of household servants, and rural cooking methods were either being lost or becoming impossible or impractical in industrializing and urbanizing England. In fact, Mrs. Beeton sees modern cooking to be an important mark of civilization.

Beeton was the first to offer recipes in the way they are usually presented today: a list of ingredients followed by step-by-step instructions, and her food and advice became sensationally popular. Her book sold millions of copies, making her one of the best known cooks in Britain and perhaps the first “domestic advice celebrity”—like those who populate cable television today.

The nineteenth century was a time of great European territorial expansion in Africa and Asia. English cooking felt the influence of dishes and foods from China, India, and the Caribbean, although filtered through local sensibilities and availability, and the traditional English diet, heavy on meat, root vegetables, and some fish, remained dominant. Ironically, the recipe for Indian mango chutney contains sour apple (a poor substitute), not mango, which was not available in England.

Other odd dishes include the peculiarly named but traditional English dishes called “Toad-in-the-Hole” and “Bubble and Squeak.” This selection concludes with two weeks of suggested menus. At the time, a middle-class English family meal was usually divided into three courses, with the first course being “lighter” with a soup or fish; a meat dish, often with vegetables, for the second; and a sweet or dessert for the third course, if there was one. Nonetheless, even this diet, of mutton neck and beef tongue boiled, offered a variety and stability previously little known, as advances in agriculture and transportation made food supplies increasingly stable and food variety increasingly larger, trends that continue to the present.

Although her recipes are perhaps unappetizing to many today, Beeton helped direct modern cookery and she shows how influences that still matter today, such as cooks as celebrities, how we think about food, and how we learn to cook it, are important parts of food in the modern world.

Man, in his primitive state, lives upon roots and the fruits of the earth, until, by degrees, he is driven to seek for new means, by which his wants may be supplied and enlarged. He then becomes a hunter and a fisher. As his species increases, greater necessities come upon him, when he gradually abandons the roving life of the savage for the more stationary pursuits of the herdsman. These beget still more settled habits, when he begins the practice of agriculture, forms ideas of the rights of property, and has his own, both defined and secured. The forest, the stream, and the sea are now no longer his only resources for food. He sows and he reaps, pastures and breeds cattle, lives on the cultivated produce of his fields, and revels in the luxuries of the dairy; raises flocks for clothing, and assumes, to all intents and purposes, the habits of permanent life and the comfortable condition of a farmer. This is the fourth stage of social progress, up to which the useful or mechanical arts have been incidentally developing themselves, when trade and commerce begin. Through these various phases, only to live has been the great object of mankind; but, by-and-by, comforts are multiplied, and accumulating riches create new wants. The object, then, is not only to live, but to live economically, agreeably, tastefully, and well. Accordingly, the art of cookery

commences; and although the fruits of the earth, the fowls of the air, the beasts of the field, and the fish of the sea, are still the only food of mankind, yet these are so prepared, improved, and dressed by skill and ingenuity, that they are the means of immeasurably extending the boundaries of human enjoyments. Everything that is edible, and passes under the hands of the cook, is more or less changed, and assumes new forms. Hence the influence of that functionary is immense upon the happiness of a household. [...]

Bengal Recipe for Making Mango Chetney

Ingredients.—1 1/2 lbs. of moist sugar, 3/4 lb. of salt, 1/4 lb. of garlic, 1/4 lb. of onions, 3/4 lb. of powdered ginger, 1/4 lb. of dried chilies, 3/4 lb. of mustard seed, 3/4 lb. of stoned raisins, 2 bottles best vinegar, 30 large unripe sour apples.

Mode.—the sugar must be made into a syrup; the garlic, onion, and ginger be finely pounded in a mortar; the mustard seed be washed in cold vinegar, and dried in the sun; the apples be peeled, cored, and sliced, and boiled in a bottle and a half of the vinegar. When all this is done, and the apples are quite cold, put them into a large pan, and gradually mix the whole of the rest of the ingredients including the remaining half-bottle of vinegar. It must be stirred until the whole is thoroughly blended, and then put into bottle or use. Tie a piece of wet bladder over the mouths of the bottles, after they are well corked. This chetney is very superior to any which can be bought, and one trial will prove it to be delicious.

Note.—This recipe was given by a native to an English lady, who had long been resident in India, and who since her return to her native country, has become well celebrated among her friends for the excellence of this Eastern relish. [...]

Bubble-and-Squeak (Cold Meat Cookery).

Ingredients.—A few thin slices of cold boiled beef; butter, cabbage, 1 sliced onion, pepper and salt to taste.

Mode.—Fry the slices of beef gently in a little butter, taking care not to dry them up. Lay them on a flat dish, and cover with fried greens. The greens may be prepared from cabbage sprouts or green savoys. They should be boiled till tender, well drained, minced, and placed, still quite hot, in a frying pan, with butter, a sliced onion, and seasonings of pepper and salt. When the onion is done, it is ready to serve.

Time.—Altogether, 1/2 hour

Average cost, exclusive of the cold beef, 3d.

Seasonable at any time. [...]

Toad-in-the-Hole (Cold Meat Cookery).

Ingredients.—6 oz. of flour, 1 pint of milk, 3 eggs, butter, a few slices of cold mutton, pepper and salt to taste, 2 kidneys.

Mode.—Make a smooth batter of flour, milk, and eggs in the above proportion; butter a baking-dish, and pour in the batter. Into this place a few slices of cold mutton, previously well seasoned, and the kidneys, which should be cut into rather small pieces; bake about 1 hour, or rather longer, and send it to the table in the dish it was baked in. Oyster or mushrooms may be substituted for the kidneys, and will be found exceedingly good.

Time.—Rather more than 1 hour

Average cost, exclusive of the cold meat, 8d.

Seasonable at any time. [...]

Plain Family Dinners for April.

Sunday.—1. Clear gravy soup. 2. Roast haunch of mutton, sea kale, potatoes.
3. Rhubarb tart, custards in glasses.

Monday.—1. Crimped skate and caper sauce. 2. Boiled knuckle of veal and rice, old mutton, mashed potatoes. 3. Baked plum-pudding.

Tuesday.—1. Vegetable soup. 2. Toad-in-the-hole, made from remains of cold mutton. 3. Stewed rhubarb and baked custard pudding.

Wednesday.—1. Fried soles, anchovy sauce. 2. Boiled beef, carrots, suet dumplings.
3. Lemon pudding.

Thursday.—1. Pea-soup made with liquor that beef was boiled in. 2. Cold beef, mashed potatoes, mutton cutlets, and tomato sauce. 3. Macaroni.

Friday.—1. Bubble-and-squeak, made with remains of cold beef. Roast shoulder of veal stuffed, spinach, potatoes. 2. Boiled batter pudding and sweet sauce.

Saturday.—1. Stewed veal with vegetables, made from the remains of the shoulder. Broiled rump-steaks and oyster sauce. 2. Yeast-dumplings.

Sunday.—1. Boiled salmon and dressed cucumber, anchovy sauce. 2. Roast fore-quarter of lamb, spinach, potatoes, mint sauce. 2 [sic]. Rhubarb tart, cheesecakes.

Monday.—1. Curried salmon, made with remains of salmon, dish of boiled rice.
2. Cold lamb, rumpsteak and kidney pudding, potatoes. 3. Spinach and poached eggs.

Tuesday.—1. Scotch mutton broth with pearl barley. 2. Boiled neck of mutton, caper sauce, suet dumplings, carrots. 3. Baked rice-pudding.

Wednesday.—1. Boiled mackerel and melted butter or fennel sauce, potatoes.
2. Roast fillet of veal, bacon, greens. 3. Fig pudding.

Thursday.—1. Flemish soup. 2. Roast loin of mutton, broccoli, potatoes; veal rolls made from remains of cold veal. 3. Boiled rhubarb pudding.

Friday.—1. Irish stew or haricot, made from cold mutton, minced veal. 2. Half-pay pudding.

Saturday.—1. Rump-steak pie, broiled mutton chops. 2. Baked arrowroot pudding.

Source: Beeton, Isabella. *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management*. London: S. O. Beeton, 1860.

4. Eating in Nineteenth-Century Persia

Even in the modern world, food in the Middle East is largely unfamiliar to those in the West. While popular adaptations of many cuisines have made their way into the popular food of many nations, such as Mexican, Chinese, and Indian, and fusion cuisine, a blending of several national groups of ingredients and styles, is a popular trend in the restaurant industry today, the mention of Persian food will likely draw blank stares.

Samuel Wilson, a nineteenth-century English traveler and Methodist minister, offers the following description of holiday fare in Persia, what is today Iran. Wilson describes a visit to a rather poor family on the Persian New Year (called Noruz), which coincides with the vernal equinox and has its origins in ancient Persia and Zoroastrianism, although it is also celebrated as an Islamic holiday in contemporary Iran.

A number of culinary customs are described, from the content of candy and confections, to the importance of hospitality and tea-drinking, even among the poor, and the popularity of teahouses and tobacco use. The candy and sweets are notably lacking in chocolate, which is the central flavor in virtually all European candy. Although neither tea nor tobacco are native to Iran, they appear at the end of the nineteenth century as central to social practices and institutions, just as they did in Europe. While European nations produced relatively little tobacco and virtually no tea, relying on colonial and imperial trade for these items, Iran produced its own tea and tobacco after these commodities had been introduced by growing global contacts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

While the specific environment and some of the foods may be uniquely Persian, there are also elements that have commonalities with food and drink in the wider modern world. Although the centrality of food and hospitality to cultural and religious celebrations is not new to modernity, it is, along with the adoption of global commodities and the creation and use of public spaces to consume these things (as in the tea- and tobacco houses) among the marks of the modern world's shifting patterns of everyday eating and drinking.

Here there were set before us some choice sweetmeats. Among the favorite confections is *gaz*. It is made from the juice of the tamarisk-tree and has a delicious flavor, which is increased by being mixed with pistachios. Another favorite is fig-paste, called "ease the throat." This is variously flavored and colored. Among the candies popular in Persia are sugared almond, pomegranate jelly cut in little squares, *khulva*, a taffy of molasses and nuts, rock-candy, and *peshmak*, which is made of sugar and butter, crystallized like snowflakes or thistle-down, and formed into pyramids, cones, and other shapes. A very rich pastry sprinkled with sugar, but without fruit, is much prized. Their cakes, made of rice-flour and nuts, with sheep-tail fat and saffron flavor, are rarely agreeable to foreign taste. Year by year confections are being improved by contact with Tiflis and Constantinople. The best sweetmeats are now made in the houses of the wealthy, and some of their ladies are expert in the art. At Noruz and other festivals great *khonchas* [a large wooden tray carried on the head] of candies are sent in by the clients of the great, and the center of the parlor is occupied by a large display of them. It has lately become the custom to rent a large amount of confections for an occasion, only those being paid for which are eaten, and the rest returned. . . .

New-Year's calls on the poor of Persia revealed a striking contrast. We knocked at the outer door, that the women might have a chance to conceal themselves. Bending low, we stopped down and passed under a long arched way, and entered a little yard with mud-plastered walls. The *cahvakhana* or hall opened into a half-underground room, in one end of which was a poorly made window, covered with oiled paper, its cracks being similarly pasted over to keep out the wind. Its flopping, ill-fitting door was low, while the sill was very high, in order that the shoes may be taken off in the hall and not obstruct the opening and shutting of the door. The rafters overhead were unceiled. The furniture consisted of common carpets (*ghelim*), a mirror brought with the wedding-outfit, a copper basin and ewer, a small tea-urn and some glasses, and a *kalean* on the lower niches. On the upper niches were a few bottles, and on the once whitened walls had been pasted some cigarette-papers, caricature prints, and verses from the Koran. The host greeted us with a hearty "Welcome! You have done me a great favor." We replied "May your festival

be blessed, may your house be blessed!" He answered, "It is a present to you." The other guests rose, placed their right hands first on their hearts, then to their foreheads, and bowed low. We knelt on our knees on calico cushions, the weight of the body resting on the heels. The host, though his circumstances were straitened, was bright in conversation. A small boy dressed like a grown man entered, and we inquired, "Who is this?" "He is your slave," he replied; which meant, "He is my son." A dish of wheat was growing on the window-sill, a symbol of the renewal of the year. A fish was swimming in a pan, which called forth a remark from him that fish always look toward Mecca at Noruz. He placed before us a few candies, some boiled eggs, and pickled grapes. He had the samovar already boiling, and sat down beside it, washed the cups and saucers, and placed tea before us. We did not decline to drink, for the poor man would feel aggrieved. He honored us specially by almost filling our tea-glasses with sugar, though he himself sipped his tea through a small lump which he held between his teeth and retained to sweeten succeeding sips. What does a poor man have besides the things within sight? His goods consist of a few rude dishes of native pottery, a jar or two of pickled herbs and dried vegetables, a flour-bin, some copper pots, and a chest of clothing. With his wages of a dime a day as a laborer or servant he must provide for his Khadija and Ismiel, Husain and Fatima. He thanks God for the blessing of such a family; but how do they live on such a pittance? Most of it goes to buy bread, which, with some salty cheese to give it taste, or a glass of weak tea, constitutes his breakfast; his luncheon is bread and sour milk, garlic or onions or some cheap fruit; for dinner a stew of meat and vegetables, highly seasoned with red peppers and onions—a large quantity for a little meat—makes his bread palatable. Lack of employment or high prices reduce him to bread and water. In winter a few shahis' worth of charcoal lasts the family a long while under the *kurisee*. [...]

The social habit, which is so universally exemplified at Noruz, is a striking trait of the Persian character. One of the social institutions of great attraction is the tea-house. The tea-houses are of various grades. Some are rudely finished, with merely a raised platform which surrounds the sides of the room, and is covered with matting or carpet. Others have an air of comfort imparted to them by divans, mirrors, chandeliers, etc. With tea a half a cent a glass, and one pipeful of tobacco sufficing for a crowd, it is no wonder loafers seek them and business men make appointments in them. The common pipe, cigarettes, and the *kalean* or water-pipe are much used. In the latter the smoke passes through the water and is drawn into the lungs. Lemon-juice and other flavors are sometimes mixed with the water.

The ordinary *kalean* is about two feet high. It consists of a vase capable of holding about a quart of water, a top about the size of a goblet, in which burning charcoal and dampened tobacco are placed, a wooden tube which supports the top on the vase, and a mouthpiece or stem about twenty inches long. The support and stem are turned on the lathe, in various ornamental designs. The vase and bowl are of glass, stone, china, brass, or silver, and are set with turquoise or other jewels, and carved, enameled, and decorated with pictures of the shah, flowers, and similar objects.

Source: Wilson, S. G. *Persian Life and Customs: With Scenes and Incidents of the Residence and Travel in the Land of the Lion and the Sun*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1899.

5. Antoinette Linnebur's Political Desserts

Written by a Missouri woman named Antoinette Linnebur, the recipes in this selection are taken from a handwritten cookbook dating from the late 1900s through the 1920s. Like many recipes of the period, the manuscript lists ingredients, but offers minimum directions, either for how to combine the ingredients or how to bake them. Among recipes in the cookbook for cakes, pies, cookies, pickles, chutneys, sauces, and other food items are recipes for a "Prince of Wales Cake" and a "George Washington Pie." The recipes have no clear connection to the historical figures mentioned, so the names seem odd to the modern reader.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, recipes in England and the United States were named to commemorate important political and military figures. George Washington was one of the most popular figures in American culture, and the George Washington Pie is a patriotic American name, part of the civic cult of Washington that grew in the nineteenth century. The pie itself, like Washington, was quite popular into the twentieth century. Usually it consisted of a denser white cake (called a "pie" because it was baked in a pie pan) with a thick fruit filling, traditionally raspberry, between two layers and sometimes a dusting of powdered sugar. Later, a creamy, custard filling was sometimes used, as in Linnebur's recipe; covered with chocolate, this type became what is now called Boston Cream Pie. The Prince of Wales Cake has its origins relatively late for a patriotic cake or pie, being an early twentieth-century recipe that spread to the United States, apparently more for its flavor than its politics. It was a multi-layer cake of alternating light and dark, spiced layers, often iced with almond frosting or sometimes caramel.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly in the United States, names of foods took on a heightened political connotation, with cakes, pies, cookies, stews, and other foods being named for popular Civil War generals, politicians, or political positions. For example, in the American South one might have found Jefferson Davis Pudding or Secession Biscuits, while in the North, General Philip Sheridan Cake might be served, and Lincoln Cake recipes were republished into the 1890s. The George Washington Pie and the Prince of Wales Cake are more patriotic and commemorative than partisan, originating outside the era of the most politically sensitive recipes, but remaining popular well into the twentieth century.

These political and patriotic recipes were the inventions and work almost exclusively of women. Even if women were denied access to the ballot box, they could express their political allegiances by creating and preparing political recipes in support of their candidates or issues. Perhaps, with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 granting women the right to vote, it became less imperative to have a "Calvin Coolidge Cookie"—a woman could simply vote for him instead. While the popularity of these cakes may have depended at least as much on their taste as their politics, they reveal interesting facts about cookery in the early twentieth century. At any rate, these recipes show a connection between aspects of daily life not often thought closely related: politics and dessert.

Prince of Wales Cake

Light Part

- 1 cup of sugar
- 3 whites of eggs
- 1/2 cup of butter
- 1/2 cup of sweet milk

2 cups of flour
2 teaspoons of baking powder

Dark Part

3 yoks [sic] of eggs
1 cup of brown sugar
1/2 cup of sour milk
1/2 cup of butter
1/2 teaspoon soda in
1/2 cup of hot water
1 tablespoon of molasses
1 tablespoon of allspices [sic]
1 cup of raisins
2/3 cup of citron
2/3 cup of figs

Filling

1 pint of sugar & whites of 2 eggs

Cake [for George Washington Pie]

1 cup of sugar
1/2 cup of butter
3 eggs
2 cups of flour
1 1/2 teaspoons of baking powder
flavor to taste

Filling for George Washington Pie

1 1/2 cup of milk
2 tablespoons of corn starch
sugar enough to sweeten to taste & a little vanilla
1 egg

Beat egg and corn starch and a little water together & then put in the boiled milk.

Source: Linnebur, Antoinette. Manuscript cookbook c. 1908–1928. Private collection, used with permission.

6. Eric Schlosser on Fast Food Flavors

Modern food culture has become mass food culture. Supermarkets have almost completely eclipsed the farmer's market, and in most places, franchised restaurants have replaced "local joints" and "mom-and-pop" operations that find it hard to compete with the highly marketed, carefully tested and developed products. A global phenomenon, fast food has become

one of the most visible symbols of American culture—and American cultural dominance, which is embraced by some and lamented by others.

More than just getting food to the market, creating food that has broad appeal is important, and the fast food corporations, working, as described here, with the flavoring industry, have become very good at it. Nonetheless, a food industry that has to provide food for hundreds of millions of people in the United States, and billions globally, must inevitably be massive in scale. Growing, harvesting, transporting, processing, and packaging the amount of food required to feed us all is a huge business, and is done by huge corporations, in theory with the regulation and inspection of governments for safety.

Eric Schlosser in his recent popular book, *Fast Food Nation*, exposed many of the practices and problems in the American fast food industry. In the following selection from *Fast Food Nation*, Schlosser describes part of his own tour of one of the factories of the flavoring industry, businesses where highly trained food flavor specialists called flavorists manipulate thousands of chemicals into specific tastes and odors, then manufacture them and sell them to the producers who make the food we eat and products we use so it all will taste and smell like it does—and so we will buy it. Even Schlosser is happy to snack on some french fries from time to time because they taste good.

Schlosser writes in the tradition of muckraking journalism, a genre of investigative reporting that takes aim at established institutions, in this case the fast food industry, sometimes in a sensationalist manner. Science, technology, and modern business models have been applied to agriculture and food processing, and often there are stages in the processes that seem unappetizing or even dangerous—and sometimes they are. Overall, what Schlosser manages to reveal is the combination of a variety of modern trends: science, industrialization, mass culture, and large institutions that are instrumental in creating the taste of modern everyday life.

The taste of McDonald's french fries has long been praised by customers, competitors, and even food critics. James Beard loved McDonald's fries. Their distinctive taste does not stem from the type of potatoes that McDonald's buys, the technology that processes them, or the restaurant equipment that fries them. Other chains buy their french fries from the same large processing companies, use Russet Burbanks, and have similar fryers in their restaurant kitchens. The taste of a fast food fry is largely determined by the cooking oil. For decades, McDonald's cooked its French fries in a mixture of about 7 percent soy oil and 93 percent beef tallow. The mix gave the fries their unique flavor—and more saturated beef fat per ounce than a McDonald's hamburger.

Amid a barrage of criticism over the amount of cholesterol in their fries, McDonald's switched to pure vegetable oil in 1990. The switch presented the company with an enormous challenge: how to make fries that subtly taste like beef without cooking them in tallow. A look at the ingredients now used in the preparation of McDonald's french fries suggests how the problem was solved. At the end of the list is a seemingly innocuous, yet oddly mysterious phrase: "natural flavor." The frozen potatoes and the cooking oil at McDonald's both contain "natural flavor." That fact helps to explain not only why the fries taste so good, but also why most fast food—indeed, most of the food Americans eat today—tastes the way it does.

Open your refrigerator, your freezer, your kitchen cupboards, and look at the labels on your food. You'll find "natural flavor" or "artificial flavor" in just about every list of ingredients. The similarities between these two broad categories of flavor are

far more significant than their differences. Both are man-made additives that give most processed food its taste. The initial purchase of a food item may be driven by its packaging or appearance, but subsequent purchases are determined mainly by its taste. About 90 percent of the money that Americans spend on food is used to buy processed food. But the canning, freezing, and dehydrating techniques used to process food destroy most of its flavor. Since the end of World War II, a vast industry has arisen in the United States to make processed food palatable. Without this flavor industry, today's fast food industry could not exist. The names of the leading American fast food chains and their best-selling menu items have become famous worldwide, embedded in our popular culture. Few people, however, can name the companies that manufacture fast food's taste.

The flavor industry is highly secretive. Its leading companies will not divulge the precise formulas of flavor compounds or the identities of clients. The secrecy is deemed essential for protecting the reputation of beloved brands. The fast food chains, understandably, would like the public to believe that the flavors of their food somehow originate in their restaurant kitchens, not in distant factories run by other firms.

The New Jersey Turnpike runs through the heart of the flavor industry, an industrial corridor dotted with refineries and chemical plants. International Flavors & Fragrances (IFF), the world's largest flavor company, has a manufacturing facility off Exit 8A in Dayton, New Jersey; Givaudan, the world's second-largest flavor company, has a plant in East Hanover. Haarmann & Reimer, the largest German flavor company, has a plant in Teterboro, as does Takasoga, the largest Japanese flavor company. V. Mane Fils, the largest French flavor company, has a plant in Wayne, Bush Boake Allen is in Montvale, and Heavenly Flavors is in Bayonne. Dozens of companies manufacture flavors in New Jersey industrial parks between Teaneck and South Brunswick. Indeed, the area produces about two-thirds of the flavor additives sold in the United States.

The IFF plant in Dayton is a huge pale blue building with a modern office complex attached to the front. It sits in an industrial park, not far from a BASF plastics factory, a Jolly French Toast factory, and a plant that manufactures Liz Claiborne cosmetics. Dozens of tractor-trailers were parked at the IFF loading dock the afternoon I visited, and a thin cloud of steam floated from the chimney. Before entering the plant, I signed a non-disclosure form, promising not to reveal the brand names of products that contain IFF flavors. The place reminded me of Willy Wonka's chocolate factory. Wonderful smells drifted through the hallways, men and women



The poster art for Richard Linklater's 2006 film, *Fast Food Nation*. Courtesy of Photofest.

in neat white lab coats cheerfully went about their work, and hundreds of little glass bottles sat on laboratory tables and shelves. The bottles contained powerful but fragile flavor chemicals, shielded from light by the brown glass and the round plastic caps shut tight. The long chemical names on the little white labels were as mystifying to me as medieval Latin. They were the odd-sounding names of things that would be mixed and poured and turned into new substances, like magic potions.

I was not invited to see the manufacturing areas of the IFF plant, where it was thought I might discover trade secrets. Instead, I toured various laboratories and pilot kitchens, where the flavors of well-established brands are tested or adjusted, and where whole new flavors are created. IFF's snack and savory lab is responsible for the flavor of potato chips, corn chips, breads, crackers, breakfast cereals, and pet food. The confectionery lab devises the flavor for ice cream, cookies, candies, toothpastes, mouthwashes, and antacids. Everywhere I looked, I saw famous, widely advertised products sitting on laboratory desks and tables. The beverage lab is full of brightly colored liquids in clear bottles. It comes up with the flavor for popular soft drinks, sport drinks, bottled teas, and wine coolers, for all-natural juice drinks, organic soy drinks, beers, and malt liquors. In one pilot kitchen I saw a dapper chemist, a middle-aged man with an elegant tie beneath his lab coat, carefully preparing a batch of cookies with white frosting and pink-and-white sprinkles. In another pilot kitchen I saw a pizza oven, a grill, a milk-shake machine, and a french fryer identical to those I'd seen behind the counter at countless fast food restaurants.

In addition to being the world's largest flavor company, IFF manufactures the smell of six of the ten best-selling fine perfumes in the United States. It makes the smell of Estee Lauder's Beautiful, Clinique's Happy, Ralph Lauren's Polo, and Calvin Klein's Eternity. It also makes the smell of household products such as deodorant, dishwashing detergent, bath soap, shampoo, furniture polish, and floor wax. All of these aromas are made through the same basic process: the manipulation of volatile chemicals to create a particular smell. The basic science behind the scent of your shaving cream is the same as that governing the flavor of your TV dinner.

Source: Excerpt from *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All-American Meal* by Eric Schlosser. Copyright © 2001 by Eric Schlosser. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company. All rights reserved.

Houses and Furniture

How people choose to live determines what kind of housing they choose to build or use. Housing is not only a material aspect, but domestic architecture can be connected to political, domestic, economic, and sometimes religious life. The house, whether it is a temporary structure, free-standing permanent unit, or part of a larger building, is in many ways the home, the center of family and social life.

The individual house is not the only kind of housing in the modern world. Trends toward increasingly urban life and industrialization and highly populous urban centers is a mark of the modern age. Other influences, such as modern building techniques, including reinforced concrete, structural steel, and powered or automated building systems for ventilation, lighting, elevators, and clean and wastewater systems, have helped

create new forms of housing, such as the high-rise apartment building. Nonetheless, the single-family house has an enduring popularity, and suburban and exurban areas have continued to grow rapidly in many parts of the world. (See *Exurbs* and *Suburbs* in the Glossary.) Some of these trends are also addressed above in the section on Economic Life.

Florence Nightingale (Document 7) doesn't describe the physical characteristics of the Victorian English home, but laments any number of defects she sees toward general health. For complex reasons, including the proximity to so many strangers in the modern city, the home came to be seen as a space created and maintained as a retreat from the outside world, secluded and separated. Typically part of this idea also was the fashion for heavy curtains, closed windows and yards, and layers of privacy, and it is against this that Nightingale reacts for reasons of health and wellness.

At the same time, not all people in the modern era live in such dwellings. The individual privacy desired by the Victorian middle class is a far cry from the *duar* of the inhabitants of the Moroccan interior in the same period. An orderly collection of tents form the communal dwellings of an extended kinship group, and while some attention is paid to privacy, it is not so important. Families have their own tents, but seclusion was not much of a concern or possibility, at least not within the home. Privacy could only be found by leaving the settlement, and the regularity of work for all seems to leave little room for discussion of other matters. Edmondo De Amicis's account (Document 8) of a Moroccan *duar* reveals that, like many other aspects of modern life, there remains significant continuity with pre-modern material life.

In contrast with both of these selections is Arthur Train's description (Document 9) of a dwelling that has never existed. Rather, it was an American prediction of what housing would be like 50 years in the future. This kind of prolepsis (or flash-forward) has been a popular technique in the modern period for writers in science, technology, and other fields far beyond housing. While the technological aspects of life were to have changed radically in Train's future, important other factors have not—the single family, free-standing home with a separate piece of property and suburban location are anticipated to be the norm; despite the changes in technology and materials, there is more in common between the homes Florence Nightingale wants to clean in 1860 and the futuristic home of 1988 than either has with the communal dwellings in Morocco. The material surroundings of a house may not be what transform it into a home, but certainly the material places in which we choose to live say something important about modern life.

7. Florence Nightingale: A Healthy Victorian House

In a time when nurses were usually either nuns or prostitutes, an upper-class English-woman pursuing a career in nursing was unheard of, not to mention a bit scandalous. Yet this is exactly what Florence Nightingale did in the mid-nineteenth century. A member of an elite and wealthy British family, she used her family connections and social status to promote her interests in hospital administration, public health, and the creation of professional

nursing standards. Her experiences as a head of volunteer nurses during the Crimean War in the 1850s made her a national heroine in Britain. Her name is still a synonym for a compassionate, caring, and competent nurse.

The “lady with the lamp,” as Nightingale became known for her late-night rounds in British military hospitals in the Crimea, took her expertise and ideas from military hospitals to private houses. This isn’t that surprising if one considers that at the time hospitalization did not offer any advantages over home care. Hospitals were for the poor or the traveler; most people who fell ill were cared for at home, with regular visits by medical professionals. It often fell to the family and its servants, if they were wealthy, to provide the rest of the care.

Housing standards and domestic architecture were changing in the nineteenth century, as industrialization and urbanization resulted in the rapid growth of cities, with large amounts of new housing both for lower and upper class people in the Western world. As medical and scientific knowledge changed the understanding of disease and its causes, this also led to the creation of sanitary and public health organizations.

Nightingale’s main concern in this selection from her landmark 1860 book, *Notes on Nursing*, is not the particulars of architecture, but the arrangement of any given housing and furniture for the five features she identifies as important to health: clean air, clean water, drainage, cleanliness, and light. Her recommendations confronted not only many venerable practices, but also, in some sense, contemporary fashions.

The modern era developed a strong sense of distinction between the public and private, and nineteenth century English fashion created housing and furnishings that reinforced these ideas: heavy curtains and carpets, stuffed furniture, closed windows, and private, concealed interior spaces. Nightingale’s recipe of air, light, and cleanliness was a challenge not only to conventional sickbed treatments that sometimes ranged from the magical to the macabre, but also to the ideal house and furnishings, which were given to many of the practices Nightingale opposes. At the same time, the domestic environment was central to the ideal Victorian lifestyle; it was a private, safe place. That it might be a threat of disease was unconscionable, and Nightingale tried to provide a breath of fresh air that would improve public health, private homes, and everyday lives.

There are five essential points in securing the health of houses:

1. Pure air.
2. Pure water.
3. Efficient drainage.
4. Cleanliness.
5. Light.

Without these, no house can be healthy. And it will be unhealthy just in proportion as they are deficient.

1. To have pure air, your house must be so constructed as that the outer atmosphere shall find its way with ease to every corner of it. House architects hardly ever consider this. The object in building a house is to obtain the largest interest for the money, not to save doctors’ bills to the tenants. But, if tenants should ever become so wise as to refuse to occupy unhealthy constructed houses, and if Insurance Companies should ever come to understand their interest so thoroughly as to pay a Sanitary Surveyor to look after the houses where their clients live, speculative

architects would speedily be brought to their senses. As it is, they build what pays best. And there are always people foolish enough to take the houses they build. And if in the course of time the families die off, as is so often the case, nobody ever thinks of blaming any but Providence for the result. Ill-informed medical men aid in sustaining the delusion, by laying the blame on “current contagions.” Badly constructed houses do for the healthy what badly constructed hospitals do for the sick. Once insure that the air in a house is stagnant, and sickness is certain to follow.

2. Pure water is more generally introduced into houses than it used to be, thanks to the exertion of the sanitary reformers. Within the last few years, a large part of London was in the habit of using water polluted by the drainage of its sewers and water closets. This has happily been remedied. But, in many parts of the country, well water of a very impure kind is used for domestic purposes. And when epidemic disease shows itself, persons using such water are almost sure to suffer.
3. It would be curious to ascertain by inspection, how many houses in London are really well drained. Many people would say, surely all or most of them. But many people have no idea in what good drainage consists. They think that a sewer in the street, and a pipe leading to it from the house is good drainage. All the while the sewer may be nothing but a laboratory from which epidemic disease and ill health is being distilled into the house. No house with any untrapped drain pipe communicating immediately with a sewer, whether it be from water closet, sink, or gully-grate, can ever be healthy. An untrapped sink may at any time spread fever to pyaemia among the inmates of the place.

The ordinary oblong sink is an abomination. That great surface of stone, which is always let wet, is always exhaling into the air. I have known whole houses and hospitals smell of the sink. I have met just as strong a stream of sewer air coming up the back staircase of a grand London house from the sink, as I have ever met at Scutari; and I have seen the rooms in that house all ventilated by the open doors, and the passages all unventilated by the closed windows, in order that as much of the sewer air as possible might be conducted into and retained in the bed-rooms. It is wonderful. [...]

4. Without cleanliness, within and without your house, ventilation is comparatively useless. In certain foul districts of London, poor people used to object to open their windows and doors because of the foul smells that came in. Rich people like to have their stables and dunghill near their houses. But does it ever occur to them that with many arrangements of this kind that it would be safer to keep the windows shut than open? You cannot have the air of the house pure with dung-heaps under the windows. These are common all over London. And yet people are surprised that their children, brought up in large “well-aired” nurseries and bed-rooms suffer from children’s epidemics. If they studied Nature’s law in the matter of children’s health, they would not be so surprised.

There are other ways of have in filth inside a house besides having dirt in heaps. Old papered walls of years’ standing, dirty carpets, uncleansed furniture, are just as ready sources of impurity to the air as if there were a dung-heap in the basement. People are so unaccustomed from education and habits to consider

how to make a home healthy, that they either never think of it at all, and take every disease as a matter of course, to be “resigned to” when it comes “as from the hand of Providence;” or if they ever entertain the idea of preserving the health of their household as a duty, they are very apt to commit all kinds of “negligences and ignorances” in performing it.

5. A dark house is always an unhealthy house, always an ill-aired house, always a dirty house. Want of light stops growth and promotes scrofula, rickets, &c., among the children.

People lose their health in a dark house, and if they get ill they cannot get well again in it.

Source: Nightingale, Florence. *Notes on Nursing: What It Is, and What It Is Not*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1860.

8. A Moroccan Duar

The housing described in this nineteenth-century account of rural Morocco is scarcely touched by the modern age. One can imagine a similar description from centuries before, as Edmondo De Amicis, a peripatetic Italian journalist and writer who published travel notes in 1870 of his journey to Morocco, mentions. There is evidence of trade and contact with other groups outside the duar—the mirrors, manufactured in Mediterranean European cities like Venice; shells for drinking from the coast; and other products like guns and saddles. Yet the materials for constructing the dwellings and most of the material culture for everyday life are virtually all local, handmade materials. Most of the Bedouins, or semi-nomadic desert-dwellers who lived from the Atlantic coast of North Africa to the Arab Peninsula, have since integrated into local settled populations, but this nineteenth-century account shows the material lives of Bedouins of the Beni-Hassan tribe before that process.

As in much of human history, groups who live together are connected by bonds of kinship, and extended kinship groups form the basis for society—in this case the whole village or duar. Still, there is some limited separation and privacy: each nuclear family has its own tent, and within it there are separate sleeping areas for the parents and for the others. Over all, it is a very communal living area and living style. These dwellings do not use modern building materials, and the sensibilities of much of modern everyday life, such as the complex economic specialization, the distinction between private and public, the stricter separation of the individual or at least the nuclear family from larger society, are all lacking or weak. While many modern people would not want to live this way, it remains a viable option for many in some parts of the world. Kinship groups and locally available materials determine housing arrangements for many when other options are too expensive, too far away, or simply too undesirable.

The simple shelters do not seem that substantial, but in the Moroccan climate, stouter shelters to protect them from harsh winters or frequent storms are just not necessary. Life is virtually outdoors for the Moroccans, their tents being little more than a covering to keep off the sun or rain. The tasks and variations of the daily routine are described by De Amicis as being as simple as the housing. Everyday life in the modern world is usually complex, but if De Amicis can be believed, not in rural late nineteenth-century Morocco.

The *duar* is usually a settlement of ten, fifteen or twenty families, connected by some bond of relationship, each family having its own tent. These tents stand in two parallel lines, about thirty feet apart, so that a sort of rectangular space is left in the middle, open at both ends. The tents are almost invariably alike; they are made out of a large piece of black or chocolate-colored material, woven from the fibre of dwarf palms or from goats' or camels' hair; this is stretched over upright stakes or thick reeds, connected by a wooden cross-piece, on which the roof rests, their shape still resembling that of the habitations of the Numidians of the time of Jugurtha, which Sallust compares to overturned ships with their keels in the air. During the autumn and winter the covering is drawn down to the ground and held in place by means of cords and pegs, so as to effectually exclude both wind and rain. In summer a wide aperture is left all around, so that the air may circulate freely, and this is protected by a low hedge of rushes and dried brambles. Owing to these precautions the tent of the *daar* is much cooler in summer and better protected through the rainy season than the same class of Moorish dwellings in the cities, since the latter are without either proper ventilation or glazed windows. The maximum height of a tent is about eight feet, the maximum length about ten. Any which may exceed these dimensions belong to wealthy sheiks, and are extremely rare. A partition made of rushes divides the dwelling in two parts, in one of which the father and mother sleep, and in the other the children and the rest of the family. A few osier mats, a brightly-colored and arabesqued wooden box, containing clothing; a small looking-glass, manufactured in Trieste or Venice; a high tripod, made of canes and covered with a *haïk*, under which the family bathing is done; a couple of stones for grinding wheat; a loom, such as was used in the days of Abraham; a rough tin lantern, a few earthenware jugs, a few goat-skins, a few dishes, a distaff, a saddle, a gun, a big dagger, such is the entire furnishing of one of these dwellings. In one corner a hen gathers in her brood of chickens, a brick oven faces the entrance, and on one side of the tent is a small vegetable garden; beyond are some round holes, faced with stone and cement, in which grain is stored. . . .

The life of the *daar* is of the simplest description. At daybreak every one gets up, says his prayers, the cows are milked, the butter made and the sour milk that is left, drunk; for drinking-cups they use conch and limpet-shells, which they purchase from people living on the coast. Then the men go to their work in the fields, not returning until towards nightfall. The women meanwhile carry wood and water, grind flour, spin the coarse fabrics in which they and their husbands are clothed, twist rope for their tents from the fibre of the dwarf palm; send their husbands' mid-day food to them and prepare the Kuskussú [couscous—a coarsely ground pasta popular in North Africa] for the evening. The Kuskussú is mixed with beans, gourds, onions and other vegetables; sometimes it is sweetened, spiced and dressed with a meat sauce, and on feast days meat is served with it. On the return of the men, supper is eaten, and at sunset everyone goes to bed; but sometimes one of the old men will tell a story after supper, seated in the middle of the family circle. Throughout the night the *daar* is plunged in profound silence and darkness; only a few families will occasionally leave lanterns burning before their tents to guide any wayfarer who may have missed his path.

Source: De Amicis, Edmondo. *Morocco: Its People and Places*. Translated by Maria Hornor Lansdale. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Henry L. Coates and Company, 1897.

9. Tomorrow—Yesterday: A 1938 View of 1988

In the 1930s, with the rapid changes in the physical reality of modern life; the increasing ability of machines to do work; the wonders of flight; and the invention of radio, television, and a host of labor-saving devices, it is not surprising that people of the time would wonder what would come next. The modern mind has been asking the same question for a long time: what applications or discoveries would the successes of today lead to in the life of tomorrow?

Some of Arthur Train's predictions from this 1938 popular article are impressively accurate, such as cable television and broadband transmissions, garage door openers, burglar alarms, year-round food supplies, household faxes/printers, cell phones as pocket radios with their miniature cameras and microphones, and the profusion of plastic and synthetic household goods—even the importance of a recycling/composting center.

On other accounts, he fails, as in his predictions of beryllium construction materials, molded magnesium furniture, the limits of television, and the abandoning of the car in favor of airplanes for everyday travel. Digital memory he doesn't anticipate, instead opting for tiny reels of photographic film for storing books and other information, and although there is a photoelectric tabulating machine for office use, Train's proto-computer is not emphasized. Predictions of people clothed in three-quarter length rayon smocks using conveniences run on thyratron tubes makes Train's predictions of our past seem more like our own predictions of a Star Trek-inspired future.

Today we still try to predict the future, although the dominant technologies for such predictions in the contemporary world are computer and bio-genetic rather than, as in Train's piece, radio and the aeroplane. Not only for the pleasures of fiction, but also for real economic and social planning, it is important to have a sense of what is changing, and how discoveries or inventions are going to have significant consequences for everyday life.

Like most writers who try to predict what the future will be like, Train got some things right, and most things wrong. What is more important in this selection than keeping score is what the practice of predicting a technologically enhanced utopian future demonstrates. Train's house of 1988 encodes a belief in progress and improvement, a belief in the ability of scientific and technological advances to make everyday life easier and better. Whether that belief is well-founded, only the (real) future will tell.

Our hero, then, John Doe, born in the year of grace 1938, was in bed and asleep at the time our story begins in 1988. (No synthetic substitute for sleep had then been discovered.) Progress in biology, biochemistry, food technology, and related sciences was responsible for the fact that he was considerably heavier and taller than his forefathers, and also that, although half a century old, he was neither too fat nor too thin, and like Uncle Ned had "plenty of wool on the top of his head, the place where the wool ought to be."

The sounds of the city were filtered at the intake-ducts of the air-conditioning apparatus, and such few persistent discords and jangles as did penetrate into the room were deflected toward the ceiling by the walls which slanted gently upward like the glass control windows of radio broadcasting control rooms, where they were absorbed by special insulations. The entering air passed through a dust filter and was freed from other germs by ultra-violet rays. Research into the effects of ionization, barometric pressure, condensation nuclei, and the existence of a metastable state of oxygen had made it possible to supply Mr. Doe's room with air as invigorating as that of the seashore or

the mountains. Its chemical composition was nicely calculated to give him a maximum of refreshment at night, while during the day its temperature, humidity, and degree of ionization were automatically varied from time to time in order to avoid the soporific effect of monotony. Incidentally, synthetic air, long considered fantastic, was well on the way toward becoming reality.

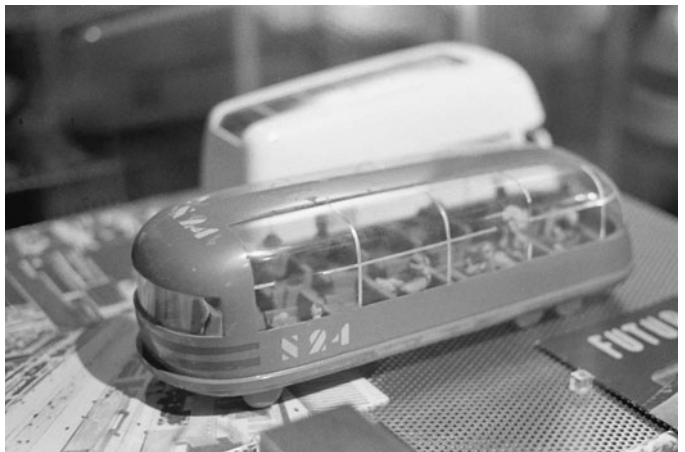
Presently, as the radio-controlled clock proclaimed in a soothing voice that it was time to get up (for its direct reading dial showed the hour of seven), the air became sensibly warmer. Heating was provided by the simple process of running the refrigerator mechanism in reverse, although some architects recommended heating coils in the walls or radiant wires in the ceiling.

Although it was dark and rainy outside, the room was gradually flooded with a diffused light. The quantity required was measured out with nice accuracy by the ever watchful photocell, and on sunny days when clouds passed over the sun, the light in the room would remain constant. This light was provided by a gaseous discharge lamp, perhaps employing carbon dioxide, infinitely more efficient than the old-fashioned filament bulbs, and containing as a good a proportion of infrared and ultra-violet rays as that of the brightest summer sun, which were automatically turned on at intervals. [...]

The bathroom into which Mr. Doe stepped for his matutinal shower was a prefabricated affair made like an automobile, all the various appliances such as tub, shower, basin, and toilet forming one integrated unit, with special metallic walls for the outer casing. Three identical bathrooms were grouped with it to form a square in the center of the house, so that a minimum of plumbing was required. The old-fashioned system of using thousands of gallons of water to dilute and remove waste, thereby sacrificing its valuable chemical properties, had long ago been superseded by chemical disposal of sewage. The development of new detergents also made it possible to “wash” without water if anyone so desired.

While Doe was slipping into a pair of shorts and light, three-quarter length rayon fabric smock, which, after all, is all that anyone would need in an air-conditioned home, he haphazardly pushed in various buttons controlling the automatic tuning of his television set so that he might see with his own eyes what was going on in different parts of the world. He was a man who liked to spend money on gadgets, and the morning paper had been printed out for him by the facsimile recorder while he slept. It was his habit to leave it on just as people in old days left the radio on, and from the reams of stuff it printed out he would pick what he wanted and throw the rest away. Most of the time, however, he preferred to hear the news rather than read it. [...]

His house was situated at a considerable distance from the city, in an “integrated” neighborhood which had been carefully planned by a city planning board. The houses were grouped about a park, and in addition to the school and library there was a central air-conditioning plant and a community center with a television transmission set, an auditorium whose television receiving



A model of the bus of the future, designed by Norman Bel Geddes for the FUTURAMA exposition in 1939. Flickr (ROGERIOMACHAD).

set boasted color and three-dimensional sound and sight, a trailer camp, all kinds of recreational facilities, the vegetable factory, the poultry factory, and the plant where the garbage was converted into fertilizer.

The house itself was somewhat smaller and had smaller rooms than one would have expected of a man with Mr. Doe's means. The large custom-built house had long ago gone the way of the large custom-built automobile. It was a long, low, flat-roofed building made up of cluster of prefabricated units whose irregular arrangement prevented it from looking monotonous. Unlike the houses of the early part of the century and all preceding eras, whose aim was to give an impression of volume, the whole building was so translucent, neutral, and fragile-looking, so broken into planes by terraces and porches, that it gave the impression of being little more than a part of the out-of-doors which had been etched into the frame with a few strokes of a sharp pointed pencil.

In the construction of the house the use of wood, bricks, and plaster had practically been superseded by panels of beryllium and magnesium alloys; low-grade silicas, or glasslike materials; sheet materials such as asbestos cement, and occasionally plastic which had been developed to a point where its resistance to atmosphere was known. A considerable use was made of moving partitions which made it possible to enclose a small space when privacy was required, and still provide a large space when it was not. The insulation, of "mineral fluff," was of course built into the prefabricated panels.

In the various rooms many of the pieces of furniture were made of plastic molded as a unit, while others were made of magnesium alloy. In place of cushions, spongelike synthetic upholstery was used. Some of the most beautiful hangings were of translucent glass fabric.

Outside a few first edition and beautifully bound volumes with handsome illustrations, Mr. Doe's library contained few books. It consisted chiefly of little drawers filled with thousands of tiny reels of film a few millimeters in width. On his table was a reading machine about the size of a portable typewriter, which projected the tiny photographed pages onto a small screen. Each of these tiny films also carried a sound track, and at his own discretion he could play them on a talking book. Wherever he went Mr. Doe carried a camera hardly bigger than a watch and also a tiny sound-recording device, so that anything he saw or heard during the day he could conveniently remember by mechanical means. The day had not yet arrived (predicted by Sarnoff back in 1936) when each individual would have his own wave-length and by means of a pocket radio could communicate with anybody anywhere. In Doe's office the principle of mechanical aids to memory was developed to a high state of efficiency. All of his records were "remembered," selected and analyzed on photoelectric tabulating machines with far greater efficiency than the human brain could achieve and in much less time.

An inventory of the various objects in Mr. Doe's house would show that the strawboard and fiberboard that lined the walls, the insulation material between them and the outer walls, sometimes the outer wall itself, the synthetic textiles which comprised the clothing of much of the family, and the waterproof materials which protected them if they ever went out in the rain, and all small knick-knacks from ash trays to bottle caps, were made of various types of thermo-plastic resin-derived from such inexpensive raw materials as soy bean, bagasse, sugar cane, straw, wood pulp, sorghum, linseed, flaxseed, cottonseed hulls, oat hulls, nut shell, Jerusalem artichokes, fruit pits, and skim milk.

We have seen how in Mr. Doe's house the electric eye, or photoelectric tube, coupled with the thyatron tube which enables it to act on what it sees, automatically measured the amount of illumination necessary to replace the waning light of day. It also performed the function of a whole corps of servants. It opened the garage door as you drove up, opened the door between the kitchen and the dining room when someone advanced with a tray, opened the door of the refrigerator, and opened and closed windows. But its duties did not end with the fall of day. All night long it was on guard as night watchman, ready to give warning by ringing bells, turning on floodlights, photographing the intruder, paralyzing him with tear gas, and sending for the police.

The roof of the house, as in all houses at that time, was used as a landing field for the family's collection of steep-flight airplanes of assorted sizes, the top storey being used as a garage. Doe didn't bother to use his car very often, and in general it was relegated to trips to the community center and to use by the children, playing the role of the station wagon of the late 30s. Its two cycle motor, smaller, lighter, and more efficient than the old fashioned four-cycle one, could easily drive it along at an average speed of seventy miles an hour on the highly efficient fuels of those days. Such speeds, however, seemed like crawling to Mr. Doe and his friends, who used small steep-flight planes for short hops and giant stratosphere planes for distance flying.

Source: Train, Jr., Arthur, "Keeping Up with the Inventors." *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 176 (March 1938): 363–73. Copyright © 1938 by Harper's Magazine. All rights reserved. Reproduced from the March issue by special permission.

Clothing and Personal Appearance

Clothing is an integral part of daily life, but the modern era has seen the design and production of clothing move from a labor-intensive and often home-based process to an industrial, highly automated one, with an extraordinary variety of styles and cloths available. The average person in the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth likely wore clothes made at home, often from materials also made by hand or at home. Clothing and other textiles were labor-intensive and valuable. In the eighteenth century, when Abigail Adams was writing (Document 10), virtually all cloth was spun and woven by hand, and clothing was cut and sewn garment by garment. The industrialization of textile production and clothing manufactured in the nineteenth century revolutionized clothing and fashion. Mass production of cloth and the development of sewing machines meant clothing could be made cheaply and quickly in a range of sizes and styles in factories, and this changed fashion. Another major change in the twentieth century has been the creation of synthetic fabrics. Polyester, rayon, nylon, spandex, and blended fabrics are by far the majority of clothing manufactured today. Synthetics make fabric more durable, easier to care for, and cheaper.

Clothing and personal appearance have changed in ways beyond just technology. If the modern world can in part be characterized by an increasing emphasis on individuality and self-control, the growth of self-knowledge and self-discipline, and political and personal freedom, then modern clothing can be seen as reflecting many of those trends.

Clothing and body appearance is often connected with control. In an obvious way, Leo Deutsch's description (Document 12) of being put into prison clothes and leg irons and having his head half-shaved is about having his body out of his control. In other more subtle ways, though, clothing also shows controls, either self-imposed or not. The bound feet of Chinese women (Document 13) controlled their bodies' growth in a way to curtail their being able to walk very far, practically keeping them from active lives outside the home. Western women's corsets and skirts also controlled, shaped, and limited the body, to the consternation of the active and practical nursing advocate Florence Nightingale (Document 11), but at least one American missionary was unconscious of the parallel, or at least approved of it (Document 13). Head coverings, like those described by Georgia Scott (Document 14), could have this element, too, though the Guatemalan women's styles are not obviously controlling. Many Muslim women conceal their bodies, their hair, and sometimes their faces, just as other religious groups advocate modest dress, particular undergarments, or nun's habits.

At the same time, contemporary trends in Western fashion have seen less restrictive clothing, more freedom and casualness in dress, and variation in styles. Tight-lacing whalebone corsets and footbinding are dead practices. Inexpensive mass-manufactured clothing allows more comfortable and more fashionable choices, as well as more exposure of the body, for all social groups, although these choices often are limited by other factors. Clothing combines with other ways of decorating the body, such as hair styles, cosmetics, and jewelry to protect, adorn, dignify, conceal, separate, and identify. Our personal appearance marks us by gender, class, age, profession, culture, and in many other ways. Clothing or other choices that shape our personal appearance in the modern world not only in turn shape how we are seen, but also show how we see ourselves.

10. Abigail Adams and the Massachusetts Militia: Officers and Gentlewomen in the Eighteenth Century

The following two excerpts from eighteenth-century documents offer very different descriptions of clothing. The first selection is a 1796 letter by Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams and later the second First Lady of the United States, to her niece about a ball she attended in England while her husband served as American minister (ambassador) to England. The second selection comprises orders standardizing the military uniforms of officers of the militia of Massachusetts during the American Revolutionary War in 1781. (See American Revolution in the Glossary.) It also bears remembering that all the garments mentioned were made by hand; there were no machine-driven textile mills or sewing machines, although industrialization was pioneered in textile industries and the process was beginning in the eighteenth century. Although the cloth used for court dresses and officers' uniforms would be professionally made, most people could not afford such elaborate and expensive clothing, and many spun, wove, and sewed their own textiles and clothing in the home from wool, flax, cotton, or other materials.

The dresses described for the ball are typical of upper-class formal (or full dress) attire. Sack (or sacque) gowns were popular in evolving form through the eighteenth century, and had a kind of jacket with folds of fabric down the back from the neck to the floor. By Adams'

time, the *sacque* or coat part of the gown split in front to reveal a matching (or contrasting) *stomacher* and skirt or *petticoat*. Many of the other details are specific terms describing the types and colors of fabric, ribbons, headpieces, and other trimmings, to which Adams and other women paid great attention. Often these were more expensive than the dress itself—not even including jewelry, and an old dress might be retrimmed, or the trim might be transferred to a new dress for a different effect and a different occasion.

It is clear that Adams thinks it all just a bit above her, but she obviously enjoyed it nonetheless, spending substantial amounts of money for feathers and ribbons and jewelry. While conforming to general trends, it was also important for a fashionable woman to look different or unique, and she had to direct the tailor or seamstress according to her own plans; fashion designers or *couturiers* who told or advised people on what to wear were a later, nineteenth- and twentieth-century phenomenon. If Adams' letter describes an attempt to look unique, the second excerpt describes an attempt to look alike.

The military uniforms for the Massachusetts officers are described in such detail so they can each have them made properly and still match each other, as was expected for military attire by the eighteenth century. Especially in the cash-strapped colonial armies, soldiers might not have had much of a uniform at all and officers would be responsible for their own uniforms. To insure as much uniformity as possible, specific regulations were issued. Prescribed is a long coat that buttoned closed at the top and opened halfway down, short trousers, waistcoat, neck cloth, and cock'd, or three-cornered hat; notably no mention is made of weapons, stockings, or shoes.

While styles have certainly changed, as well as the methods by which clothing is made, two dominant themes of these selections—individual expression and conformity to express membership in a group—are still important everyday functions of clothing and fashion today.

To amuse you, then, my dear niece, I will give you an account of the dress of the ladies at the ball of Comte d'Adhemar. There was as great a variety of pretty dresses, borrowed wholly from France, as I have ever seen; and amongst the rest, some with sapphire blue satin waists, spangled with silver, and laced down the back and seams with silver stripes; white satin petticoats trimmed with black and blue velvet ribbon; an odd kind of head-dress, which they term the 'Helmet of Minerva.' I did not observe the bird of wisdom, however, nor do I know whether those who wore the dress had any suitable pretensions to it. 'And pray,' say you, 'how were my aunt and cousin dressed?' If it will gratify you to know, you shall hear. Your aunt, then, wore a full dress court cap without the lappets, in which was a wreath of white flowers, and blue sheafs, two black and blue flat feathers (which cost her half a guinea apiece, but that you need not tell of), three pearl pins, bought for Court, and a pair of pearl earrings, the cost of them—no matter what; less than diamonds, however. A sapphire blue *demi-saison* with a satin stripe, sack and petticoat trimmed with broad black lace; crape flounce, etc. leaves made of blue ribbon, and trimmed with white floss; wreaths of black velvet ribbon spotted with steel beads, which are much in fashion and brought to perfection as to resemble diamonds; white ribbon also in the Vandyke style, made up a trimming, which looks very elegant; and a full dress handkerchief, and a bouquet of roses. 'Full gay, I think, for my aunt.' That is true, Lucy, but nobody is old in Europe. I was seated next the Duchess of Bedford, who had a scarlet satin sack and coat, with a cushion full of diamonds, for hair she had none, and is but seventy-six neither. Well now for your cousin: a small white leghorn hat, bound with pink satin ribbon; a steel buckle and band which turned up at the side, and a confined a large pink bow; a large

bow of the same kind of ribbon behind; a wreath of full blown roses around the crown, and another of buds and roses withinside the hat, which, being placed at the back of the hair, brought the roses to the edge; you see it clearly; one red and black feather with two white ones, completed the head-dress. A gown and coat of Chamberi gauze, with a red satin stripe over a pink waist, and coat flounced with crape, trimmed with broad point and pink ribbon; wreaths of roses across the coat, gauze sleeves and ruffles.

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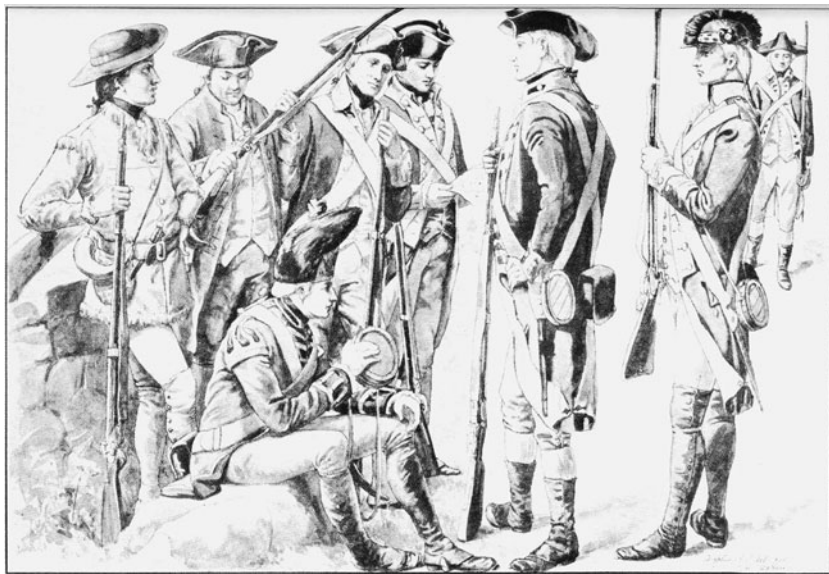
Orders for the Massachusetts Line
January 5th, 1781.

The Committee of Officers appointed to fix upon the fashion of the Massachusetts uniform, have reported thereupon, and it is as follows:

The color of the coats, waistcoats, linings and buttons, to be agreeable to the General Orders of the 2nd of October, 1779.

The length of the coat, to the upper part of the knee-pan, and to be cut high in the neck. As 3 is to 5, so is the skirt to the waist of the coat; or divide the whole length of the coat into 8 equal parts, take 5 for the waist and 3 for the skirts.

The lappel, at the top of the breast, to be 3 inches wide, and the bottom $2\frac{3}{10}$ inches; the lapel to be as low as the waist, and its wing to button within an inch of the shoulder seam with a small button on the cape. The epaulette to be worn directly on the top of the shoulder joint on the same button with the wing of the lappel. A round and close cuff, three inches wide, with four close worked buttonholes. The cape to be made with a peak behind, and its width in proportion to the lappels. The pocket flaps to be scolopped, four buttonholes, the two inner close worked, the two outer open worked, and to be set on in a curved line from the bottom of the lappel to the button on the hip. The coat to be cut full behind, with a fold on each back skirt, and two close worked buttonholes on each.



Plates from McClellan's *History of American Costume*, illustrated by Sophy Steele, 1904. Elisabeth McClellan, *History of American Costume* (New York, Tudor publishing company, 1917).

Ten open worked buttonholes on the breast of each lappel, with ten large buttons, at equal distance; four large buttons on each cuff, four on each pocket flap, and four on each fold. Those on the cuffs and pocket flaps to be placed agreeable to the buttonholes; and those on the folds, one on the hip, one at the bottom, and two in the centre, at an equal distance with those on the lappel. The coat is to button or hook as low as the fourth buttonhole on the breast, and is to be flaunt at the bottom with a genteel and military air. Four hooks and eyes on the breast as low as the coat is allowed to button. The skirts hook up with a bleu heart at each corner, with such a device as the Field Officers of each Regiment shall direct. The bottoms of the coat to be cut square. The

waistcoat to be single-breasted, with twelve buttons and holes on the breast, with pocket flaps, four close worked buttonholes and four buttons, which shall appear below the flaps. The breeches are to be made with a half fall; four buttons on each knee. The small buttons on the waistcoat are to be of the same kind with the large ones on the coat. The number of the Regiment is to be in the centre of the button, with such device as the Field Officers shall direct. The epaulettes to be worn agreeable to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's orders of June 18, 1780.

A fashionable military cock'd hat, with a silver button loop, and a small button with the number of the Regiment. To wear a black stock [neck cloth] when on duty and on the parade.

No edging, vellum lace, or indeed any other ornaments which are not mentioned, to be added to the uniform. No officer is to be permitted, at any time, to wear any other uniform than that of his Regiment.

Source: McClellan, Elisabeth. *History of American Costume, 1607–1870*. New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1937.

11. Florence Nightingale: Unhealthy Dresses

Florence Nightingale was one of the leaders of the reform of nursing in the middle nineteenth century, helping to transform it from a job of dubious morality to a respectable profession for trained, compassionate women. Nightingale was an upper-class British woman with talent, resources, and persistence who changed the practice of medicine with her focus on patients' needs, professionalism, and cleanliness in medical care. In this entry from her 1860 book on nursing (see also Document 7), Nightingale, never afraid to take on conventional wisdom or challenge social norms, lambasts women's fashions of the middle nineteenth century as being absurd and even detrimental to a patient's health.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, some in Western societies called for fashion reforms, claiming that women's fashionable dresses, with their constricting, body-shaping undergarments and heavy, wide skirts, were unhealthy to the wearers. Nightingale's claim is rather unique: fashionable dress is even unhealthy to those around the wearer. While Nightingale was absolutely correct about the relative impracticality of such skirts and the potential hazards associated with them, whether she was right about the threat to the health of others because of the noise associated with women moving in these dresses is another question.

Some of her advice in this selection, although in principle about the care and comfort of patients, seems at least in part to be separately motivated by dissatisfaction with contemporary fashion; she may have had good reason. After women's skirts had become straight and slender at the beginning of the nineteenth century, they gradually widened as the century went on, requiring ever greater numbers of petticoats, crinolines, and eventually cage crinolines, a dome- or bell-shaped undergarment made of a lattice of spring steel that attached at the waist to the corset and held the skirt in its shape. By 1860, these skirts had become as wide as six feet. While skirt shapes changed again within a few years after Nightingale wrote, many of her criticisms would still pertain to the conflict between the dictates of fashion and the need for practical clothing for women for everyday activities such as nursing.

It is, I think, alarming, peculiarly at this time, when the female ink-bottles are perpetually impressing upon us “woman’s” “particular worth and general missionariness,” to see that the dress of women is daily more and more unfitting them for any “mission” or usefulness at all. It is equally unfitted for all poetic and all domestic purposes. A man is now a more handy and far less objectionable being in a sick room than a woman. Compelled by her dress, every woman now either shuffles or waddles—only a man can cross the floor of a sick room without shaking it! What is become of woman’s light step?—the firm, light, quick step we have been asking for?

Unnecessary noise, then, is the most cruel absence of care which can be inflicted either on sick or well. For, in all these remarks, the sick are only mentioned as suffering in a greater proportion than the well from precisely the same causes.

Unnecessary (although slight) noise injures a sick person much more than necessary noise (of a much greater amount).

All doctrines about mysterious affinities and aversion will be found to resolve themselves very much, if not entirely, into the presence or absence of care in these things.

A nurse who rustles (I am speaking of nurses professional and unprofessional) is the horror of a patient, though perhaps he does not know why.

The fidget of silk and crinoline, the rattling of keys, the creaking of stays and of shoes, will do a patient more harm than all the medicines in the world will do him good.

The noiseless step of a woman, the noiseless drapery of woman, are mere figures of speech in this day. Her skirts (and well if they do not throw down some piece of furniture) will at least brush against every article in the room as she moves.

Fortunate it is if her skirts do not catch fire—and if the nurse does not give herself up to sacrifice together with her patient, to be burnt in her own petticoats. I wish the Registrar-General would tell us the exact number of deaths by burning occasioned by this absurd and hideous custom. But if people will be stupid, let them take measure to protect themselves from their own stupidity—measures which every chemist knows, such as putting alum into starch, which prevents starched articles of dress from blazing up.

I wish, too, that people who wear crinoline could see the indecency of their own dress as other people see it. A respectable elderly woman stooping forward, invested in crinoline, exposes as much of her own person to the patient lying in the room as any opera dancer does on stage. But no one will ever tell her this unpleasant truth.

Source: Nightingale, Florence. *Notes on Nursing: What It Is, and What It Is Not*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1860.

12. Leo Deutsch: Prison and Personal Appearance

Condemned by the Russian Imperial government in the late nineteenth century for anti-government terrorist activities to 13 years of labor in Siberia, Leo Deutsch (or Lev Deich) was a socialist and revolutionary. Whatever the merits of his cause or his case, Deutsch’s account of being put into the daily attire of a convicted prisoner for the first time is a reminder that going to prison involves an almost total loss of freedom.

Clothing and personal appearance is usually thought of as a mode of self-expression, a way of expressing ourselves, usually informed by a variety of factors, including climate, wealth, gender, age, and culture. In Deutsch's case, though, he was deprived of all choice in his appearance. He was given a very specific appearance that was intended to be different from other people, different from any chosen fashion. Not only would this make any runaway prisoners immediately recognizable and so make escape more difficult—even if they did manage to make it out of the leg irons—but it also was intentionally demeaning: no one wears their hair half short, half shaven. The body and personal appearance of Deutsch marks him as an outcast, as a prisoner, as socially unacceptable, and as completely in the control of others.

One of the typical marks of imprisonment in the modern world is enforced uniformity and conformity by means of clothing and personal appearance. The prisoner's personal appearance, including hair and clothing, are taken from his control, making his body's subordination to the state's power physically manifest and nearly complete. In the very last part of the following selection, though, Deutsch mentions that he retains his books. His body and physical appearance are under others' control, but his mind is not.

A fortnight later I was informed that a party of convicts would start for Moscow that evening. I was to accompany them, and accordingly must assume the convict garb. After eighteen years I think of that day with a shudder.

First of all, I was taken into a room where was stored everything necessary to the equipment of a convict under sentence. On the floor lay piles of chains; and clothes, boots, etc., were heaped on shelves. From among them some were selected that were supposed to fit me; and I was then conducted to a second room. Here the right side of my head was shaved, and the hair on the left side cut short. I had seen people in the prison who had been treated in this fashion, and the sight had always made a painful impression on me, as indeed it does on everyone. But when I saw my own face in the glass a cold shudder ran down my spine, and I experienced a sensation of personal degradation to something less than human. I thought of the days—in Russia not so long ago—when criminals were branded with hot irons.

A convict was waiting ready to fasten on my fetters. I was placed on a stool, and had to put my foot on an anvil. The blacksmith fitted an iron ring round each ankle, and welded it together. Every stroke of the hammer made my heart sink, as I realised that a new existence was beginning for me.

The mental depression into which I now fell was soon accompanied by physical discomfort. The fetters at first caused me intolerable pain in walking, and even disturbed my sleep. It also requires considerable practice before one can easily manage to dress and undress. The heavy chains—about 13 lbs. in weight—are not only an encumbrance, but are very painful, as they chafe the skin round the ankles; and the leather lining is but little protection to those unaccustomed to these adornments. Another great torment is the continual clinking of the chains. It is indescribably irritating to the nervous, and reminds the prisoner at every turn that he is a pariah among his kind, “deprived of all rights.”

The transformation is completed by the peculiar convict dress, consisting—besides the coarse linen underclothing—of a grey gown made of special material, and a pair of trousers. Prisoners condemned to hard labour wear a square piece of yellow cloth

sewn on their gowns. The feet are clad in leathern slippers nicknamed “cats.” All these articles of clothing are inconvenient, heavy, and ill-fitting.

I hardly knew myself when I looked in the glass and beheld a fully attired convict. The thought possessed me—“For long years you will have to go about in that hideous disguise.” Even the gendarme regarded me with compassion.

“What won’t they do to a man?” he said. And I could only try to comfort myself by thinking how many unpleasant things one gets used to, and that time might perhaps accustom one even to this.

My own clothes I gave away to the warders, and any possessions of value—watch, ring, cigarette-case—I sent by post to relations. I kept only my books. I had been given a bag in which to keep a change of linen; and into it I also put a few volumes of Shakespeare, Goethe, Heine...

Source: Deutsch, Leo. *Sixteen Years in Siberia: Some Experiences of a Russian Revolutionist*. Translated by Helen Chisholm. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1904.

13. Bound Virtue: Mary Fulton on Foot Binding in Nineteenth-Century China

In this selection, Mary Fulton, an American Presbyterian missionary to China in the late nineteenth century, tries to impress Chinese women by being not Chinese. One of the major points of difference between the Western Christian woman and her Chinese circle is not only her dress, but also her feet. Since medieval times, Chinese women were believed to be more attractive if they had small feet and a corresponding “lotus gait,” so their feet were broken and bound by female relatives to prevent them from growing properly in childhood. This painful process was designed to distend the arch to make feet as short as three inches long, resulting not only in smaller feet, but also in significant pain at best, infection and death at worst. Foot binding was outlawed with the end of the Chinese Imperial period in 1911, for a variety of reasons, including, in part, pressure from Western nations, which saw the practice as unnecessary and cruel.

While bound feet were undoubtedly more painful, much of nineteenth-century Western women’s clothing was generally not very comfortable either, including corsets or other extensive, restrictive undergarments that could break women’s ribs if pulled too tight; extra layers of outer clothing; high, stiff collars; long sleeves and heavy, full skirts; and tight shoes with heels (see Document 11). Fulton does not perceive these as negative, though, and she conflates her own short finger nails, “pretty and fresh,” though cheap, dresses, and well-fitting foreign shoes not simply with being Western, but with her Christian virtues as well. While historically Christians have worn many other things, here the distinctions she makes draw strict parallels between her ethnicity, religion, dress, and personal appearance. Part of her task of converting the Chinese women to Christianity is also converting them to a Western and European style of dress and life. The Chinese women that she describes are also very attached to their long nails, silk gowns, and bound feet as cultural signs of attractiveness, ethnicity, and femininity. Despite the pain and discomfort of women’s clothing and appearance in both cultures, women in both use their bodies to define their virtues, and they are attached to it as central parts of their identities and their everyday life.

I am doing what little I can in my small sphere to show an applied Christianity. In the first place, I try always to be neat in dress. This invariably calls out complimentary remarks. The Chinese women at once compare my pretty and fresh, though cheap, dress with their silken (and generally soiled) robes. Then they notice my clean, short finger nails, and contrast them with their long ones,—often a finger in length,—which indicate that they are ladies of leisure. They at once want to know *why* I dress so differently from them. It is an easy step to tell them that God, who made us, has put women into the world for *use*, and not merely to live to adorn our bodies, and that there are many poor suffering children and others who need our help. If we have such long nails and bound feet, we cannot go about to help them.

They all assent to this, and generally there is an inquiry on the part of some one present if she cannot have her feet unbound. Then you should hear the clamor! A dozen will admonish the one who has been so bold as to propose such a thing. Had she lost all her modesty that she wanted to go about like a man? Now you will laugh, but all my arguments are as nothing compared with showing them a well-fitting pretty foreign boot or shoe. I have always thought, since feet are such a momentous question in this land, that we should be very careful to make our own as presentable as possible. To see us start off quickly and gracefully and go through the streets so independently often makes them desirous of imitating us, especially when they see women hobbling along painfully, or being carried on the backs of others.

The same is true of our homes. I try to make mine attractive in its simplicity. I have a weekly prayer meeting here just because I want to show my home to these women who have never seen cleanliness and order in their dark, damp, crowded quarters. I give them, after the meeting, tea and sponge cake, served in pretty cups and plates. Simple as all this is, it lifts them up and out of their sordid surroundings, for the time being, at least, and, I hope, will lead them to make their own houses more homelike. I always urge those coming under my influence to try and be as clean as possible, and I am happy to say that I observe year by year an increasing tendency to the use of foreign soap and handkerchiefs.

Source: Dennis, James S. *Christian Missions and Social Progress: A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1897.

14. Making Headway: Georgia Scott on Headwraps in Guatemala

Georgia Scott is an African-American who, fascinated by the trend for headwraps among her peers in New York in the 1990s, launched a year-long global trip to investigate headwraps in world cultures. The following selection includes parts of her rationale and her description of her visit to Guatemala in Central America, the last stop on her round-the-world trip.

Scott tries to place the Guatemalan headwraps in historical and global context; she identifies styles that are new and gaining popularity, and styles that are virtually identical to ancient Mayan reliefs. Her descriptions document the variations in styles and expressions

among even a single people, the Maya, and the interacting pressure of tradition and the trend toward innovation. Another part of the treatment is simply how compelling and beautiful she finds headwraps, and how each person, each village, each country, and each culture expresses themselves in the type and variety of headwraps they use. Ultimately, the headwraps and headscarves become for Scott a metonym for the richness and diversity of Guatemalan and world cultures, and the variety of dress and body decoration in everyday life.

From July 2000 to July 2001, I traveled around the world with the singular, determined purpose of documenting the world's headwraps and headscarves. [...] Headwraps and headscarves are tremendously varied. They can be made of silk, cotton, gauze, muslin, wool, abaca, and many other fabrics. They can be tied, wrapped, pinned, folded, or twisted. They have hundreds of little nuances, from color and texture, to size and shape, to why they're worn and when. In some cultures, they have been wrapped the same way for generations, while other cultures create new styles every season. And they are worn for a variety of reasons. In many countries, such as India, Kenya, Ethiopia, and the United Arab Emirates, they are worn mainly for religious reasons. . . . In some countries headwraps are an integral part of daily life. In Morocco, Mali, and Niger, for example, harsh climate conditions make headwraps a daily necessity, while in other countries, such as Indonesia and Malaysia, traditional headwraps are reserved for special occasions, such as weddings and official state functions. [...]

Guatemala City wasn't exactly what I had expected. Maybe I'd done too much partying in the Caribbean, but when I arrived in Guatemala, I didn't sense the raw excitement I'd anticipated in the only Latin American country of my travels. More important[ly], like most cities in Latin America, people in Guatemala City don't wear traditional headwraps.

So I left. I rode north in a dusty, rusty yellow bus to San Pedro Sacatepequez, a Mayan town a few miles from Guatemala City. There, and in seven other Mayan ham-

lets in the western highlands, I discovered the vibrant celebration of life and tradition I'd come for. In hillside villages with pastel-painted homes and whitewashed churches filled with the scent of incense, I found extended communities of living prisms. Brilliant bursts of bold colors—bright yellow, magenta, green, orange, blue, purple—saturated everything. I was dazzled.

Almost all the textiles, from blankets and tablecloths to shirts, skirts and headwraps, are handwoven with a profusion of bright colors. Reminiscent of the weavings in northern Vietnam and in Indonesia, the colors and decorative motifs in some Mayan garments tell stories about the cultural background of the person



Maya children in Santiago de Atitlán, 2004. Courtesy of Photos.com.

wearing them. The vocabulary of colors and textiles varies from village to village. A yellow pineapple could mean health and prosperity in one, but happiness and peace in another.

The Maya of Guatemala are part of the larger Mayan culture that dates back to around 2000 B.C. and stretches through southern Mexico, Belize, Guatemala, and parts of Honduras and El Salvador. [...]

I arrived in San Pedro Sacatepequez just as a wedding was about to start. I stood in awe outside the church's wrought iron fence and watched as the bride, her groom, and dozens of guests filed inside. The bride wore a puffy, Western-style white gown and veil. Behind her, a crowd of well-wishers wore a glorious array of colorful traje [village-specific dress]: purple, red and green short-sleeved tops with wide, square necks and equally colorful long wraparound skirts. Tops and skirts were made from strips of thick, handwoven textiles with abstract motifs and floral appliqués. The women had interlaced pastel and neon-colored ribbons, or listons, into the pairs of long braids that hung down their backs, tying the ends in bows as large as grapefruits.

My next stop, Chichicastaenango, was a tourists' playground a few miles further northwest. I arrived on a Saturday morning just as vendors were setting up for the town's biweekly market. Many of the vendors and shoppers came from neighboring villages and wore the traje of their individual communities. All of the women wore knotted, twisted headwraps that circled their heads like halos, leaving the tops of their hair exposed. Some headwraps had thick, six-inch-long tassels and yarn puffs that bounced up and down in the back, sides, and front. Other headwraps were wound with thin ribbon and interlocking cords. Still others were made from streams of four or five separate ribbons all twisted together. Men of Cofridias, or brotherhoods, wore bright red, handwoven tzutes [multipurpose cloths] underneath black hats with the tassels and a large corner of the fabric hanging down their backs. [...]

In Santiago Atitlan, the women wear saucer-like wraps called cintas. They wind several yards of narrow, bright red fabric around and around their heads until they have wraps with diameters of nearly a foot wide. They are similar to turbans shown on relief figures from the Itzae ruins of Copan in southern Yucatan, Mexico.

In other parts of Lake Atitlan, I saw the same wide taffeta ribbons I'd seen in San Pedro Sacatepequez. "This style is new but very popular," explained a woman sitting beside me on the boat. "You will see it in many towns. Women don't always have time to weave their headwraps, and some don't like how the turbans hide their hair." Ribbons are bought ready-to-wear and come in a variety of colors that are not village specific. They quickly became popular in several highland communities and are now a recognizable part of a woman's traje, although some women who've adopted the ribbons replace them for more traditional headwraps on special occasions.

I could have stayed in Guatemala for another month without getting bored—with the country's headwraps or its people. But the United States was calling me. Before I left the highlands, I bought a blanket and several scarves. If I couldn't live in their prism, I could at least bring a piece of it home with me.

Source: Scott, Georgia, *Headwraps: A Global Journey*. New York: Public Affairs, 2001. Reprinted by permission of PUBLIC AFFAIRS, a member of Perseus Books Group.

Technology

At the beginning of the modern age, many technologies were similar to those that had been in use for much of human history. Certainly some important changes had taken place in the preceding centuries, such as the use of gunpowder firearms, the printing press, and the three-field system in agriculture, but many of the things that are most readily identifiable as different about the modern era from those that preceded it are technological.

While technological changes in the modern world have been rapid and far-reaching, they can be divided into several different episodes. The *Industrial Revolution*, for example, was driven primarily by technology and is often described in two parts, with the second part in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessing technological changes of a different kind from those seen in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The First Industrial Revolution began in the eighteenth century, and exercised a widespread and significant social impact by the early nineteenth century. It was driven first by water, then by steam engines and pioneered by the machinery developed for the textile industry. John Kennedy's account (Document 15) offers the example of Samuel Crompton's ingenuity, which had wide application and influence resulting in the development of the factory system, despite Crompton's personal misfortune. Transportation innovations were not as immediate, but Robert Fulton's description (Document 16) of his steamboat voyage shows the potential of steamboat and steam-powered engines for railroads that developed rapidly in the nineteenth century.

Other technologies are used to define the Second Industrial Revolution that began in the second half of the nineteenth century and continued well into the twentieth. New techniques led to the development of chemical processes and materials, as well as cheaper production of high-quality steel, which had important consequences for transportation, construction, and manufacturing. The sources of energy also changed, including the use of electricity and the internal combustion engine running on petroleum products instead of steam or falling water. The automobile is one of the most recognizable results of the Second Industrial Revolution; as Paris Fletcher describes (Document 17), it quickly replaced the horse and changed how people moved. Its impact, and that of other vehicles driven by internal combustion engines, has been tremendous in the daily life of the modern world.

The twentieth century saw not only technological innovations that can be classed with the Second Industrial Revolution, but also new kinds of technology, such as nuclear power and practical applications of biological sciences. However, the computer and other communications technology have brought a new kind of technological revolution: the information revolution. The abilities of computing technology to create changes in everyday life are evident to the extent that contemporary life is inconceivable in its current form without the myriad functions performed by microchips. Jennifer Flynn's look back (Document 18) at microchip technology is informative, but appreciably out of date less than 10 years after it was written. Moore's Law, an idea in the microchip industry, is that improvements in design and manufacturing techniques result in a doubling of the transistors, and thus computing power, possible on a chip

approximately every two years. This highlights one of the things that is so compelling about technological changes in the modern world: not just the changes themselves, but the exponential rate of change.

Material life is strongly influenced by the available technology, whether modern or otherwise. It is also one of the most obvious areas in which the modern world has changed. The technologies of the first Industrial Revolution were tremendous compared to the pre-modern world, where technologies had advanced, developed, or changed at a comparatively slow pace. The changes of the Second Industrial Revolution and the Information Revolution have far surpassed the changes of the First Industrial Revolution in scope and speed. The modern world has seen drastic changes, numerous inventions, and incredible new technologies that together have repeatedly altered the nature of daily life in the modern world.

15. Samuel Crompton: Innovation and Factories

Samuel Crompton was an English engineer and inventor who created a device for spinning thread in 1779 that helped remake the textile industry and lead the Industrial Revolution. Mass manufacturing and automation have been central to the transition of the modern world from handwork to the vast manufacturing and industrial power of developed nations.

A friend of Crompton's, John Kennedy, described his life and contributions to the textile industry in an 1830 paper, which is excerpted here. Crompton's biography shows both persistence and great technical ingenuity, but less business acumen. His fate was similar to that of many inventors, who often were not able to capitalize on their creations, and had their ideas bought, stolen, or patented by others who reaped the profits.

The spinning mule Crompton invented was really a combination of two other machines: the spinning jenny, which enabled the spinning of multiple strands of thread at one time, and the water frame, which efficiently spun one thread using water power. The name itself recognizes that Crompton's machine is a hybrid, like a mule is a cross between a horse and a donkey. The combination allowed powered spinning of multiple high-quality threads. The addition of steam power allowed the previously labor-intensive process of spinning thread to be performed very efficiently and largely by machine.

The new machines were larger than what could be put in one worker's shop or home, and only performed one of the tasks in the production process. Previous production techniques of piecework, being performed in homes or a tradesman's workshop, were designed for one worker to complete all the parts of making a product one at a time and were not easily adapted to the new technologies. The result was the emergence of the factory system: the gathering of machinery and workers to operate it in a large, single manufacturing location called a factory. The factory was an organizational innovation that incorporated many technological innovations, including machinery like Crompton's, on a scale of millions; water and later steam and electrical power; and other new technologies that changed how everyday things were made as well as how and where people worked.

When about sixteen years old he [Samuel Crompton] learnt to spin upon a jenny (of Hargreaves's make), and had occasionally woven the yarn which he had spun. This,

being but indifferent work, led him to reflect how it might be improved, and set him to construct the machine which we are about to describe. He was only twenty-one years of age when he commenced this undertaking, which took him five years to effect,—at least before he could bring his improvements to maturity. As he was not a regular mechanic, and possessed only such tools as he purchased with his little earnings acquired by labor at the loom or jenny and as he had also to learn the use of those simple tools, we may be justly surprised that even in five years he succeeded so far as to make his machine practically useful.

He often said that what annoyed him most was that he could not get leave to enjoy his little invention to himself in his garret; for, the product of his machine obtaining a better price than other yarns of those times, a report soon got abroad that he had constructed a new machine for the purpose of improved spinning, and people for the neighborhood, for miles round, came and climbed up at the windows to see him at his work. He erected a screen to prevent this, but the annoyance was so great that he could not proceed advantageously with his ingenious labor; and finally he was induced to lay the whole thing before a number of gentlemen and others, who subscribed a guinea each to look at it. On this as on every other occasion, the late Mr. Pilkinton, of Bolton, gave him his steady and friendly support. These sums amounted to about £50, which enabled him to construct another machine still further improved and of larger dimensions. When relating this little history to Mr. G. A. Lee and myself, Mr. Lee having observed “it is a pity he had not kept the secret to himself,” he replied, “that a man had a very insecure tenure of a property which another could carry away with his eyes.”...

In 1812 he made a survey of all the cotton districts in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and obtained an estimate of the number of spindles then at work upon his principle, which amounted to between four and five millions. On his return he laid the result of his inquiries before Mr. Lee and myself, with a suggestion that Parliament might grant him something. With these data before him, Mr. Lee, who was a warm friend to genius of every kind, with his usual energy entered fully into his merits, and made an appointment with the late George Duckworth, Esq., of Manchester, who also took a lively interest in the scheme, and gratuitously offered to draw up a memorial to Parliament in behalf of Mr. Crompton. This was signed by most of the principal manufacturers in the kingdom who were acquainted with his merits.... A bill was passed [by Parliament] for a grant of £5000 in full, without fees or charges.

Mr. Crompton was now anxious to place his sons in some business, and fixed upon that of bleaching; but the unfavorable state of the times, the inexperience and mismanagement of his sons, a bad situation, and a misunderstanding with his landlord, which occasioned a tedious lawsuit, conspired in a very short time to put an end to his establishment. His sons then dispersed, and he and his daughter were reduced to poverty. Messrs. Hicks and Rothwell of Bolton, myself, and some others, in that neighborhood and in Manchester, had in 1824 recourse to a second subscription, to purchase a life annuity for him, which produced £63 per annum. The amount raised for this purpose was collected in small sums, from one to ten pounds, some of which were contributed by the Swiss and French spinners, who acknowledged his merits and pitied his misfortunes. At the same time his portrait was engraved for his benefit, and a few impressions were

disposed of. He enjoyed this small annuity only two years. He died January 26, 1827, leaving his daughter, his affectionate housekeeper, in poverty.

Source: Kennedy, John. "An Account of Crompton's Life by a Friend." Paper before the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, 1830. In *Readings in Modern European History*, edited by James Harvey Robinson and Charles A. Beard. Volume 2, *Europe Since the Congress of Vienna*. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1909.

16. Robert Fulton and Steam Power

Robert Fulton invented and built the first commercially viable steamboat. The following selection includes two of his own accounts of its first voyage up and down the Hudson River between the cities of New York and Albany in 1807. The first is a letter to the editor of a New York newspaper, *The American Citizen*, the second is a letter to his friend and supporter Joel Barlow, which is excerpted from a book by Fulton's great-granddaughter. The steam-powered riverboat is just one of the applications of the steam engine, including ocean-going steamships, agricultural equipment, power for manufacturing equipment, and railroad engines, among others.

While Fulton successfully applied steam power, he was not the inventor of the steam engine; various inventors and engineers had been developing and improving on steam engines through the eighteenth century. Steam power was reliable, efficient, flexible, and portable. It could be adapted to a variety of fuels; anything that can heat water to turn it to steam can be used. The pressure created by steam is then used to create mechanical energy.

In short, the steam engine provided the power for the Industrial Revolution. Before the design of effective steam engines, the sources of mechanical energy available to power human civilization were limited to muscle—either of humans or animals—and wind and water. Efficiently harnessing wind and water is dependent on having falling water or blowing wind. Both were limited by the location and amount of wind or flowing water. Practical steam power represented a tremendous technological change. Steam provided immense, portable power. No longer did machinery or factories have to be built where there was falling water to power them. No longer did moving people or materials over long distances require waiting for winds to drive sailing ships or maintaining draft animals to pull them. Fulton's steamboat showed how transportation was being revolutionized, but it was just the beginning. Energy became cheap and abundant, and the process of moving and building the modern world with the technology of steam power was begun.

New York, August 20, [1807]

To the Editor of *The American Citizen*, Sir:

I arrived this afternoon, at four o'clock, [on] the steam boat from Albany. As the success of my experiment gives me great hopes that such boats may be rendered of great importance to my country, to prevent erroneous opinions and give some satisfaction to the friends of useful improvements, you will have the goodness to publish the following statement of facts:

I left New York on Monday at 1 o'clock, and arrived at Clermont, the seat of Chancellor Livingston, at 1 o'clock on Tuesday, time 24 hours; distance, one hundred and ten miles: On Wednesday I departed from the Chancellor's at 9 in the morning,

and arrived at Albany at 5 in the afternoon, distance, 40 miles, time, 8 hours; the sum is 150 miles in 32 hours, equal near 5 miles an hour.

On Thursday, at 9 o'clock in the morning, I left Albany, and arrived at the Chancellor's at 6 in the evening; I started from thence at 7, and arrived at New York at 4 in the afternoon; time, 30 hours, space run through 150 miles, equal to 5 miles an hour. Throughout my whole way my going and returning the wind was ahead; no advantage could be derived from my sails—the whole has therefore been performed by the power of the steam engine.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient,
Robert Fulton

...

[Letter to Joel Barlow]

My steamboat voyage to Albany and back has turned out rather more favorably than I had calculated. The distance from New York to Albany is one hundred and fifty miles. I ran it up in thirty-two hours, and down in thirty. I had a light breeze against me the whole way, both going and coming, and the voyage has been performed wholly by the power of the steam engine. I overtook many sloops and schooners, beating to the windward, and parted with them as if they had been at anchor. The power of propelling boats by steam is now fully proved. The morning I left New York there were not perhaps thirty persons in the city who believed that the boat would ever move one mile an hour, or be of the least utility; and while we were putting off from the wharf, which was crowded with spectators, I heard a number of sarcastic remarks. This is the way in which ignorant men compliment what they call philosophers and projectors.

Having employed much time, money, and zeal in accomplishing this work, it gives me, as it will you, great pleasure to see it fully answer my expectations. It will give a cheap and quick conveyance to the merchandise on the Mississippi, Missouri, and other great rivers, which are now laying open their treasures to the enterprise of our countrymen; and although the prospect of personal emolument has been some inducement to me, yet I feel indefinitely more pleasure in reflecting on the immense advantage my country will derive from the invention.

Source: Sutcliffe, Alice Cary. *Robert Fulton and the "Clermont:" The Authoritative Story of Robert Fulton's Early Experiments, Persistent Efforts, and Historic Achievements*. New York: The Century Co., 1909.

17. The Horseless Carriage

In this account by Paris Fletcher, who describes some experiences from his childhood in small-town America, the focus is on the changes to everyday life brought about by that now ubiquitous technology, the automobile. If the factory and steam engine changed how things were made and moved, the auto changed how people moved. These new machines are one of the best expressions of what some scholars call the Second Industrial Revolution, which

was based on technological innovations such as the use of petroleum, chemical engineering, electricity, and steel.

However, Fletcher is not interested in the new industries that create the cars, but rather he describes in vivid terms many of the changes and challenges of the new technology in practice. The interaction of horses and automobiles could be inconvenient or even dangerous to the animals and their loads and passengers. The transition from horse-powered vehicles to the new automobile causes the appearance of things that are common today: paved roads, road signs, and traffic laws. Other features of everyday life disappear: carriages, hitching posts, watering troughs, and even the horses themselves.

There is a certain amount of nostalgia in the entry; it is written from a backward-looking perspective. The author clearly remembers the difficulties of caring for and using horses for transportation—it was easier to walk than harness and drive a horse. However, at the same time, he is wistfully pleased by recalling what he thinks of as a simpler time. Whether it really was simpler or not, the description nonetheless illustrates how the introduction of a new technology changed everyday life.

This was the era of the horse and buggy. Some of you never knew this era. I suppose this one feature made as much change in the style and pace of living then as any single thing. I have mentioned the freedom it gave small boys to roam the streets. It had a beneficial side effect—people used their legs. Shallow thinkers are wont to ascribe this to rugged virtues of self reliance and virility. The fact of the matter is that when you have to harness a horse instead of pressing the starter button, you favor walking. We had a little Morgan horse who pulled variously a snappy little black runabout with red, hard-rubber tired wheels, a varnished two seater with the proverbial fringe on top, or an ole buck-board with a sag in the middle between the front and rear wheel that almost touched the road. In the barn were two or three old carriages which my grandfather had had, to be drawn by two horses. The most impressive of these was a landaulet with separate passenger compartment enclosed with and separated from the driver by glass panels which moved up and down by means of a broadcloth band. This gave me an early lesson in economics. My father offered it for sale at \$50 and was offered \$25, then came down to \$25, but offers had declined to \$10. After a while he sensed that those automobiles were really here to stay, panicked and offered it to anyone who would take it. It was too late. It cost him \$10 to have it taken away. The moral is, of course, to constantly review your investment portfolio. The blue chips of yesterday may not always remain blue chips.

There were a few foolhardy souls who gradually essayed that modern contraption, the horseless carriage. If you didn't have to feed 'em it was only fair that you pay the penalty in some other manner and these early adventurers did. It might be as simple as a flat tire—which was really not so simple then, but often it involved a serious accident. Our local butcher lost an eye when his Stanley Steamer exploded. And when an enthusiast made the round trip to Bristol ten miles away without any untoward happening, it was dinner table conversation. People began to wonder whether after all this machine might be here to stay. It seemed to be the more aggressive and least conservative citizens, those who were engaged in the daily risks of their trade—the butcher, the merchant, the contractor, those who were least secure financially,—who first adopted this experiment, all of which figures, I guess. The advent of the automobile posed a peril for horses. When one approached it was standard practice for a horse driven vehicle to pull

up by the side of the road and hold a tight rein until the offending vehicle had passed out of sight. There were two reasons for this: the obvious one of soothing the frightened horse, but the other equally valid one that it took that amount of time for the thick dust on the country roads to settle. Frequently the horse couldn't be restrained and the result was a runaway. From the amount of ill will generated by the early drivers, it is really a wonder that automobiles were not legislated off the road before they became accepted.

One consequence of this innovation was the emergence of the first traffic signs. At the Middlebury village limits was a big white sign—"Speed limit 10 miles per hour. Cutout forbidden." Roads began to improve. In a burst of radical legislation, the Middlebury town meeting decided to engage an outside firm to lay down a 400-yard strip of macadam road, the latest thing in hard surface roads. It was a wondrous work when finally finished after about six months—for autos. Horse driven vehicles which were still in the great majority avoided its hard surface like the plague. It must have lasted nearly a year and a half before the pot holes made it probably worse than it had been in its original state. These were the days of water carts sprinkling the dusty village streets, hitching posts, stone horse troughs at key intersections, iron kettles at a spring by the side of a country road. Our pleasures were simple and self-contrived.

Source: Fletcher, Paris. "Reminiscence of Boyhood in Middlebury." Undated typescript. Fletcher Collection. Henry Sheldon Museum of Vermont History. Used with permission.

18. Star Trek Computer Science: A Look Back at Today

Computers have become a virtually indispensable part of life in the modern world. They are essential to the manufacturing, communications, and transportation systems that run our everyday life, and the computers run on microchips. Among all the different technological innovations of the twentieth century, the microchip might be the most revolutionary, the most important for its impact on everyday life.

This selection by Jennifer Flynn is an artificial flash back, a look back at the present from an imaginary future perspective—the fictional world of Star Trek. The article describes the binary system and the chip as a highly sophisticated, extraordinarily miniaturized electrical circuit. While the selection does not discuss particular applications in detail, it does describe the main innovations that make modern computers technologically possible. Without semiconductors and miniaturization of circuitry, computers filled rooms full of vacuum tubes and were reserved for government and research purposes. For example, the first modern general-use electronic computer, called Electronic Numerical Integrator And Computer (ENIAC), was built in 1946 for \$500,000 and had around 100,000 diodes, resistors, and capacitors, giving it much less computing power than a contemporary microchip, but it occupied a whole floor in a lab building and weighed around 30 tons. A modern chip can have millions of transistors or circuit features per square millimeter.

The fact is that the invention of the microchip—based on semiconductor technology—has facilitated a vast array of applications that have transformed everyday life—how we communicate; how we create, store, and share knowledge and information; what we do for fun; and how we work. They run laptops, iPod, ATMs, cell phones, automobiles, and a myriad of other devices.

Obviously the twenty-fourth century, the imaginary viewpoint of this entry, will be much different than Star Trek, but that doesn't change the fact that the discovery of semiconductors and the invention of the microchip has allowed computers to be what they are today, and will lead them to what they will be tomorrow—whatever that is.

The microchip was a crucial step forward for the twentieth century PC. With the invention of the microchip, computers could be made smaller, faster, and more powerful for less money. The microchip turned PCs into affordable alternatives to the time-honored (but slower) method of data collection and organization—many of which were still done by hand.

The discovery of semiconductors made the microchip possible. Formed of elements such as silicon and germanium, a semiconductor was a unique electric component: one which did not conduct electricity, yet it did not quite prevent electricity from moving through it. When a small charge of electricity was applied to a semiconductor, it changed from a non-conductor to a conductor of electricity. Computer design engineers now had a controllable conductor of electricity that could be miniaturized, enabling relatively small (desktop) personal computers to be manufactured.

RAM (and many other PC components, including the CPU) was really just a set of complex ON/OFF switches. The data stored in a PC was binary, meaning that it had only two states: 0 and 1. These two states could be represented electronically with tiny ON/OFF switches. Earlier in the twentieth century, computers were constructed with vacuum tubes (devices which controlled the flow of electricity in a vacuum)—but these computers were entirely too large to fit on a desktop (most of them occupied entire rooms). So it wasn't until the semiconductor was invented that a miniaturized “switch” existed, enabling in turn, the miniaturization of the computer itself.

But a PC was more than just a series of ON/OFF switches—most PC components were a combination of several electrical devices: transistors, capacitors, and resistors. Using semiconductors, a single chip of silicon was formed into a complex, integrated circuit—a miniaturized, self-contained collection of electronic components. In a microchip, transistors served as ON/OFF switches (creating the 1s and 0s of a bit). Capacitors held that charge (allowing a bit to keep its value of 0 or 1). Resistors controlled electricity and forced it to flow in one direction, creating logic within the PC—a program could instruct the CPU to do one thing if something were true, another thing if it were not. The resistor forced electricity to flow in a single direction based on the charge of neighboring components, and that direction was then interpreted by the CPU as “Yes” or “No.” Such sophistication on a tiny scale made the microchip a giant leap in technology, beyond the purely mechanical storage and logic devices of early computers.

Source: Flynn, Jennifer. *20th Century Computers and How They Worked: The Official Starfleet History of Computers*. Carmel, IN: Alpha Books, 1993.

Part VI

POLITICAL LIFE

Political life is often thought of at the large-scale level, with senators, presidents, kings, and other important people doing important and even historic things. The fact is, whether we like it or not, almost all human interactions, down to the smallest groups, are political—if by political we mean concerned with the acquisition, organization, and exercise of authority or power. The *modern* era has seen dramatic changes in political life, just as it has in virtually every other aspect of everyday life, and several areas of political life are represented here in the following four topical sections: “Social Hierarchy,” “Government,” “Justice and Legal Systems,” and “Warfare.”

Sometimes political changes have increased the rights, liberties, and quality of life for many; other times politics have motivated repression, enslavement, or even genocide. The “Social Hierarchy” section primarily describes groups that have been the victim of political oppression, and the injustices perpetrated against them by those with power, including Native American attempts at redress of their grievances from the U.S. government (Document 1), the Armenian genocide (Document 3), and the *Holocaust*, or Shoah (Document 4). On a smaller scale, the selection on textile factory girls (Document 2) reveals that hierarchies do not always have to be institutional and oppressive, national or genocidal—even groups without conventional political power still have political hierarchies.

Governments are perhaps the most obviously political institutions in the modern world, and reflect some of the most important changes in political life. In 1700, most people were the subjects of a monarchical government, in which most political power was centered in one person. Today, most people live under an elected government, where a much larger part of the population shares political power—or at least one that makes that claim. One remarkable feature about the evolution of political life is that many governments that are not democratic seek legitimacy through an illusion of democracy. William Blackstone explains the British parliamentary system in glowing terms (Document 5), while an account of election day in New York in 1896 (Document 6) attempts to illustrate both authentic democracy and corruption, and Nikita Khrushchev extols the values of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union (Document 7).

Another aspect of political life includes the administration of judgment and justice. Often this takes the form of the creation of law, the adjudication of violations of law,

and the punishment of lawbreakers. Voltaire's comparison of legal privileges enjoyed by the nobility in England and France in the eighteenth century (Document 8) attacks the injustice of an ancient but unfair system and has some common ground with Gandhi's scathing critique of British colonial domination in India (Document 10), which led to his advocacy of *satyagraha*, a form of nonviolent protest that proved a model for popular resistance to unjust systems. The mechanisms and institutions of justice are discussed in theoretical terms by Alexander Hamilton's essay from the *Federalist Papers* on the proper form of the judicial branch of government (Document 9) and in very practical terms by Sam Gutierrez's diary of a lawbreaker's day in a modern prison (Document 11).

Since Karl von Clausewitz's famous nineteenth-century pronouncement that "War is merely the continuation of policy by other means," war has been seen as a political event. While some dispute Clausewitz's characterization, warfare has undoubtedly been used for political ends by nations in the modern era, and the evolution of warfare is included as an aspect of political life. The nature of warfare has changed since the muskets and bayonets of 1700 have given way to intercontinental ballistic missiles and computerized targeting systems on aircraft and tanks, but the experience of warfare remains a defining experience in the lives of many of those who participate in it—willingly or not—and survive. From the catastrophe of Napoleon's campaign in Russia (Document 12), to the struggles of civilians on the home front in the American Civil War (Document 13), to German submarines in World War I (Document 14), to a Japanese soldier-poet struggling to remember the good times with family (Document 15), to managing the war in Vietnam (Document 16), there is tremendous change, but there is also consistently courage, suffering, a willingness to sacrifice, and the impulse to survive.

In small villages in the "third world," nineteenth-century textile factories, or the top levels of international relations, human interactions have a political dimension. Political life gives societies the rules that determine how we will live together and solve conflicts—peacefully or otherwise. As society becomes ever more global, forms of politics will continue to change, and new models of organization and authority will evolve, but political life will remain inseparable from daily life.

Social Hierarchy

Although many idealists, religious zealots, and social reformers have aspired to totally egalitarian societies, in practice such an arrangement may only be possible in solitude. Nor are social hierarchies inherently bad. In fact, social organization helps us get along, accomplish complex tasks, and order our daily lives. Even the smallest human groups tend to develop hieratic organizations, from school children to the workplace to institutions to nations and to ethnic groups.

Harriet Robinson's description of the hierarchy in the *Lowell system* factories (Document 2) shows how groups organized in the industrial setting that was rapidly growing in the nineteenth century. While the course of industrialization eroded much of the solidarity shared by the mill-girls and management, despite their distinct positions, it marks a generally positive example of how people form groups and work together.

Unfortunately, the use of social power over others has led to profoundly tragic results all too often in the modern world, as is indicated by Henry Morgenthau's horrific

account of the Armenian genocide (Document 3), and the quiet desperation of Ignaz Maybaum as he struggles to be a survivor of the *Holocaust* (Document 4). Certainly social oppression, discrimination, and persecution are not unique to the modern world, but the scale of suffering and death caused by the distortion of social power in the twentieth century is unparalleled in history. Only slightly less disturbing is Yellow Buffalo Bull's request for help from the U.S. government (Document 1); one gets a sense that there is little hope for success. The readings in this section call for reflection on how it is that we organize our everyday social lives and what care we must take to assure as just a system as we can.

1. *Yellow Buffalo Bull: A Native American Speaks*

The Ponca were a small tribe of Native Americans from northern Nebraska. Unlike most Plains tribes, the Ponca were a semi-agricultural people, who grew corn and vegetables instead of relying on buffalo hunting. In the 1880s, the United States government wanted to move the Ponca to Oklahoma in contradiction of its treaty obligations, and the Ponca resisted. Once most of them were forcibly relocated to what is now northern Oklahoma (called at that time the Indian Territory), the Ponca tried to make the best of it, but faced difficult circumstances made worse by the neglect of government officials and the deliberate depredations of whites.

The Ponca sent a delegation, including a Ponca chief, Yellow Buffalo Bull, to Washington, D.C., to seek help. The following selection is from a transcript of the address Yellow Buffalo Bull made to the Acting Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The letter expresses the hopes of the Ponca for redress of the tribe's grievances with the whites who were harassing them and the Bureau of Indian Affairs agent, who was not helpful.

In the social hierarchy of the American West, the Native Americans were chronically pushed to the bottom, deprived of land and rights. The letter indicates many of the typical problems Native American groups experienced in the United States. After having been deprived of their land and forcibly relocated, they were plagued by problems, abused by whites, and dependent on an indifferent bureaucracy.

O "Little Grandfather," you who govern the Indians, I will speak to you today about two subjects. I have come to this place because my friend, Mr. Dorsey, sent for me to come and work with him. When I was at the railroad station at Ponca Ind. T. [Indian Territory], just before I started hither, very many of the Poncas followed me that far, and they said that I should have an interview with you. Said they, "When you reach Washington you shall speak to the President about one matter."

The cattle have been trespassing on our reservation from time to time, and that is hard for us to endure. We bought our present reservation for fifty thousand dollars and it is ours. We sold to the railroad company the right of way through our reservation, consisting of one tract fifty feet wide, for one thousand seven hundred dollars. Other white people, not railroad officials, when returning with the stock cars from Oklahoma, shove out the carcasses of the dead cattle upon Ponca land. (They drag them here over a large extent of territory, leaving them to decay, and making all the land smell and

covering it with bones, without giving us any damages. Besides, the cattle are brought to the reservation, where they are sold to different persons who take them away in various directions, going at random over our fields and pastures. Thus are our crops injured, and we can not cut hay.)

We begged the agent to help us about this, but he has done nothing. Therefore we Indians consulted together and said, "It is proper to tell this to the President and the Commissioner." So we collected among ourselves two hundred dollars to pay the traveling expenses of some of our men to and from Washington. But since it is difficult to see you without obtaining your consent, they said that I should tell you when I came, as I now have done. The money to pay the railroad fare is our own.

I hope that you will help us, and that you will allow at least two to come and speak about these matters.

The cattle are continually trespassing on our land, therefore all of our people wish to speak about it. We hope that our affairs may be rectified for us... If you have something to say in reply, I hope that you will decide to pity us, and that you will very soon telegraph to the Ponkas what you have to tell them (I too will send a telegram in order to tell them).

Source: Dorsey, James Owen. *Omaha and Ponka Letters*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891.

2. Lowell, Massachusetts: The Early Industrial Factory System

As industrialization spread across Europe and North America, changes took place in the social hierarchy of daily life. One of the first and most successful early textile mill towns was Lowell, Massachusetts. The Lowell factories adopted a paternalistic attitude toward the workers, who were predominantly single women from the surrounding countryside. Seeking to avoid many of the negative effects of industrialization already evident in Europe, the Lowell factory system provided factory-owned and monitored housing, encouraged church attendance and cultural activities, and paid high wages. The intent was to provide a clean, moral, and healthy industrial environment where workers would be content. In the early years, it was acclaimed as a great success. While certainly patriarchal, the Lowell system did offer its workers, especially women, opportunities that previously had not existed for them.

Harriet Robinson worked in the Lowell mills from age ten in 1834 until she left and married in 1848. She wrote about her experiences in the early days of the industrial textile industry, and it is from her work that the following selection is taken. She describes in detail the social hierarchy in the New England factory town. In the place of traditional social relationships, the factory town developed new patterns of social distinctions, even among the workers themselves, based primarily on one's position within the factory. These new distinctions superseded familial connections, land ownership, education, crafts and trades, religion, and other traditional means of social organization, although certain tendencies remained consistent, such as the higher status of men and American-born people over women and immigrants. The agents and the overseers—exclusively male—were at the highest level, and their wives, too, by virtue of being married to them. The next level, still

respectable, comprised the operatives or factory workers, who had ambition and pretensions to upward social movement (primarily through marriage). It is worth noting that the lowest level of the hierarchy, below even the women, was the primarily Irish immigrant laborers and their families.

The system Robinson described in the early days of the mills did not last long. The rapidly developing textile industry and increasing competition made it increasingly difficult to maintain the benevolent aspects of the Lowell system, resulting in greater stratification between labor and management, an increase in the amount and difficulty of the work, and a decrease in wages and cultural programs. The following account gives a vivid description of early industrialization and indicates the changes taking place in social organization, the movement from rural to urban, expanding educational opportunities, nascent labor organization and reform movements, the changing status of women, and the position of immigrant groups, all of which affected the organization of new patterns of industrial social life.

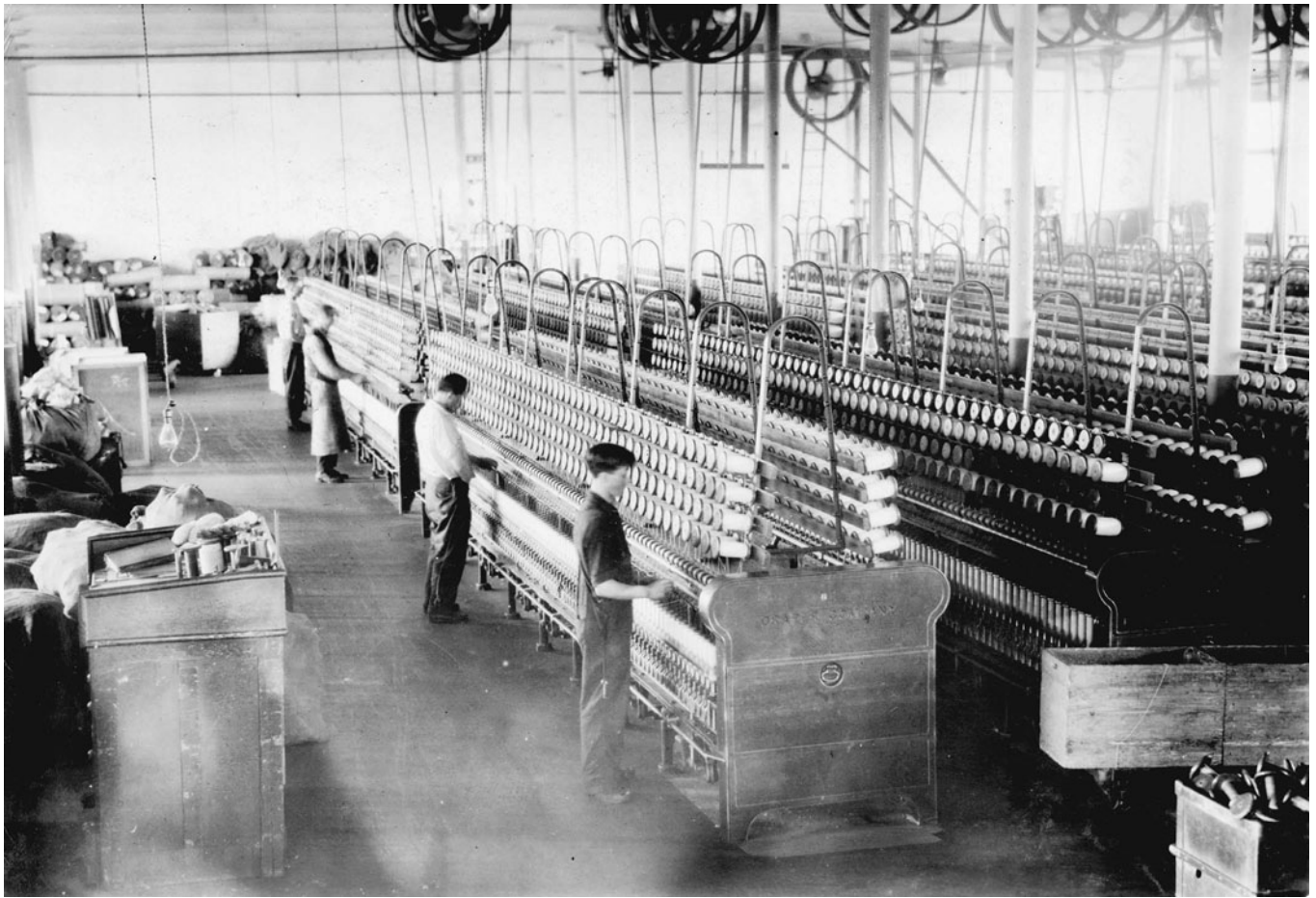
Before 1836 the era of mechanical industry in New England had hardly begun, the industrial life of its people was yet in its infancy, and nearly every article in domestic use that is now made with the help of machinery was then "done by hand." [...]

Their lives had kept pace for so many years with the stage-coach and the canal that they thought, no doubt, if they thought about it at all, that they should crawl along in this way forever. But into this life there came an element that was to open a new era in the activities of the country. This was the genius of mechanical industry, which would build the cotton-factory, set in motion the loom and spinning frame, call together an army of useful people, open wider fields of industry for men and (which was quite important at that time) for women also. [...]

In 1832 the factory population of Lowell was divided into four classes. The agents of the corporations were the aristocrats, not because of their wealth, but on account of the office held, which was one of great responsibility, requiring, as it did, not only some knowledge of business, but also a certain tact in managing, or utilizing the great number of operatives so as to secure the best return for their labor. The agent was also something of an autocrat, and there was no appeal from his decision in matters affecting the industrial interest of those who were employed on his corporation.

The Agents usually lived in large houses, not too near the boarding-houses, surrounded by beautiful garden which seemed like Paradise to some of the home-sick girls, who, as they came from their work in the noisy mill, could look with longing eyes into the sometimes open gate in the high fence, and be reminded afresh of their pleasant country homes. And a glimpse of one handsome woman, the wife of an agent, reading by an astral lamp in the early evening, has always been remembered by one young girl, who looked forward to the time when she, too, might have a parlor of her own, lighted by an astral lamp!

The second class were the overseers, a sort of gentry, ambitious mill-hands who had worked up from the lowest grade of factory labor; and they usually lived in the end-tenements of the blocks, the short connected rows of houses in which the operatives were boarded. However, on one corporation, at least, there was a block devoted exclusively to the overseers, and one of the wives, who had been a factory girl, put on so many airs that the wittiest of her former work-mates fastened the name of "Puckersville" to the whole block where the overseers lived. It was related to one of these



A Lewis Hine photograph of the spooling room in a textile mill in Indian Orchard, Massachusetts, 1916. Library of Congress.

quotidian factory girls, that, with some friends, she once re-visited the room in which she used to work, and to show her genteel friends her ignorance of her old surrounding, she turned to the overseer, who was with the party, and pointing to some wheels and pulleys over her head, she, “What’s them things up there?”

The third class were the operatives, and were all spoken of as “girls” or “men;” and the “girls,” . . . The working hours of all the girls extended from five o’clock in the morning until seven in the evening, with one-half hour for breakfast and dinner. Even the doffers were forced to be on duty nearly fourteen hours a day, and this was the greatest hardship in the lives of these children, for it was not until 1842 that the hours of labor for children under twelve years of age were limited to ten per day; but the “ten-hour law” itself was not passed until long after some of these little doffers were old enough to appear before the legislative committee on the subject and plead, by their presence, for a reduction of the hours of labor.

At the time the Lowell cotton-mills were started, the factory girl was the lowest among women. In England, and in France particularly, great injustice had been done to her real character; she was represented as subjected to influences that could not fail to destroy her purity and self-respect. In the eyes of the overseer she was but a brute,

a slave, to be beaten, pinched, and pushed about. It was to overcome this prejudice that such high wages had been offered to women that they might be induced to become mill-girls, in spite of the opprobrium that still clung to the “degrading occupation.” [...]

The fourth class, lords of the spade and the shovel, by whose constant labor the building of the great factories was made possible, and whose children soon became valuable operatives, lived at first on what was called the “Acre,” a locality near the present site of the North Grammar schoolhouse. Here, clustered around a small Catholic Church, were hundreds of little shanties, in which they dwelt with their wives and numerous children.

Source: Robinson, Harriet H. *Loom and Spindle, or Life Among the Early Mill Girls*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Co., 1898.

3. The Armenian Genocide of 1915

In the midst of World War I, with the Ottoman Empire at war with the Russian Empire, the Ottoman Turkish government decided that the Christian minority Armenians would likely be sympathetic to the Russians, and in 1915 the Turkish government initiated the mass deportation of Armenians living within Turkey, citing, among other reasons, security concerns.

As is all too often the case with ethnic and religious minorities, Armenians living under Ottoman rule had been subject to sometimes violent persecution for decades, but the events of 1915 were of a different magnitude altogether. Estimates vary, but between 300,000 and 1,500,000 Armenians died as a result. Many nations and most scholars identify these events as the Armenian Genocide, although some, including the Turkish government, deny both the name and many accounts of the events. Henry Morgenthau Sr. was the U.S. Ambassador to Turkey during these events, and this selection from his account offers a description of some of the tactics and atrocities committed. He collected information from U.S. diplomats and aid agency workers, whom he also helped to organize, and after he returned to the United States in 1916, published this account and worked for the succor of the Armenian population.

Morgenthau's description of cruelty and brutality can be difficult to read. Armenians were systematically forced from their homes and stripped of all their possessions, men were separated and often murdered, sexual assaults and rapes were common, and old men, women, and children were put on forced marches that were intended to result in their deaths.

Genocide was only defined as a concept in 1944, but that didn't prevent such acts from taking place before then. The recognition of genocide has prompted nations to assess their moral and legal responsibilities and powers and promoted the development of international law to provide for intervention, although unfortunately the Armenian genocide was not the only event where a government or ethnic group has tried to eradicate a part of the population in the twentieth century. Among the most well-known are the Nazi's attempt to exterminate the Jews (known as the Holocaust), the collectivization and purges of Joseph Stalin in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in the 1920s and 1930s, Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution in China in the 1960s, the Cambodian killing fields under Pol Pot in the 1970s, and Hutu attacks on Tutsis

in Rwanda and the Serbian ethnic cleansing of Bosnians in the Balkans in the 1990s, among others. Hierarchies based on social, ethnic, and political differences are part of political life. Nonetheless, it is a tragic extreme of social hierarchies when groups resort to exterminating each other.

I have . . . laid aside any scruples I had as to the propriety of disclosing to my fellow countrymen the facts which I learned while representing them in Turkey. I acquired this knowledge as the servant of the American people, and it is their property as much as it is mine.

The Central Government [of Turkey] now announced its intention of gathering the two million or more Armenians living in the several sections of the empire and transporting them to this desolate and inhospitable region. Had they undertaken such a deportation in good faith it would have represented the height of cruelty and injustice. As a matter of fact, the Turks never had the slightest idea of re-establishing the Armenians in this new country. They knew that the great majority would never reach their destination and that those who did would either die of thirst and starvation, or be murdered by the wild Mohammedan desert tribes. The real purpose of the deportation was robbery and destruction; it really represented a new method of massacre. When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race; they understood this well, and, in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact.

All through the spring and summer of 1915 the deportations took place. Of the larger cities, Constantinople, Smyrna, and Aleppo were spared; practically all other places where a single Armenian family lived now became the scenes of these unspeakable tragedies. Scarcely a single Armenian, whatever his education or wealth, or whatever the social class to which he belonged, was exempted from the order. In some villages placards were posted ordering the whole Armenian population to present itself in a public place an appointed time—usually a day or two ahead, and in other places the town crier would go through the streets delivering the order vocally. In still others not the slightest warning was given. The gendarmes would appear before an Armenian house and order all the inmates to follow them. They would take women engaged in their domestic tasks without giving them the chance to change their clothes. The police fell upon them just as the eruption of Vesuvius fell upon Pompeii; women were taken from the wash-tubs, children were snatched out of bed, the bread was left half baked in the oven, the family meal was abandoned partly eaten, the children were taken from the schoolroom, leaving their books open at the daily task, and the men were forced to abandon their ploughs in the fields and their cattle on the mountain side. Even women who had just given birth to children would be forced to leave their beds and join the panic-stricken throng, their sleeping babies in their arms. Such things as they hurriedly snatched up—a shawl, a blanket, perhaps a few scraps of food—were all that they could take of their household belongings. To their frantic questions “Where are we going?” the gendarmes would vouchsafe only one reply: “To the interior.”

In some cases the refugees were given a few hours, in exceptional instances a few days, to dispose of their property and household effects. But the proceeding, of course,

amounted simply to robbery. They could sell only to Turks, and since both buyers and sellers knew that they had only a day or two to market the accumulations of a lifetime, the prices obtained represented a small fraction of their value. Sewing machines would bring one or two dollars—a cow would go for a dollar, a houseful of furniture would be sold for a pittance. In many cases Armenians were prohibited from selling or Turks from buying even at these ridiculous prices; under pretense that the Government intended to sell their effects to pay the creditors whom they would inevitably leave behind, their household furniture would be placed in stores or heaped up in public places, where it was usually pillaged by Turkish men and women. The government officials would also inform the Armenians that, since their deportation was only temporary, the intention being to bring them back after the war was over, they would not be permitted to sell their houses. Scarcely had the former possessors left the village, when Mohammedan *mohad*—immigrants from other parts of Turkey—would be moved into the Armenian quarters. Similarly all their valuables—money, rings, watches, and jewellery—would be taken to the police stations for “safe keeping,” pending their return, and then parcelled out among the Turks. Yet these robberies gave the refugees little anguish, for far more terrible and agonizing scenes were taking place under their eyes. The systematic extermination of the men continued; such males as the persecutions which I have already described had left were now violently dealt with. Before the caravans were started, it became the regular practice to separate the young men from the families, tie them together in groups of four, lead them to the outskirts, and shoot them. Public hangings without trial—the only offense being that the victims were Armenians—were taking place constantly. The gendarmes showed a particular desire to annihilate the educated and the influential. From American consuls and missionaries I was constantly receiving reports of such executions, and many of the events which they described will never fade from my memory. At Angora all Armenian men from fifteen to seventy were arrested, bound together in groups of four, and sent on the road in the direction of Caesarea. When they had travelled five or six hours and had reached a secluded valley, a mob of Turkish peasants fell upon them with clubs, hammers, axes, scythes, spades, and saws. Such instruments not only caused more agonizing deaths than guns and pistols, but, as the Turks themselves boasted, they were more economical, since they did not involve the waste of powder and shell. In this way they exterminated the whole male population of Angora, including all its men of wealth and breeding, and their bodies, horribly mutilated, were left in the valley, where they were devoured by wild beasts. After completing this destruction, the peasants and gendarmes gathered in the local tavern, comparing notes and boasting of the number of “giaours” that each had slain. In Trebizond the men were placed in boats and sent out on the Black Sea; gendarmes would follow them in boats, shoot them down, and throw their bodies into the water.

When the signal was given for the caravans to move, therefore, they almost invariably consisted of women, children, and old men. Anyone who could possibly have protected them from the fate that awaited them had been destroyed. Not infrequently the prefect of the city, as the mass started on its way, would wish them a derisive “pleasant journey.” Before the caravan moved the women were sometimes offered the alternative of becoming Mohammedans. Even though they accepted the new faith,

which few of them did, their earthly troubles did not end. The converts were started, the individuals bore some resemblance to human beings; in a few hours, however, the dust of the road plastered their faces and clothes, the mud caked their lower members, and the slowly advancing mobs, frequently bent with fatigue and crazed by the brutality of their “protectors,” resembled some new and strange animal species. Yet for the better part of six months, from April to October, 1915, practically all the high-ways in Asia Minor were crowded with these unearthly bands of exiles. They could be seen winding in and out of every valley and climbing up the sides of nearly every mountain—moving on and on, they scarcely knew whither, except that every road led to death. Village after village and town after town was evacuated of its Armenian population, under the distressing circumstances already detailed. In these six months, as far as can be ascertained, about 1,200,000 people started on this journey to the Syrian desert.

“Pray for us,” they would say as they left their homes—the homes in which their ancestors had lived for 2,500 years. “We shall not see you in this world again, but sometime we shall meet. Pray for us!”

Source: Morgenthau, Henry. *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*. New York: Doubleday and Page, 1918.

4. Ignaz Maybaum: *The Third Churban—Jewish Life after the Holocaust*

The Holocaust, or Shoah, as it is called in Hebrew, is one of the defining events of the twentieth century in Western culture, and perhaps of the modern world. During the 1930s and early 1940s an estimated 6,000,000 Jews were put to death by the Nazi government of Germany or their allies or sympathizers. A long history of anti-Semitism in Europe helped create an environment where unthinkable horrors were perpetrated, where, as in the case of the Armenian genocide (see Document 3), the consequences of a distorted social hierarchy shifted in totalitarian Nazi Germany from the oppression of certain social groups to systematic persecution, and eventually to the grimly named “Final Solution”—the extermination of all Jews. Aside from Jews, political opponents, prisoners of war, clergy and religious, Slavs and gypsies, the disabled, and others designated as racially impure or otherwise undesirable were arrested, imprisoned, forced to work, and often simply executed, adding another 2–4 million to the total number of lives taken. Holocaust survivors have documented their experiences in detail, describing their daily life inside Nazi concentration camps.

This selection is not about living through the Holocaust, but living after it. Ignaz Maybaum, a Jewish rabbi and theologian, did not personally live through the camp experience. Originally from Vienna, Austria, he had become one of the chief rabbis in Berlin, Germany, by the late 1930s. He eventually fled Germany in 1939 with his wife and children. His mother and sisters were not able to leave and he never saw them again—they died in Nazi concentration camps. Maybaum speaks of the Holocaust as if it were a churban, or destruction, a term that often refers to the destruction of the First and Second Temples in Jerusalem, historically the most sacred place in the world to Jews. The events of the Second World War (1939–1945) and the Holocaust broke the faith of some Jews, but

the virtual eradication of Jews in Eastern Europe points for Maybaum to the need for Jews to rediscover and remake their faith and their fate as a religious people.

Whether or not Maybaum is right about the religious response to the Shoah, there is no doubt that he struggles to come to some kind of explanation as to how to continue daily social life in the wake of such a cataclysm. He laments and praises the dead, seeks to comprehend their suffering in religious terms, and seeks to use that consolation to find the courage to go on. While many Holocaust survivors and contemporary Jews take issue with Maybaum's theological approach and his controversial position that the Shoah was in some sense a punishment of the Jews for the sins of the rest of the world, there remains the clear impression that for Maybaum, things have changed forever for the survivors of the Holocaust, for the future of all Jews, religious or not, and for the daily lives of not only the survivors, but for those who still live where the victims once did—a part of their community was destroyed, too.

While Henry Morgenthau reported the genocide of Armenians from the outside, Maybaum deals with the Shoah from the inside. What can he do or say to allow him to cope with the loss of family and friends, home and homeland, culture and traditions—the destruction of virtually all of his everyday life.

In the year 586 before the Common Era the first Temple was destroyed. In the year 70 of the Common Era the second Temple was destroyed. In our history books we speak of the first churban and of the second churban. The third churban took place in the years 1933 to 1945. Six and half million Jews were murdered.

We are the survivors of the third churban. Whatever else we are is of no importance in comparison with this crucial fact of our life.

We may be happy or unhappy, well-to-do or poor, we may be rich still with memories of the past or stripped bare of tradition like children of the Displaced Persons camps who know only that they are of Jewish origin because it was for this they suffered persecution. We may be deeply rooted in the civilization of our surroundings or we may be newcomers making ourselves known as foreigners with the first few words we utter. All these are minor differences amongst us Jews of this generation. There is a common badge which we all wear and which makes us a band of brothers and sisters singled out by God. We are survivors of the third churban.

Dumbfounded and in agony we ask, What actually happened? The historian will try to explain what happened. He will show in detail how a sick civilisation collapsed and how this collapse involved the end of East European Jewry and the utter dissolution of continental Western Jewry. Perhaps it was residue from the Middle Ages, still present in our own age, which poisoned the body of the European continent. A corpse can poison a living organism. Perhaps it was the rise of new generations which were only outwardly civilized and were in fact barbarians. These barbarians wanted to break out from what they felt to be the prison of civilization. Perhaps the feudal civilization of the Middle Ages, strengthened by the legions of Prussia, revolted against the protestant civilization of the free democracies of the West.

The historian will analyse the past events of our time and offer us his findings. The historian is a retrospective prophet. He may do his best, but the way into the future remains full of risks. The biblical prophet looks back into the past like the historian but also gives guidance for the future. He speaks of the Judgment Day of God cleansing the land.

No man can be called righteous before God. But one thing can certainly be said of the six and a half million Jews who died. They were not the creators of, nor were they accountable for, that old, sick civilization which was destroyed. They stand visibly for all the innocent who must die with the guilty when God's Judgment Day destroys the Wicked City. Even in their death, these six and a half million Jews fulfilled their holy mission.

We who have survived the Judgment Day ask what is our consolation, what is our duty, and what is our hope for the future. Our own blood has been spilled; parents, brothers, sisters, friends have been foully murdered. Those who must live without consolation are embittered, and those who are embittered cannot build up new life.

There is only one consolation. We shall find it in our way to God. Only God can 'wipe away the tears from all the faces, and the scandalous shame done to his people, and he will extinguish it from off all the earth' (Isaiah 25:8). We, the survivors, must find our way to this God or we must drag on without consolation and therefore without the ability to live, still remaining the living victims of the catastrophe. Jewry has a religious future or none at all.

Those who survived and think and act as if their old background still exists will be condemned to walk through life as ghosts of a dead past. To be a survivor must mean something else. When a man loses everything, he is alone. Being alone, he has nothing unless he can progress to a new future. The good tidings of the Prophet of Consolation are not concerned with political or cultural prospects; the good tidings foretell that the people will stand again before God as in the great days of the past. The prophet says: 'Behold your God' (Isaiah 40:9).

The Day of Judgment which has destroyed a past has its meaning for the future. We who have not been devoured by the wrath of judgment have one duty as survivors: we must change.

What is left in us from that past about which God has passed judgment must become changed. No one among us must remain merely the nineteenth century Jew. God wants us to change. A man is not a man when he is a type.

East European Jewry was the heart of Jewry, from which the life blood streamed to all its members. It was absolutely united with Western Jewry. East European Jewry looked to the West always. It had itself migrated from the West in the eleventh and twelfth century. We had no political union connecting East European Jewry and Western Jewry. We did not need one. We were an historic unit closely knit together by the power of religion. This historic unit has been destroyed in the third churban. Jerusalem has been destroyed. The past from which we all come, whether Central or Eastern Europe was our home, is a religious past.

We shall have a future if it is a religious future. We must build Jerusalem again. This we cannot do if we remain what we were. We must not remain simply contemporaries of that catastrophe which devoured six and a half million Jews and left us alive. God sat in His judgment seat, and our old ideals and ideologies have been condemned. Whether we are Orthodox or Liberals or belong to the Reform Movement, whether we are Zionists or non-Zionists, we must not remain after the Day of Judgment what we were before.

Source: Maybaum, Ignaz. *The Face of God After Auschwitz*. Amsterdam: Polak and Van Gennep, 1965. Reprinted from Nicolas de Lange, ed. *Ignaz Maybaum: A Reader*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2001.

Government

Government is perhaps what most people think of when they think of political life. Changes in the dominant forms of government and the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of those systems have been one of the most important phenomena in political life in the modern period. At the beginning of the modern period, political power was largely a function of the accident of birth. The opportunities to govern if one was not perceived as born to that right were limited. Short of mass violence, most of the governed in such societies had little say about the policies that affected them. This situation changed in the modern period, when societies came to see the legitimacy of government in the consent of the governed. Whether by bloody revolution or protracted political evolution, most modern states shifted real political control to a more or less large voting public, although both the right to vote and the real power of the voting public has been limited in most places and times.

William Blackstone (Document 5) describes the *Parliament* of England as an effective compromise between different political stakeholders in the eighteenth century. The extension of the franchise (or voting rights) to most adult males by the end of the nineteenth century becomes the setting for Ernest Ingersoll's description of an election day in New York in 1896 (Document 6). If Blackstone looks at the system from an institutional point of view, Ingersoll looks at republican democracy from the point of view of individuals within it; political functionaries, individual voters, even the children who cannot vote, but who participate in the social activities of election day. With political power at stake, sophisticated political organizations, called political machines, evolved to use, bend, or even break the rules to help assure victory.

Representative democracy is not the only model of government in modern political life. Nikita Khrushchev, who was first secretary of the Soviet Communist Party from 1953 to 1964, offers a summary of the Communist system (Document 7), which originated with the philosophy of Karl Marx in the middle nineteenth century, was the ideology of the former *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, and remains that of the People's Republic of China today. While theoretically it puts power in the hands of the working masses and takes power from all other social classes, in practice it has been rather different.

5. Sir William Blackstone on Modern Parliamentary Democracy

Sir William Blackstone (1723–1780) was an eighteenth-century English jurist whose Commentaries on the Laws of England are still the primary reference work for English common law. The following selection is Blackstone's account of the relationship of different parts of the government in the British system. He describes three groups as checks on each other: the king, the lords (nobility and church leaders), and the people. The similarity of the idea to the "checks and balances" of the United States Constitution is evident, although the details of the system are different in several important respects. First, there is no strict distinction between branches of government—all the elements in the British system participate in the

legislative function. The members of Parliament, although elected locally, do not directly represent the areas from which they come, as in the Senate or House of Representatives in the United States. Another noteworthy difference is the establishment of a state religion; the Church of England is a part of the state and has its own representatives (bishops and archbishops) in Parliament, the national legislature.

While not apparently radical to us today, this limitation of monarchical and parliamentary powers was only achieved in England by much discord. The seventeenth century had seen conflict between Parliament and the king culminate in the English Civil War, the execution of Charles I, the creation of the Commonwealth, and the Glorious Revolution of 1688. In short, the century preceding Blackstone's birth had been a turbulent one in English political history. Blackstone is strongly in favor of the arrangement, wherein the nobility, the church, the sovereign, and the people are all represented and cooperate within one institution. He goes to some length to blur the distinction between the pure democracy of an idealized ancient Greek world and the representative democratic body of Parliament in the British parliamentary system. Blackstone is quick to praise the status quo, in part because it had produced stability following decades of revolution and conflict. The same basic system continues in Britain today. The king or queen is no longer a true political force, but still ceremonially functions to open and close Parliament and approves all new laws. The House of Lords remains, although the real focus of power in the modern democratic United Kingdom is the House of Commons.

Blackstone's England gave real political power to a much broader part of the population than nearly anywhere else in the world, although property qualifications and other restriction continued well into the nineteenth century for men, and women were not fully enfranchised until 1928. The creation of representative governments, whether republics or—as in Britain—limited monarchies, was a marked change from the vestigial feudalism and absolute monarchy or aristocracy that had dominated European political systems in the pre-modern periods. British Parliamentary democracy preceded the establishment of such states in America and France in the eighteenth century, Latin America and other European nations in the nineteenth century, and many other countries around the world in the twentieth century. Although not a perfect system, the one described in Blackstone's account represents the beginnings of one of the most important trends in government in the modern world.

The constituent parts of a Parliament are the next objects of our inquiry. And these are the king's majesty, sitting there in his royal political capacity, and the three estates of the realm,—the lords spiritual, the lords temporal (who sit together with the king, in one House), and the Commons, who sit by themselves in another. And the king and these three estates, together, form the great corporation or body politic of the kingdom, of which the king is said to be *caput, principium, et finis*. For upon their coming together the king meets them, either in person or by representations; without which there can be no beginning of a Parliament; and he also has alone the power of dissolving them.

It is highly necessary for preserving the balance of the constitution, that the executive power should be a branch, though not the whole, of the legislature... The crown cannot begin of itself any alterations in the present established law; but it may approve or disapprove of the alterations suggested and consented to by the two Houses. The

legislative therefore cannot abridge the executive power of any rights which it now has by law, without its own consent, since the law must perpetually stand as it now does, unless all the powers agree to alter it.

And herein indeed consists the true excellence of the English government, that all parts of it form a mutual check upon each other. In the legislature, the people are a check upon the nobility, and the nobility a check upon the people, by the mutual privilege of rejecting what the other has resolved; while the king is a check upon both, which preserves the executive power from encroachments. And this very executive power is again checked and kept within due bounds by the two Houses, through the privilege they have of inquiring into, impeaching, and punishing the conduct, not indeed of the king, which would destroy his constitutional independence; but—which is more beneficial to the public—of his evil and pernicious counselors. Thus every branch of our civil polity supports and is supported, regulates and is regulated, by the rest. [...]

The spiritual lords consist of two archbishops and twenty-four bishops; and, at the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII, consisted likewise of twenty-six mitred abbots and two priors: a very considerable body, and in those times equal in number to the temporal nobility. [...]

The lords temporal consist of all the peers of the realm (the bishops not being in strictness held to be such, but merely lords of Parliament) by whatever title of nobility distinguished—dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, or barons; of which dignities we shall speak more hereafter. Some of these sit by descent, as do all ancient peers; some by creation, as do all new-made ones; others, since the union with Scotland, by election, which is the case of the sixteen peers who represent the body of the Scots nobility. Their number is indefinite, and may be increased at will by the power of the crown; and once, in the reign of Queen Anne, there was an instance of creating no less than twelve together. [...]

The Commons consist of all such men of any property in the kingdom as have not seats in the House of Lords, every one of which has a voice in Parliament, either personally or by his representatives. In a free State every man, who is supposed a free agent, ought to be, in some measure, his own governor; and therefore a branch at least of the legislative power should reside in the whole body of the people. And this power, when the territories of the State are small and its citizens easily known, should be exercised by the people in their aggregate or collective capacity, as was wisely ordained in the petty republics of Greece and the first rudiments of the Roman State. But this will be highly inconvenient when the public territory is extended to any considerable degree, and the number of citizens is increased. [...]

In so large a state as ours it is therefore very wisely contrived that the people should do that by their representatives which it is impracticable to perform in person;—representatives chosen by a number of minute and separate districts, wherein all the voters are, or easily may be, distinguished. The counties are therefore represented by knights, elected by the proprietors of lands; the cities and boroughs are represented by citizens and burgesses, chosen by the mercantile part or supposed trading interest of the nation, much in the same manner as the burghers in the diet of Sweden are chosen by the corporate towns, Stockholm sending four, as London does with us, other cities two, and some only one. The number of English representatives is 513, and of Scots 45: in

all 558. And every member, though chosen by one particular district, when elected and returned serves for the whole realm....And therefore he is not bound, like a deputy in the United Provinces, to consult with, or take the advice of, his constituents upon any particular point, unless he himself thinks it proper or prudent so to do.

These are the constituent parts of a Parliament: the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons. Parts, of which each is so necessary, that the consent of all three is required to make any new law that shall bind the subject. Whatever is enacted for law for one, or by two only, of the three is no statute, and to it no regard is due, unless in matters relating to their own privileges.

Source: Blackstone, Sir William. *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. London, 1756. Reprinted from James Harvey Robinson, and Charles A. Beard, eds. *Readings in Modern European History*. Volume 1: *The Eighteenth Century: The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Period*. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1909.

6. Honest Democracy, Honest Corruption: Election Day in New York in 1896

Elections are a central element in modern political life. There is no modern substitute for the legitimacy conferred by winning the support of the people who will be governed—or at least appearing to do so. Political parties develop complex, sophisticated organizations to acquire and keep power through electoral politics. In practice, elections can be messy, even corrupt affairs, with virtual armies of volunteers and operatives on all sides holding nothing back to give their candidate the best possible chance to win. Sometimes, of course, that also includes breaking the rules.

The following account by Ernest Ingersoll looks at the daily experience of an election in nineteenth-century urban America. The local party organizations reached into every ward, even down into every block, with a hierarchical and systematic approach. The efficiency of these party organizations earned them the nickname of political machines. Machines functioned to win elections and amass power not so much by violence or intimidation (although they were used as well), but through offers of favors and assistance in return for votes. Before government-run social welfare programs, political machines often fulfilled this function by finding patronage jobs; subsidizing rent, food, or medical care for families in need; helping immigrants negotiate municipal bureaucracies; and providing other services. At the same time, they were also corrupt, and served as fronts for illegal activities such as graft, fraud, racketeering, embezzling, and other crimes.

The following selection describes an election in New York in 1896. The Democratic Party machine in New York City centered at Tammany Hall, a name synonymous with corrupt politics and the center of power in New York political life for over a century. Author Ernest Ingersoll is careful to describe in detail the integrity of the election procedure and officials to assure the readers of the legitimacy of the process, perhaps in contrast to the dirty politics of years past. Ingersoll makes clear the differences in education, sophistication, and position within a political hierarchy in his description of the machine members and operatives. He also points out the equality of social classes at the polls: workingman or lawyer, it's one man, one vote. Of course, equality had its clear limits; the only voters were men. Women were legally barred from voting in New York until 1917.

Ingersoll's article illustrates how elections affected everyday life, how the whole community was involved, how the election equalized and discriminated, how the political machine worked and was combated, and how street-level electioneering was managed. Corrupt or not, elections like the one described here were an integral part of the experience of government and political life.

Election Day morning is the earliest of the year. The polls open at six o'clock—long before daylight in that late and cloudy month of November. At three the policemen who are to serve at the polls (nearly three thousand of them on the last occasion) are aroused and sent to breakfast. An hour later they reassemble, are paraded before the desks of the station-houses, instructed, and despatched to their polls, taking with them all the ballot-boxes, ballots, and other furniture, for the safety of which they are held responsible. [...]

Before the polls open the small closets or "booths" in which the voters prepare their ballots, and which are built of canvas stretched upon light frames, hinged together so as to be collapsible, are unfolded and set up, one being provided for each fifty voters on the list. The ballot boxes, which have two glass sides and a solid cover perforated by a narrow slit, are opened, proved to be empty, relocked by the chairman of the Board of Inspectors, and then arranged upon tables. Outside of all is set up a "guard-rail," as a legal rather than an actual barrier to the approach within it of unprivileged persons. The ballot clerks set in order their ballots ready to be dealt out, while the poll clerks open their registry books containing the names of men supposed to be electors, and prepare to record each vote. Finally, any watchers present take their places within the rail, where they may scrutinize every proceeding. To the intelligence, vigilance, and courageous protests of these watchers all over the city the handsome result against misrule in 1894, and the freedom from illegal election methods, were very largely due, and they will be a regular institution hereafter.

On the stroke of six the poll is declared open, and the voting immediately begins, the name and address of each applicant being called out by the inspector as soon as the voter presents himself. If he is reported as properly registered, and no one challenges his right, the ballots are given him, their number is recorded by the clerks and every one else interested, and he retires to a booth to select in secret the ticket or tickets he wishes to vote. This done, he returns, hands his ballots to the inspectors, so folded that no one can see their purport, the fact that he has voted is proclaimed and recorded, and he leaves the inclosure. If challenged, he "swears in" his vote, or refuses to do so, according as he is willing or not to take the responsibility of an oath. [...]

Meanwhile the great city is waking up. This is a legal holiday, but the smaller provision stores open up for a few hours... Toward the polling places come groups of strong, active, but rather seedy men, talking the polyglot slang of the school of the curbstone. One, better dressed, cleaner shaved, strides briskly around the corner, and is instantly attended to. He shakes hands with everybody, calling each by his Christian name—or a part of it, for time is precious this morning. Now and then he throws his arm about the neck of a henchman, and whispers a sentence or two in his ear, whereupon the recipient of the favor hurries away. This [ward captain] is the leader of the district on one side, or perhaps an alderman, or maybe even a candidate, and these others are his

“workers,” who share his chances, hopeful of recognition if he succeeds, failing which they will desert to the opposition, and possibly “squeal,” or betray damaging secrets against him. He is now making a round of the polls in his district to be sure that his representatives are on duty near by. [...]

To many who are more or less visible all day there this is the most important occasion of the year. To be sure, it may be worth a few dollars to them, directly or indirectly; but plainly they look further than this... It is these men who make the voting-places picturesque. In rough garb and with lordly swagger, they sandwich themselves between neat and dignified lawyers, merchants, and clergymen, proudly sensible of their equality at the polls. Sometimes the motley line reaches out of doors and down the street. [...]

In the afternoon the brisk captain, who has been dodging all day from poll to poll, obtains an approximate list of those on his side who have not yet voted, and despatches workers to “bring them out.” They search their haunts, and presently return with recruits. Some of these delinquents have simply been tardy, others are sick or lame or blind, and gently conducted to the polls, perhaps in a carriage, placed in the line, and carefully assisted to the ballot box. The attention he gets on election day is a genuine comfort to many a poor devil kicked about all the rest of the year. Now and then a henchman seizes a captain and whispers something portentously in his ear. A moment later he hurries off, looking very important, and soon reappears with a companion, who is sent on alone, while he himself stays back at the corner. This means that some voter has been ascertained to be out of town or sick abed, and that a willing and thrifty stranger has come to vote (illegally) in his name. This is only one of many tricks election officers must guard against toward the end of the day, and sometimes a cost of no small courage; for whiskey emboldens the roughest workers to “stand on his head” any one who interferes with them. [...]

The moment the polls close the liquor-saloons open, but the excessive drunkenness and brawling common in former years are not now seen. Five o’clock editions of the newspapers are issued, but have little to tell, for everywhere the clerks are still busily counting the votes. The streets overflow with boys who hardly wait for the earliest darkness to institute their picturesque part of the day’s doings. The New York citizen begins to break election-day laws as soon as he can toddle about the block. Bonfires are strictly prohibited, yet thousands of them redden the air and set all the windows aglow before seven o’clock. [...]

But the fun of the street, which is now beginning, is not for that band of reporters at headquarters, not for those other bands of writers in the newspaper offices down-town,



George Caleb Bingham, *The County Election*, 1851–52. Art Resource, NY.

who, with almost superhuman diligence and endurance, are tabulating and putting into type and commenting upon these returns for delectation of the public next morning.

The tenement-house districts have been alive with people since sundown, dancing about the fires. They have learned long ago the outlines of the result, and those on the successful side are rejoicing in their tumultuous way, sure of the support of all the boys. [...]

The greatest of the indoor jollifications is that at Tammany Hall. Early in the evening the spacious auditorium becomes packed with tribesmen, a brass band is stationed in the gallery, the wives and daughters of prominent braves appear in the boxes, and the big and little sachems, wiskinskies, and all the rest, gather about a mythical council fire on the stage. A member with a stentorophonic voice reads telegrams from the district leaders and police headquarters, against a storm of cheerful yells and witticisms when the news is favorable, and of hoots and cat-calls when it is not.

Source: Ingersoll, Ernest. "Election Day in New York." *The Century Magazine* 53:1 (November 1896).

7. Nikita Khrushchev on Communism and Freedom

The political language of the modern era begins primarily in the Enlightenment with ideas such as liberty, equality, democracy, self-determination, and government of the people. These ideas—which replaced the monarchical, divine-right language that preceded them—may be under attack today by some postmodern political theorists who see the political structure that evolved from them as oppressing minorities and other marginalized groups. (See Monarchy and Postmodernism in the Glossary.) At the same time, the compelling attraction of liberal freedoms has led to the use of such language to bolster many political systems. Along with the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) dominated world politics from World War II until the USSR's dissolution in 1991.

The Soviet Union, born from the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917, was one of the most brutal and repressive governments of the twentieth century. Joseph Stalin, its leader from 1929 to 1953, surpassed even Adolph Hitler of Nazi Germany in the number of people killed by the government he led. Nikita Khrushchev, the author of the following selection, followed Stalin as leader of the Soviet Union. Once in power, he repudiated many of Stalin's actions, but the Soviet Union remained in many respects an unfree place.

The platform of the Soviet Communist Party, excerpted from the 22nd Party Congress held in 1961, offers a Marxist view of history and repeats the guarantees of progress, freedom, and liberty enjoyed by the Soviet people. Written at the height of the Cold War between the United States and the USSR, it claims that Russian Revolution of October 1917 initiated a new era in history and the imminent achievement of utopian communism.

The Marxist philosophy that underlay the political system of Communism took whole social classes—not individuals—as the fundamental constituents of the political system. (See Karl Marx in the Glossary.) As a result, the will of the working class as a whole, as determined by its political manifestation, the Communist Party, was more important than the will of any particular person or other group, and trumped individual rights. While the

political tensions of the Cold War led the United States government to infringe on some of its citizens' rights as well, the political life of the Soviet Union was authoritarian. The state provided for the basic needs of individuals through housing, health care, education, employment, and pensions, but despite the fact that Soviet citizens were theoretically guaranteed Enlightenment liberties like freedom of speech, assembly, conscience, and self-determination, in practice individual rights were significantly restricted. Most churches were closed. All press and media were owned and controlled by the state. Only one political party existed, and elections were to demonstrate political unanimity, not to make political choices. People were not allowed to leave the country, and foreigners were carefully monitored. Soviet society was a closed society, controlled from the top down. Nonetheless, the rhetoric of freedom and liberty that has been a dominant part of the modern model of political legitimacy was still a central part of Soviet political life.

I. THE HISTORICAL NECESSITY OF THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM

The epoch-making turn of mankind from capitalism to socialism, initiated by the October Revolution, is a natural result of the development of society. Marxism-Leninism discovered the objective laws of social development and revealed the contradictions inherent in capitalism, the inevitability of their bringing about a revolutionary explosion and of the transition of society to communism.

The working class, which is the most consistent revolutionary class, is the chief motive force of the revolutionary transformation of the world. In the course of class struggles it becomes organized, sets up its trade unions and political parties, and wages an economic, political and theoretical struggle against capitalism. In fulfilling its historic mission as the revolutionary re-maker of the old society and creator of a new system, the working class becomes the exponent, not only of its own class interests, but of the interests of all working people. It is the natural leader of all forces fighting against capitalism.

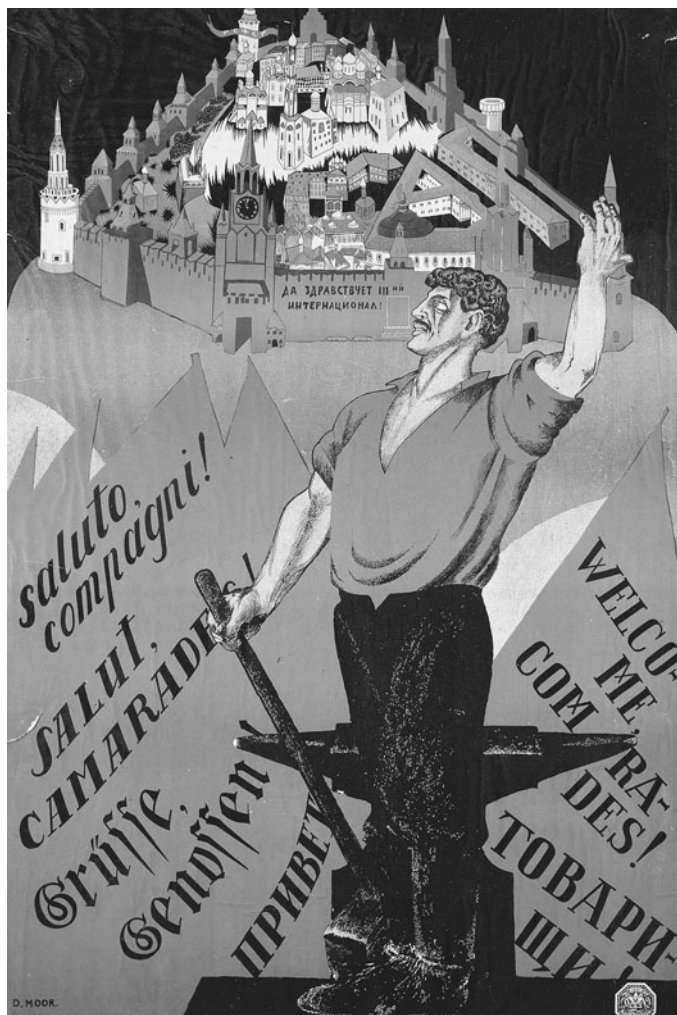
[...]

II. THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND OF THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R.

The Great October Revolution breached the imperialist front in Russia, one of the world's largest countries, firmly established the dictatorship of the proletariat and created a new type of state—the Soviet socialist state, and a new type of democracy—democracy for the working people. [...]

The October Revolution undermined the economic basis of a system of exploitation and social injustice. Soviet power nationalized industry, the railways, banks, and the land. It abolished the landlord system and fulfilled the peasants' age-long dream of land.

The October Revolution smashed the chains of national oppression; it proclaimed and put into effect the right of nations to self-determination, up to and including the right to secede. The Revolution completely abolished the social-estate and class privileges of the exploiters. For the first time in history, it emancipated women and granted them the same rights as men.



Russian poster by D. Moor created during the Russian Revolution appealing to foreign workers to join. The Art Archive / Musée des 2 Guerres Mondiales Paris / Gianni Dagli Orti.

The socialist revolution in Russia shook the entire structure of world capitalism to its very foundations; the world split into two opposing systems.

For the first time there emerged in the international arena a state which put forward the great slogan of peace and began carrying through new principles in relations between peoples and countries. Mankind acquired a reliable bulwark in its struggle against wars of conquest, for peace and the security of the peoples. [...]

The entire life of socialist society is based on the principle of broad democracy. Working people take an active part, through the Soviets, trade unions, and other mass organizations, in managing the affairs of the state and in solving problems of economic and cultural advancement. Socialist democracy includes both political freedoms—freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly, the right to elect and to be elected, and also social rights—the right to work, to rest and leisure, to free education and free medical services, to material security in old age and in case of illness or disability; equality of citizens of all races and nationalities; equal rights for women and men in all spheres of political, economic and cultural activity. Socialist democracy, unlike bourgeois democracy, does not merely proclaim the rights of the people, but guarantees that they are really implemented. Soviet society ensures the real liberty of the individual. The highest manifestation of this liberty is man's emancipation from exploitation, which is what primarily constitutes genuine social justice. [...]

COMMUNISM—THE BRIGHT FUTURE OF ALL MANKIND

The building of a communist society has become an immediate practical task for the Soviet people. The gradual development of socialism into communism is an objective law; it has been prepared by the development of Soviet socialist society throughout the preceding period.

WHAT IS COMMUNISM?

Communism is a classless social system with one form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society; under it, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces through continuous progress in science and technology; all the springs of co-operative wealth will flow more abundantly, and the great principle "From each

according to his ability, to each according to his needs” will be implemented. Communism is a highly organized society of free, socially conscious working people in which public self-government will be established, a society in which labor for the good of society will become the prime vital requirement of everyone, a necessity recognized by one and all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people.

A high degree of communist consciousness, industry, discipline, and devotion to the public interest are qualities typifying the man of communist society.

Communism ensures the continuous development of social production and rising labor productivity through rapid scientific and technological progress; it equips man with the best and most powerful machines, greatly increases his power over nature and enables him to control its elemental forces to an ever greater extent. The social economy reaches the highest stage of planned organization, and the most effective and rational use is made of the material wealth and labor reserves to meet the growing requirements of the members of society.

Under communism there will be no classes, and the socio-economic and cultural distinctions, and differences in living conditions, between town and countryside will disappear; the countryside will rise to the level of the town in the development of the productive forces and the nature of work, the forms of production relations, living conditions and the well-being of the population. With the victory of communism mental and physical labor will merge organically in the production activity of people. The intelligentsia will no longer be a distinct social stratum. Workers by hand will have risen in cultural and technological standards to the level of workers by brain. [...]

The C.P.S.U. [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] being a party of scientific communism, proposes and fulfils the tasks of communist construction in step with the preparation and maturing of the material and spiritual prerequisites, considering that it would be wrong to jump over necessary stages of development, and that it would be equally wrong to halt at an achieved level and thus check progress. The building of communism must be carried out by successive stages.

Source: Khrushchev, Nikita. “Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U.” In *The Road to Communism: Documents of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1961.

Justice and Legal Systems

At the beginning of the modern era, ideas of individual liberty and self-government spread, resulting in the creation of new systems of law and justice. Voltaire, writing in the decades before the start of the *French Revolution* in 1789 (Document 8), used his acerbic pen to critique a French system of law that heavily favored the nobility and gave them power to judge and tax at their discretion, or even their whim. In the *Federalist Papers*, Alexander Hamilton (Document 9) signals a new and typically modern approach: the rule of law. Hamilton’s ultimate concern is to keep government limited by assuring the judiciary is independent, impartial, and enabled to prevent abuses and infringements on the people’s liberties. Central concepts in legal systems today, human rights and civil liberties were enshrined in legal reforms and the justice systems created in the modern period.

At the same time, most European states, and other industrializing nations as well, including the United States and Japan, acquired control of large imperial territories in Asia, Africa, America, and Australia. While most of these nations were progressively extending privileges to their own people, they also deprived vast numbers of other people of the same rights they were granting to their own citizens. Mohandas Gandhi's call for the expulsion of the British from India (Document 10) was a direct result of racial and imperial policies that contradicted Britain's own domestic political arrangements. Unfortunately, even after the withdrawal of most imperial powers, the rule of law has failed to take firm hold in many former colonies. On the other hand, Gandhi's idea of *satyagraha*, or love-force, has become the inspiration for the practice of non-violent protest, a new and powerful method of achieving justice when legal systems cannot or will not provide it.

While Gandhi, Voltaire, and Hamilton offer particular views on the arrangement of legal institutions and the pursuit of just political systems in the modern world, Sam Gutierrez's diary (Document 11) gives the perspective of a person inside the penal system in the United States. All of these figures, like Gutierrez, found themselves at various points in their lives in trouble with legal and justice systems: Voltaire repeatedly avoided politically motivated imprisonment by fleeing several countries; Hamilton risked imprisonment or execution when he and the other colonists rebelled against Great Britain; and Gandhi, like Gutierrez, spent significant time in prison, but this is not the only point of contact between them. The daily experience of a prisoner is inextricably linked to the systems that imprison him. Gutierrez does not focus on what he did, or the justice of his sentence, but to imprison him, or anyone, as a just act requires the kind of just systems that the modern world, with exceptions, of course, has sought to establish.

8. Voltaire on the Abuses of the Eighteenth-Century French Aristocracy

Voltaire, the pseudonym of the eighteenth-century French philosopher, Deist, and political thinker Francois-Marie Arouet, lived most of his life in Geneva, Switzerland, because he had been expelled from most other European countries for criticizing their governments. He was one of the foremost minds of the Enlightenment and a harsh critic of governmental abuse, tyranny, hypocrisy, and organized religion.

In this selection, from his well-known Philosophical Letters, republished in English in 1778 as Letters on the English, his target is the legal privileges of the French nobility, who as a class retained many of the rights they had under the medieval system of feudalism. He does so by contrast with the English nobility, who still had some power, but, by the time Voltaire wrote, nothing like the power still exercised by the French nobility. In later eighteenth-century Britain, real political authority, as indicated by William Blackstone (Document 5), had mostly shifted to the House of Commons in the English Parliament.

Among the rights and privileges Voltaire attacks is the French nobles' continuing close connection to their land and control over territories; their right to hunt anywhere in their fiefdoms, even on another's property; their right to act as judge and jury in legal matters in their dominions; their right to levy their own taxes; and their exemption from paying taxes themselves to the French king.

Yet it is not the nobles' rights themselves that rouses Voltaire's ire, but the inequality of social groups and the relationship of the nobility to the law. The Enlightenment strongly advocated for the equal rights of individuals, liberty, and the rule of law. A legal system that placed the will of the king or a class of aristocrats above the law and gave them arbitrary powers to tax, judge, hunt, or anything else struck the Enlightenment mind as fundamentally unfair and in need of reform. Voltaire, who was not a proponent of general democracy, applauds the English system, which makes everyone, even the nobility, subject to the law and puts the power to tax and make laws in the hands of the people's representatives, the House of Commons. He also notes the practical advantages in the greater prosperity and industriousness of the English, who do not have to fear their success being simply taken by a greedy local aristocrat.

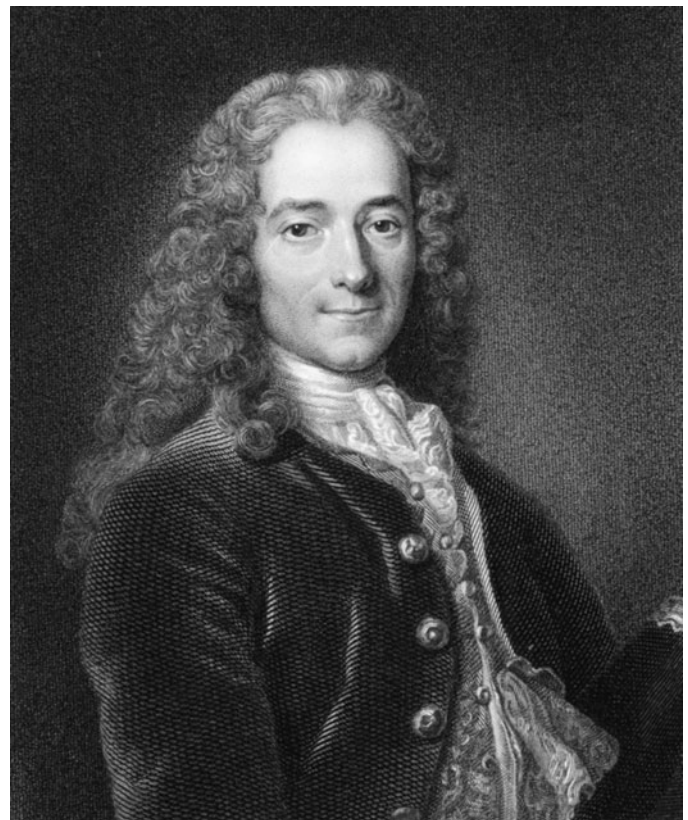
The French Revolution would sweep away the old aristocracy and its privileges in 1789, behead the king in 1791, and slip into a Reign of Terror before the French state was eventually taken over by Napoleon, who restored many of the aristocratic privileges in building the French Empire. Regardless of the vicissitudes of history, the shift from an ideal of justice in which different social groups have fundamentally different relationships to the law to one where the rule of law is seen as paramount to a just legal system is an essential part of the evolution of political life in the modern age.

Since only peers are, properly speaking, noble in England, there would be no such thing, in strictness of law, as nobility in that island, had not the kings created new barons from time to time, and preserved the body of peers, once a terror to them, to oppose them to the Commons, since become so formidable.

Moreover, these new peers who compose the upper House receive nothing but their titles from the king, and very few of them have estates in those places whence they take their titles. One is Duke of D____, though he has not a foot of land in Dorsetshire; and another is earl of a village, though he scarce knows where it is situated. The peers have power, but it is only in the Parliament House.

There is no such thing here in England as the power enjoyed by the French lords to judge in all matters, civil and criminal; or their right or privilege of hunting in the grounds of a citizen, who at the same time is not permitted to fire a gun in his own field.

No one is exempted in this country from paying certain taxes, because he is a nobleman or a priest. All imposts and taxes are fixed by the House of Commons, whose power is greater than that of the peers, though inferior to it in dignity. The spiritual as well as temporal lords have the right to reject a money bill brought in by the Commons, but they are not allowed to alter anything in it, and must either pass or throw it out without amendment. When the bill has passed the lords and is signed by the king, then the whole nation pays, every



Francois Marie Arouet de Voltaire. Courtesy of Photos.com.

man in proportion to his revenue or estate, not according to his title, which would be absurd. There is no such thing as an arbitrary subsidy or poll tax, but a real tax on the lands, the value of which was determined in the reign of the famous King William III.

The land tax continues still upon the same footing, though the revenue of the lands is increased. Thus no one is tyrannized over, and everyone is in comfortable circumstances. The feet of the peasants are not bruised by wooden shoes; they eat white bread, are well clothed, and are not afraid of increasing their stock of cattle, nor of tiling their houses, from any apprehensions that their taxes will be raised the year following. The annual income of the estates of a great many commoners in England amounts to no less than two thousand livres: and yet these do not think it beneath them to plow the lands to which they owe their wealth, and on which they enjoy their liberty.

Source: Voltaire [Francois-Marie Arouet, pseud.]. *Philosophical Letters*. Paris. 1734. Reprinted in James Harvey Robinson and Charles A. Beard, eds. *Readings in Modern European History*. Volume 1: *The Eighteenth Century: The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Period*. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1909.

9. Alexander Hamilton: The Judiciary in a Federal Republic

The Federalist Papers comprised a series of 85 articles explaining the merits of the proposed United States Constitution and first published in New York newspapers and later collected into a book due to their popularity. They were all published under the pseudonym “Publius,” a name that invokes one of the founders of the ancient Roman Republic, although there were three real authors: Alexander Hamilton, one of the founders of the United States, who served as the first secretary of the Treasury; John Jay, the first chief justice of the Supreme Court; and James Madison, the Father of the Constitution and fourth president of the United States. While scholars have debated the importance of the Federalist Papers in securing ratification of the Constitution, they remain central documents in understanding the intentions and ideas of those who actually wrote the U.S. Constitution.

The paper from which the following selection comes, “Federalist 78,” is among the most famous. It deals in part with the powers of the judicial branch of the proposed federal government. Hamilton explains and supports the idea of judicial review, or the power of the courts to review laws and declare them unconstitutional, by the clever argument that the Constitution represents the people’s will, and when the courts rule the legislature’s acts unconstitutional, they are not above the Constitution, but protecting the people from the overreaching of the government.

Hamilton also insists that the judiciary is the weakest of the three branches, and he argues for the independence of the judiciary, claiming that it does not have the power of the legislative or executive branches, and its independence will insure it is a more effective check on the others and will secure the courts’ interest in impartially applying and interpreting the law. In the U.S. Constitution, federal judges are chosen by the president, confirmed by the Senate, and appointed for life, which has the advantage of insulating them from political considerations as well as the danger of preventing their being responsible to the people for their judgments. In recent years, critics of various courts’ decisions have decried judicial activism and claimed federal courts are acting outside of their legitimate authority and contrary to Hamilton’s and the framers’ intent. Hamilton considers the possibility of this

happening, although he does not call it judicial activism, but dismisses it, claiming the best defense against it is the system the Constitution proposes of permanent, independent judges, whose interest is unclouded by politics and who are impeachable only for bad conduct, not unpopular decisions.

The Federalist No. 78

The Judiciary Department

Independent Journal

Saturday, June 14, 1788

To the People of the State of New York:

WE PROCEED now to an examination of the judiciary department of the proposed government. [...]

Whoever attentively considers the different departments of power must perceive, that, in a government in which they are separated from each other, the judiciary, from the nature of its functions, will always be the least dangerous to the political rights of the Constitution; because it will be least in a capacity to annoy or injure them. The Executive not only dispenses the honors, but holds the sword of the community. The legislature not only commands the purse, but prescribes the rules by which the duties and rights of every citizen are to be regulated. The judiciary, on the contrary, has no influence over either the sword or the purse; no direction either of the strength or of the wealth of the society; and can take no active resolution whatever. It may truly be said to have neither FORCE nor WILL, but merely judgment; and must ultimately depend upon the aid of the executive arm even for the efficacy of its judgments.

This simple view of the matter suggests several important consequences. It proves incontestably, that the judiciary is beyond comparison the weakest of the three departments of power; that it can never attack with success either of the other two; and that all possible care is requisite to enable it to defend itself against their attacks. It equally proves, that though individual oppression may now and then proceed from the courts of justice, the general liberty of the people can never be endangered from that quarter; I mean so long as the judiciary remains truly distinct from both the legislature and the Executive. For I agree [with Montesquieu] that "there is no liberty, if the power of judging be not separated from the legislative and executive powers." And it proves, in the last place, that as liberty can have nothing to fear from the judiciary alone, but would have every thing to fear from its union with either of the other departments; that as all the effects of such a union must ensue from a dependence of the former on the latter, notwithstanding a nominal and apparent separation; that as, from the natural feebleness of the judiciary, it is in continual jeopardy of being overpowered, awed, or influenced by its co-ordinate branches; and that as nothing can contribute so much to its firmness and independence as permanency in office, this quality may therefore be justly regarded as an indispensable ingredient in its constitution, and, in a great measure, as the citadel of the public justice and the public security.

Some perplexity respecting the rights of the courts to pronounce legislative acts void, because contrary to the Constitution, has arisen from an imagination that the doctrine would imply a superiority of the judiciary to the legislative power. It is urged that the authority which can declare the acts of another void, must necessarily be superior



Alexander Hamilton addressing three judges with others looking on in the courtroom.
Library of Congress.

to the one whose acts may be declared void. As this doctrine is of great importance in all the American constitutions, a brief discussion of the ground on which it rests cannot be unacceptable. [...]

No legislative act, therefore, contrary to the Constitution, can be valid. To deny this, would be to affirm, that the deputy is greater than his principal; that the servant is above his master; that the representatives of the people are superior to the people themselves; that men acting by virtue of powers, may do not only what their powers do not authorize, but what they forbid.

Nor does this conclusion by any means suppose a superiority of the judicial to the legislative power. It only supposes that the power of the people is superior to both; and that where the will of the legislature, declared in its statutes, stands in opposition to that of the people, declared in the Constitution, the judges ought to be governed by the latter rather than the former. They ought to regulate their decisions by the fundamental laws, rather than by those which are not fundamental.

It can be of no weight to say that the courts, on the pretense of a repugnancy, may substitute their own pleasure to the constitutional intentions of the legislature. This might as well happen in the case of two contradictory statutes; or it might as well happen in every adjudication upon any single statute. The courts must declare the sense of the law; and if they should be disposed to exercise WILL instead of JUDGMENT, the consequence would equally be the substitution of their pleasure to that of the legislative body. The observation, if it prove any thing, would prove that there ought to be no judges distinct from that body.

If, then, the courts of justice are to be considered as the bulwarks of a limited Constitution against legislative encroachments, this consideration will afford a strong argument for the permanent tenure of judicial offices, since nothing will contribute so much as this to that independent spirit in the judges which must be essential to the faithful performance of so arduous a duty.

That inflexible and uniform adherence to the rights of the Constitution, and of individuals, which we perceive to be indispensable in the courts of justice, can certainly not be expected from judges who hold their offices by a temporary commission. Periodical appointments, however regulated, or by whomsoever made, would, in some way or other, be fatal to their necessary independence. If the power of making them was committed either to the Executive or legislature, there would be danger of an improper complaisance to the branch which possessed it; if to both, there would be an unwillingness to hazard the displeasure of either; if to the people, or to persons chosen by them for the special purpose, there would be too great a disposition to consult popularity, to justify a reliance that nothing would be consulted but the Constitution and the laws.

Upon the whole, there can be no room to doubt that the convention acted wisely in copying from the models of those constitutions which have established *good behavior* as the tenure of their judicial offices, in point of duration; and that so far from being blamable on this account, their plan would have been inexcusably defective, if it had wanted this important feature of good government. The experience of Great Britain affords an illustrious comment on the excellence of the institution.

PUBLIUS

Source: [Hamilton, Alexander, John Jay, and James Madison], *The Federalist: A Collection of Essays in Favour of the New Constitution*. New York: J. and A. M'Lean, 1788.

10. Mohandas K. Gandhi on Colonialism and Nonviolence

Beginning in the early modern period, European nations began exerting control over non-European territories, a phenomenon often called colonialism. Some colonies were settled by European emigrants, who largely displaced the native inhabitants, such as in North America or Australia. In other places, Europeans ruled in fact or in name over the native populations. The idea of the “white man’s burden,” as the English author Rudyard Kipling named it, was the responsibility of European nations to bring progress and civilization—whether wanted or not—to the cultures of America, Africa, and Asia, which were often thought of as barbarian or savage. Racism, repression, and exploitation were common in colonial states. Colonial control also often meant arranging a favorable economic relationship for the colonizers, exploiting the resources of the colony and importing finished goods to colonial markets while also competing with other European nations for geopolitical power and influence.

The system of colonial domination began to break down in the twentieth century, a process accelerated by the First and Second World Wars, which put extreme pressure on European colonial powers. One of the largest colonies in the world was British India, and here the movement against British colonial domination was led by Mohandas Gandhi, who rose to global prominence as an unconventional spiritual and political leader. Trained as a British lawyer and civil servant, Gandhi evolved a powerful pacifist philosophy, and pioneered the use of what is often now called civil disobedience or non-violent resistance along with several other famous thinkers and popular leaders of the twentieth century, including Leo Tolstoy, the Russian writer, and Martin Luther King, Jr., the leader of the American Civil Rights Movement.

The following selection is from the conclusion of Gandhi’s first important book, *Indian Home Rule*, published in 1908. It predates his most famous period of activism in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, but it offers a sharp critique of European civilization and advocates for Indian Home Rule, or self-government, and thus independence from British rule. India eventually did achieve its independence in 1947, a year before Gandhi was assassinated.

Scholars, governments, and cultures are still dealing with the consequences of European colonialism, and endemic social issues and geopolitical inequities of the post-colonial era are often hard to separate from causes related to the colonial past. (See Postcolonialism in the Glossary.) While the debate goes on, there is no doubt that colonial expansion and contraction affected the lives of millions in the modern age, and Gandhi offers a powerful non-Western and non-violent voice on the subject.

If the English vacated India, bag and baggage, it must not be supposed that she would be widowed, it is possible that those who are forced to observe peace under their pressure would fight after their withdrawal. There can be no advantage in suppressing an eruption; it must have its vent. If, therefore, before we can remain at peace, we must fight amongst ourselves, it is better that we do so. There is no occasion for a third party to protect the weak. It is this so called protection which has unnerved us. Such protection can only make the weak weaker. Unless we realize this, we cannot have Home Rule. I would paraphrase the thought of an English divine and say that anarchy under Home Rule were better than orderly foreign rule. Only, the meaning that the learned divine attached to Home Rule is different from Indian Home Rule according to my conception. We have to learn, and to teach others, that we do not want the tyranny of either English rule or Indian rule. [...]

To them [the English] I would respectfully say: "I admit you are my rulers. It is not necessary to debate the question whether, you hold India by the sword or by my consent. I have no objection to your remaining in my country, but although you are the rulers, you will have to remain as servants of the people. It is not we who have to do as you wish, but it is you who have to do as we wish. You may keep the riches that you have drained away from this land, but you may not drain riches henceforth. Your function will be, if you so wish, to police India; you must abandon the idea of deriving any commercial benefit from us. We hold the civilization that you support to be the reverse of civilization. We consider our civilization to be far superior to yours. If you realize this truth, it will be to your advantage and, if you do not, according to your own proverb, you should only live in our country in the same manner as we do. You must not do anything that is contrary to our religions. It is your duty as rulers that for the sake of the Hindus you should eschew beef, and for the sake of Mohammedans you should avoid bacon and ham. We have hitherto said nothing because we have been cowed down, but you need not consider that you have not hurt our feelings by your conduct. We are not expressing our sentiments either through base selfishness or fear, but because it is our duty now to speak out boldly. We consider your schools and law courts to be useless. We want our own ancient schools and courts to be restored. The common language of India is not English but Hindi. You should, therefore, learn it. We can hold communication with you only in our national language.

"We cannot tolerate the idea of your spending money on railways and the military. We see no occasion for either. You may fear Russia; we do not. When she comes we shall look after her. If you are with us, we may then receive her jointly. We do not need any European cloth. We shall manage with articles produced and manufactured at home. You may not keep one eye on Manchester and the other on India. We can work together only if our interests are identical.

"This has not been said to you in arrogance. You have great military resources. Your naval power is matchless. If we wanted to fight with you on your own ground, we should be unable to do so, but if the above submissions are not acceptable to you, we cease to play the part of the ruled. You may, if you like, cut us to pieces. You may shatter us at the cannon's mouth. If you act contrary to our will, we shall not help you; and without our help, we know that you cannot move one step forward.

“It is likely that you will laugh at all this in the intoxication of your power. We may not be able to disillusion you at once, but if there be any manliness in us, you will see shortly that your intoxication is suicidal and that your laugh at our expense is an aberration of intellect. We believe that at heart you belong to a religious nation. We are living in a land which is the source of religions. How we came together need not be considered, but we can make mutual good use of our relations.

“You, English, who have come to India are not good specimens of the English nation, nor can we, almost half-Anglicized Indians, be considered good specimens of the real Indian nation. If the English nation were to know all you have done, it would oppose many of your actions. The mass of the Indians have had few dealings with you. If you will abandon your so-called civilization and search into your own scriptures, you will find that our demands are just. Only on condition of our demands being fully satisfied may you remain in India; and if you remain under those conditions, we shall learn several things from you and you will learn many from us. So doing we shall benefit each other and the world. But that will happen only when the root of our relationship is sunk in a religious soil.” [...]

Let each do his duty. If I do my duty, that is, serve myself, I shall be able to serve others. Before I leave you, I will take the liberty of repeating:

1. Real home-rule is self-rule or self-control.
2. The way to it is passive resistance: that is soul-force or love-force.
3. In order to exert this force, Swadeshi [use of goods made in India only] in every sense is necessary.
4. What we want to do should be done, not because we object to the English or because we want to retaliate but because it is our duty to do so.

Thus, supposing that the English remove the salt-tax, restore our money, give the highest posts to Indians, withdraw the English troops, we shall certainly not use their machine-made goods, nor use the English language, nor many of their industries. It is worth noting that these things are in their nature, harmful; hence we do not want them. I bear no enmity towards the English but I do towards their civilization.

In my opinion, we have used the term “Swaraj” [Home Rule] without understanding its real significance. I have endeavored to explain it as I understand it, and my conscience testifies that my life henceforth is dedicated to its attainment.

Source: Gandhi, Mohandas K. *Indian Home Rule*. 1908. Madras: Ganesh, 1919.

11. Sam Gutierrez: *Behind Bars in the United States*

Every society must have a way to deal with members who break its rules. In the modern era, societies have developed complex institutions of police, courts, and prisons. The following selection is taken from a recent account made by an inmate in Stateville Prison in Illinois, Simon “Sam” Gutierrez, and edited by a leading prison scholar, Norval Morris.

Gutierrez's account shows in a frank way a glimpse of a type of daily life in a part of the modern world about which many people do not often think—that of the incarcerated. With systematic security, interest in rehabilitation of prisoners, and provisions for health and wellness, life in Stateville Prison is a completely different from the early modern prison or medieval dungeon. However, contemporary prison life is by no means pleasant; rather, it is boring, dangerous, and demeaning. Almost every aspect of Sam's life is regimented, controlled, and observed, not only by guards, but also by other prisoners. Even with constant company and surveillance, Gutierrez seems isolated. There is an interesting distance between Sam and the other prisoners, even his cellmate, Tyrone. They seem to interact with each other as little as possible—remarkably little, given that they share a 6' × 9' cell with no privacy.

Although we never learn what crime he committed to get into prison, Gutierrez is held in a maximum security facility that is somewhat unique because it is modeled on a Panopticon, a style of prison invented by the English philosopher Jeremy Bentham in the nineteenth century, which created a circular roundhouse of several levels of cells with a central control tower. This arrangement allows maximum surveillance with minimum knowledge by the prisoners of when they are being watched, so the idea is that they must always act as if they are being watched and control themselves. The twentieth-century French philosopher Michel Foucault took the Panopticon as a metaphor for modern society, where individuals are coerced into controlling themselves in ways they can neither control nor fully understand. In Foucault's view, the modern world is a form of self-imposed prison for everyone. Whatever one thinks of Foucault's philosophy, Sam Gutierrez documents how even in an actual prison the attempt to totally control fails as the rules and regulations of everyday life there are constantly subverted and challenged. Drugs, sex, gangs, corruption—all are forbidden but remain ineradicable elements of everyday prison life.

ONE DAY IN THE LIFE OF #12345

Before I start on the diary, let me say this: if you expect the usual prison tale of constant violence, brutal guards, gang rapes, daily escape efforts, turmoil, and fearsome adventures, you will be deeply disappointed. Prison life is really nothing like what the press, television, and movies suggest. It is not a daily round of threats, fights, plots, and “shanks” (prison-made knives)—though you have to be constantly careful to avoid situations or behavior that might lead to violence. A sense of impending danger is always with you; you must be careful to move around people rather than against or through them, but with care and reasonable sense you can move safely enough. For me, and many like me in prison, violence is not the major problem; the major problem is monotony. It is the dull sameness of prison life, its idleness and boredom, that grinds me down. Nothing matters; everything is inconsequential other than when you will be free and how to make time pass until then. But boredom, time-slowness boredom, interrupted by occasional bursts of fear and anger, is the governing reality of life in prison.

So, here is my diary for yesterday:

5:30 A.M.:

I was awakened by the wake-up call for the kitchen detail. I am not on that detail, but the banging on the bars of the cell near me, to awaken a prisoner who is on the kitchen detail, wakes me every morning. I knew I could doze for the next half hour, half awake but careful not to think about where I was. I heard Tyrone stirring in the bunk beneath mine, but today he did not, as he often does, celebrate the new day with a loud and odorous fart.

As F House came to life, the noise began—radios, TVs, shouting from cell to cell—and so it would go on till night, with an occasional scream of rage or fear through the night.

Tyrone and I did our best to keep out of each other's way in the space of nine feet by six in our cell while we used our toilet and washed and dressed and pulled up the blankets on our steel bunks. We change our outer clothes sometimes twice a week, sometimes once a week, and our socks and underwear every other day. If you have money, or influence, or a friend in the laundry, you can do better than this. Our dress in summer is blue jeans and a blue shirt or a white T-shirt; in winter we wear blue jeans, a blue shirt, and one of those heavy, lined, blue jackets. Our sartorial flourish is our sneakers, with Nike outranking Reebok and so on down the line; they cost a lot, but in this place they are worth it. [...]

8:05 A.M.:

All the cells throughout the prison, ours included, were locked for "Morning Count." I laid down on my bunk and turned the radio on. Our cell is #304. The guard came by and looked into our cell, making a mark on a pad he was carrying, and walked on. You could hear him shout in front of each cell, "302, 303, ... 305," telling those inside to look up and be recognized as alive and not dummies. He didn't call out in front of our cell; he saw and knew us; he didn't have to speak to us, and we didn't have to reply. Our cell is different from some of the others in that we have not put up a "curtain"—some material across the bars—to achieve some privacy. We prefer to leave the cell open; it's too much trouble putting the curtain up and taking it down. These curtains are not allowed, but they are tolerated—there is much like this in Stateville. Disciplinary "tickets" are occasionally written but not routinely.

The count, usually four times a day but sometimes more, is a slow process. The early morning count and the last count around 11:30 P.M. do not interfere with the routine of the prison, since all prisoners are then locked in their cells and the count is easier to take. The other counts present more difficulty. Nothing goes on in the prison until the count is reported from every cell house and from everywhere that prisoners are supposed to be, nothing until the numbers reported reconcile exactly with the numbers that are supposed to be there. It can go on for a long time. It is the central ritual of prison life. [...]

5:00 P.M.:

I watched the local news. It was depressing, much of it about the activities of people who are on their way here. I lay on my bunk, half listening to the news, half daydreaming of freedom. Like most other prisoners, I devote much of my waking thought, and all my dream time, to being out of prison.

5:25 P.M.:

The loudspeaker blared again, "Three and four galleries, get ready for chow." The food is often worse in the evening than at lunch, but it is better to go than to stay in what is by now the thundering noise of F House, with TVs and radios blaring and, it seems to me, every prisoner shouting to another prisoner and nobody listening.

The evening meal was a less-adequate replica of lunch, with more bread and less pasta; but the pushing and shoving was also less, and the gangs were less active.

7:00 P.M.:

The evening count—it also went smoothly. Most everyone was by now back in the cell houses, and there were fewer places—schoolroom, gym, yard, industry, barbershop, kitchen, and so on—to be counted. [...]

Well, that was my diary for yesterday. Let me comment a bit on it.

I am not sure whether the average prisoner is safer physically in prison than on the streets, where most of us come from. In Stateville, we are less likely to be shot and killed but possibly slightly more likely to be knifed or injured seriously in a fight. Fights are not uncommon but they are always followed up by the prison authorities, and an effort is made to punish those responsible. There are regular and intermittent shakedowns of all the cells and other areas for shanks and other contraband. It is a violent place, but most prisoners do their time without being victimized physically unless they are looking to prove something to themselves or unless they get into trouble with betting, or hooch, or drugs, or with the gangs. Those who adhere to the main tenets of the prison culture—never “rat” on another prisoner, always keep your distance from staff, “do your own time”—have the best chance of avoiding violence.

I hope this diary is of use to you; it fails to capture the constant unhappiness of prison life and the constant sense of danger—you are never for a moment happy, except sometimes briefly on visitors days, and that is a bitter happiness. The letter misses the relentless, slow-moving routine, the dull repetitiveness, the tension mixed with occasional flashes of fear and rage; it misses the consuming stupidity of living this way. I am sorry; it is not easy. Probably prison was easier to describe many years ago when prison guards saw themselves as punishers, inflicting pain on prisoners, and prisoners joined together to resist them. Now, in prisons like Stateville, purposes are unclear, education is largely a token, idleness takes the place of work and industry, and keeping peace and safety between prisoner and prisoner is the prevailing aim. Anyhow, that is how it appears to this prisoner.

Let me know when you will next visit me; I hope soon.

Sincerely,

Prisoner #12345

Source: Gutierrez, Simon, and Norval Morris. “A Day in the Life of Prisoner #12345.” In *The Oxford History of the Prison*, edited by Norval Morris and David J. Rothman. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. By permission of Oxford University Press, Inc.

Warfare

Warfare has retained its central role in modern political life despite the objections of various groups and individuals. The political goals linked to the waging of war have been both domestic and international. Domestically, war has been used to quell the dissent of certain groups and garner support from the general populace. Internationally, war has brought about the redistribution of political power and the redrawing of state boundaries.

Yet, the effects of warfare on daily life have been more easily recognizable in the suffering that comes with it. Soldiers have always faced the obvious dangers of battle that can lead to injury or death. In the modern era, however, advances in technology have also increased the ability of humans to wage war on an ever deadlier scale. The muzzle-loading firearms and cannons of earlier centuries turned into the machine guns and nuclear weapons of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Advances in aircraft and submarine technology expanded the field of warfare into the skies and under the water.

On the other hand, advances in medical technology have also worked to mitigate the effects of deadlier weapons with developments like antibiotics and modern surgical techniques. Today's military hospitals are far better equipped to help war casualties than the medical facilities that preceded them.

The dangers of warfare as seen in the following selections encompass much more than those stemming from a soldier's foe. Climate could be a deadly enemy, as the troops under *Napoleon* found out during their 1812 campaign in Russia (Document 12). Even exposure to less extreme weather conditions also had the capacity to slowly wear a soldier down until he was no longer able to function. While thinking about food could be a comfort during wartime, as it was to the World War II Japanese soldier Shōichi Ishikawa (Document 15), such thoughts could be torture to those severely deprived of nutrition. Under such conditions, disease posed a serious threat, especially given that personal hygiene often had to be ignored during wartime, a fact noted by World War I German submarine commander Georg-Günther von Forstner (Document 14).

Despite the dangers and privations faced by soldiers during warfare, the belief that one is doing good has often served as a morale booster during difficult times. Von Forstner focused not on the dangers and difficulties of chasing down enemy vessels but on the service he was providing to his countrymen at home with each ship he took out of action. During the *Vietnam War*, American serviceman Kevin Fitzsimmons (Document 16) found meaning in the idea that he was there to help the Vietnamese people ultimately live better, freer lives.

War brings hardships not only for the troops engaged in battle but also commonly for the civilian populace living in the war zone and for those on the home fronts. Virginia Clayton and her household (Document 13) had to do without basic goods during the *American Civil War*, a shortage linked to the blockade of southern ports by the Union. The Vietnamese typist working in Fitzsimmons's office experienced warfare even more directly, as a civilian casualty caught in the crossfire (Document #16).

War changes daily life even beyond hardship and suffering. Clayton's account also indicates how the economy changed, as crops grown for local consumption replaced those produced for the larger market. Given that many wars required large numbers of the male population to leave for an extended period of time, the women who remained on the home front often had to assume control of the business endeavors that their absent husbands had run, producing not only a change in the economy but also one in gender roles. This change could often lead to greater economic independence for women formally entering the workforce. Women gained greater social independence during these times as well, a transformation that could arise relatively quickly. Some of these changes in gender roles could be seen in the propaganda from World War II, for example, with the image of Rosie the Riveter.

12. Warfare and Weather: Napoleon's Retreat from Moscow

By 1812, Europe had experienced two decades of warfare brought about by various countries forming coalitions intended to prevent French expansion. Yet, none proved capable of stopping the French forces, now under the control of Napoleon Bonaparte. Feeling

invincible and attempting to further enhance his dominance in Europe, Napoleon hoped to bring his often less than reliable ally, Russia, under control through a military campaign. Believing he would again succeed by using the method of quick attack, Napoleon launched an assault on Russia in June 1812.

Instead of standing and fighting the French, however, the Russian army began a process of repeated retreats east into the Russian interior. Napoleon's troops followed, finally engaging the Russian forces in battle at Borodino. Yet, Napoleon did not achieve a conclusive victory, and the Russian troops continued their retreat. Upon entering Moscow in September, Napoleon hoped to find suitable quarters and supplies there for the quickly approaching winter. Instead, he found little of use, a situation worsened by a fire set the following day that caused additional damage to the city. After some deliberation, Napoleon decided to retreat west. Yet, by the time his troops left Moscow, the vast distances that had to be covered meant the troops undoubtedly would have to face the Russian winter.

As valet and companion to Napoleon, Louis Constant Wairy provides a first-hand account of the French army's miserable retreat out of Russia. Here the account begins with an army so depleted of men that it no longer made sense to have so many senior officers, so generals took up the rank of captain instead. In a time before war became industrialized and when the cavalry still formed an indispensable arm of the military, the lack of horses posed another large problem. Constant indicates that even Napoleon had to give up his own horses to help transport artillery.

Constant provides an especially harrowing account of the crossing of the Beresina River. Ill-equipped for such an undertaking and under pressure from the Russian forces attempting to catch up with them, the French troops constructed a makeshift bridge over the river to allow men and artillery to cross. Yet, the method proved of limited success because the bridge broke under the strain. The French quickly constructed an even more basic bridge, but it had no railings to prevent men from falling off. In the panic of trying to outrun the Russians, both man and beast perished at the hands of others trying to cross, who, in their haste, pushed unlucky victims to their deaths in the icy waters of the Beresina. Although Constant portrays Napoleon favorably, the account serves as an indication of the emperor's miscalculation regarding the ferocity of the frigid Russian winter.

Horses were lacking for the artillery, and at this critical moment the artillery was the safeguard of the army. The Emperor gave orders that his horses should be taken; he estimated that the loss of even one cannon or artillery wagon would be incalculable; the artillery was confided to a corps composed entirely of officers; it amounted to about five hundred men. It affected His Majesty to see these brave officers become soldiers once more, putting their hands to the pieces like simple cannoneers, and going back through devotion to the lessons of the school. The Emperor called this his *sacred squadron*! For the same reason which made the officers become soldiers, the other superior commanders descended from their rank without disturbing themselves about the designation of their grade. Generals of division Grouchy and Sébastiani resumed the rank of simple captains.

Near Borozino we were arrested by loud shouting; we thought ourselves cut off by the Russian army; I saw the Emperor turn pale; this was a thunderbolt; several lancers were dispatched as quickly as possible; we saw them return waving their flags; His Majesty comprehended the signals, and long before we could have been reassured by the cuirassiers, he said: "*I bet that it is Victor*"; so accurately present to his mind were even

the possible positions of each corps of the army. Marshal Victor was, in fact, awaiting our passage with keen impatience. It seemed that his army had received some vague tidings of our misfortunes, and was, therefore, prepared to give the Emperor an enthusiastic welcome. His soldiers, still fresh and vigorous, at least in comparison with the rest of the army, could not believe their eyes when they saw us in such a miserable condition; the shouts of *Long live the Emperor!* resounded none the less on that account.

But when the rear portion of the army began to defile before them, another impression was produced. A great confusion ensued. All those in the Marshal's army who recognized any of their companions left their ranks and ran toward them, offering bread and clothes; they were frightened by the voracity with which these wretches ate; many embraced each other weeping. One of the brave and kindly officers of the Marshal took off his own uniform to give it to a poor soldier whose ragged garments exposed him naked to the cold, putting on his own back a tattered old infantry coat, because he was more capable of resisting the rigors of the weather. If excessive misery withers the soul, on the other hand it sometimes expands it to the highest point, as one may see. Many of the most wretched blew their brains out in despair. In that act, the last which nature indicates to put an end to wretchedness, there was a resignation and coolness that made one shudder. Those who thus assailed their own lives were not seeking death so much as a term to insupportable sufferings, and in this disastrous campaign I saw what vanities are physical force and human courage where that moral force which is born of a determined will is non-existent.

The Emperor marched between the army of Marshal Victor and that of Marshal Oudinot. It was frightful to see these moving masses sometimes halting progressively, the advance corps first, then those that followed, then the last; when Marshal Oudinot, who was ahead, suspended his march for some unknown reason, there would be a movement of general uneasiness, then alarming speeches would begin, and, as men who have seen everything, both true and false tidings easily found credit; the fright would last until the front of the army began to move on, when a degree of confidence was restored.

By five o'clock in the evening of the 25th some trestles had been fixed above the stream, constructed of wooden beams taken from Polish cabins. It was rumored in the army that the bridge would be finished during the night. The Emperor was much annoyed when the army deceived itself in this way, because he knew that people grow much more quickly discouraged when they have indulged in vain hopes; for this reason he took great care to have the rear of the army made acquainted with the slightest incidents, so as never to leave the soldiers under so cruel an illusion. The trestles gave way at a little past five o'clock. They were not strong enough. It was necessary to wait until the next day, and the army relapsed into its dismal conjectures. It was plain that next day it would have to sustain the enemy's fire; but there was no room for choice. At the end of that night of anguish and sufferings of every sort, the first trestles were driven down into the river. People do not comprehend that the soldiers had stood up to their lips in water full of floating ice, summoning every force with which nature had endowed them, and all the remaining courage born of energy and devotion in order to drive piles several feet deep in to a miry river bed; struggling against the most horrible fatigues; pushing away with their hands enormous masses of ice which would have knocked them down and submerged them by their weight; fighting, in a word, and fighting unto

death with cold, the greatest enemy of life. Well, that is what our French pontonniers did. Several of them were either dragged down by the currents or suffocated by the cold. That is a glory, it seems to me, which outweighs many another. [...]

Before the bridge was finished, some four hundred men were partially transported from the other side of the river on two miserable rafts which they could with difficulty steer against the current. From the shore, we saw them greatly shaken by the great pieces of ice which clogged the river. These masses would come to the very edge of the raft; meeting an obstacle, they would stop for a while and then be drawn underneath those feeble planks and produce horrible shocks. Our soldiers would stop the largest ones with their bayonets and make them deviate insensibly beyond the rafts. [...]

When the artillery and the baggage were crossing, the bridge was so thronged that it broke. Then ensued that retrograde movement which crowded back in horrible confusion the whole multitude of stragglers who were advancing, like driven cattle, behind the artillery. Another bridge had been hastily constructed, as if in sad prevision of the breaking of the first one; but the second one was narrow and unprotected at the sides. However, it was a makeshift which at first glance seemed very precious in such an appalling calamity; but what miseries ensued! The laggards flocked thither in droves. As the artillery, the baggage,—in a word, the entire material of the army—had been in advance on the first bridge, when it broke, and by the sudden recoil which took place the catastrophe became known, then those who had been behind were the first to gain the other bridge. But it was necessary that the artillery should cross first. It pressed forward then with impetuosity toward the only way of salvation which was left. Here the pen refuses to describe the scene of horrors that took place. It was literally over a road of crushed bodies that the wagons of every sort reached the bridge. On this occasion one saw what hardness, what systematic ferocity even, can be imparted to the soul by the instinct of self-preservation. There were some of the stragglers, the craziest of any, who wounded and even killed with bayonet thrusts the unfortunate horses who did not obey the whip of their drivers. Several wagons had to be abandoned in consequence of this odious proceeding.

I have said that the bridge had no ledges at the sides. Crowds of poor wretches who were trying to cross it were seen to fall into the stream and be sucked under the masses of ice. Others tried to cling to the miserable planks of the bridge, and would remain hanging over the abyss until their hands, crushed by the wheels of the wagons, would let go their hold; then they went to rejoin their comrades and were engulfed by the waters. Whole artillery wagons, horses and drivers alike, were plunged into the stream.

Source: Wairy, Louis Constant. *Memoirs of Constant, First Valet de Chambre of the Emperor, on the Private Life of Napoleon, His Family and His Court*. Translated by Elizabeth Gilbert Martin. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1895.

13. A Southern Plantation Wife during the American Civil War

War not only causes hardships for the men who go off to fight but also for those who stay behind, including their wives. This was true in the case of Victoria Clayton, who remained on

her family's Alabama plantation when her husband went off to fight for the Confederacy in the Civil War. As often happens during times of war, provisions that had once been easily obtainable became scarce. Such hardships proved especially true for the Confederacy because Union ships blockaded the South's ports. Hence, cotton could not be shipped out for sale, and other goods, such as the coffee and white sugar that Clayton mentions, could not be imported. Instead of buying silk gowns, local women made homespun clothes out of cotton. This need meant the learning of new skills like weaving and the reorientation of the plantation from producing cotton for the market to growing an assortment of crops needed to fulfill basic needs at home.

Not surprisingly, with so many men off at war, their wives often filled the void by playing much more active roles in the running of affairs, such as Clayton did on her family's plantation. Although she corresponded with her husband upon occasion to ask for advice, it was Clayton who now performed inspections of the plantation or oversaw repairs on a local bridge. Although many women's husbands returned from fighting to take up such roles again after their terms in the army were over or when the war finally ended, the massive casualties of the Civil War meant that many would not. Furthermore, while Clayton may have been able to manage the transition more effectively than some of the poor women she employed to weave cloth, who did not have slaves to help them, her text also alludes to the potentially negative side of this situation. Conflict could erupt closer to home if the slaves were not properly controlled.

Clayton does not portray the war years as completely bad; she reminisces about the accomplishments achieved by pulling together and the pride gained from aiding the war effort. She fondly remembers working with Joe and the relationship they had, not noting a contradiction between the love her family felt for him and his status as their slave. Although not uncommon in war memoirs, these positive feelings were perhaps made stronger in Clayton by the fact that this world she knew and the institution of slavery that underpinned it would be swept away at the end of the Civil War.

While my husband was at the front doing active service, suffering fatigue, privations, and the many ills attendant on a soldier's life, I was at home struggling to keep the family comfortable.

We were blockaded on every side, could get nothing from without, so had to make everything at home; and having been heretofore only an agricultural people, it became necessary for every home to be supplied with spinning wheels and the old-fashioned loom, in order to manufacture clothing for members of the family. This was no small undertaking. I knew nothing about spinning and weaving cloth. I had to learn myself, and then to teach the negroes. Fortunately for me, most of the negroes knew how to spin thread, the first step towards clothmaking. Our work was hard and continuous. To this we did not object, but our hearts sorrowed for our loved ones in the field. [...]

There was no white person on the plantation beside myself and children, the oldest of whom was attending school in Eufaula, as our Clayton schools were closed, and my time was so occupied that it was impossible for me to teach my children. Four small children and myself constituted the white family at home.

I entrusted the planting and cultivation of the various crops to old Joe. He had been my husband's nurse in infancy, and we always loved and trusted him. I kept a gentle saddle horse, and occasionally accompanied by Joe, would ride over the entire plantation on a tour of inspection. Each night, when the day's work was done, Joe came in

to make a report of everything that had been done on the plantation that day. When Mr. Clayton was where he could receive my letters, I wrote him a letter every night before retiring, and in this way he, being kept informed about the work at home, could write and make suggestions about various things to help me manage successfully.

We made good crops every year, but after the second year we planted provision crops entirely, except enough cotton for home use.

All the coloring matter for cloth had to be gathered from the forest. We would get roots and herbs and experiment with them until we found the color desired, or a near approach to it. We also found out what would dye cotton and what woolen fabrics. We had about one hundred head of sheep; and the wool yielded by these sheep and the cotton grown in the fields furnished us the material for our looms. After much hard work and experience we learned to make very comfortable clothing, some of our cloth being really pretty.

Our ladies would attend services in the church of God, dressed in their home-spun goods, and felt well pleased with their appearances; indeed, better pleased than if they had been dressed in silk of the finest fabric.

We made good warm flannels and other articles of apparel for our soldiers, and every woman learned to knit socks and stockings for her household, and many of the former were sent to the army.

In these dark days the Southern matron, when she sat down at night feeling that the day's work was over, took her knitting in her hands as a pastime, instead of the fancy work which ladies so frequently indulge in now.

I kept one woman at the loom weaving, and several spinning all the time, but found that I could not get sufficient cloth made at home; consequently I gave employment to many a poor woman whose husband was far away. Many a time have I gone ten miles in the country with my buggy filled with thread, to get one of these ladies to weave a piece of cloth for me, and then in return for her labor sent her syrup, sugar, or any of our home produce she wished.

We always planted and raised large crops of wheat, rice, sugar cane, and potatoes. In fact, we grew almost everything that would make food for man or beast. Our land is particularly blest in this respect. I venture to say there is no land under the sun that will grow a greater variety of products than the land in these Southern states.

Being blockaded, we were obliged to put our ingenuity to work to meet the demands on us as heads of families. Some things we could not raise; for instance, the accustomed necessary luxury of every home—coffee. So we went to work to hunt up a substitute. Various articles were tried, but the best of all was the sweet potato. The potatoes were peeled, sliced, and cut into pieces as large as a coffee bean, dried, and then roasted just as we prepared coffee. This substitute, mixed with genuine coffee, makes a very palatable drink for breakfast. . . .

Another accustomed luxury of which we were deprived was white sugar. We had, however, a good substitute with which we soon became satisfied; our home-made brown sugar, from the sugar cane. It had the redeeming quality of being pure. . . .

We made gallons of wine from the scuppernong [a large native American grape] and other grapes every year. One year I remember particularly. Sheets were spread under the long scuppernong arbors, little negro boys put on top to throw the grapes down,

and grown men underneath to gather them in baskets as they fell. When brought to the house they measured thirty-two bushels, and made one hundred and twenty gallons of wine. I did not make so large a quantity from the other varieties of grapes. This wine was kept in the cellar and used for the common benefit. When the negroes would get caught out in the rain, and come to the house wet, they did not hesitate to say, "Mistus, please give me a little wine to keep cold away"; and they always received it. There never was any ill result from the use of domestic wine. We were a temperate family and the use was invariably beneficial.

Closed in as we were on every side, with nearly every white man of proper age and health enlisted in the army, with the country filled with white women, children, and old, infirm men, with thousands of slaves to be controlled, and caused through their systematic labor to feed and clothe the people at home, and to provide for our army, I often wonder, as I contemplate those by-gone days of labor and sorrow, and recall how peacefully we moved on and accomplished what we did.

We were required to give one-tenth of all that was raised, to the government. There being no educated white person on the plantation except myself, it was necessary that I should attend to the gathering and measuring of every crop and the delivery of the tenth to the government authorities. This one-tenth we gave cheerfully and often wished we had more to give.

My duties, as will be seen, were numerous and often laborious; the family on the increase continually, and every one added increased labor and responsibility. And this was the case with the typical Southern woman.

Source: Clayton, Victoria V. *White and Black under the Old Regime*. Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Co., 1899.

14. Modern War at Sea: A German U-Boat during World War I

Submarines first entered the fleets of the world as more than experimental vessels in the late nineteenth century and became crucial to naval warfare during the First World War of 1914–1918. As the Allies attempted a blockade to keep goods from entering German ports, Germany responded by engaging its submarines, or U-boats, to sink ships transporting goods to Allied ports. The torpedoing of neutral ships in addition to those of the Allies eventually incited the United States to enter the war against Germany in 1917.

Georg-Günther von Forstner's journal chronicles his exploits as a commander of one of Germany's U-boats during the early stages of World War I. He focuses on the innovativeness of submarine technology when describing the cutting-edge machinery housed in the limited space of the vessel's hull. The curiosity and concern about the effects of long-term submersion on the crew also reveals the relative newness of submarine warfare, although by this point the technology was reliable enough that it was mainly a matter of having enough time before diving to pull in fresh air. Yet, this technological advance still could not remedy basic privations the crew would have to face while on a mission, such as limited opportunities for bathing.

Von Forstner provides a good sense of how the U-boat commander proceeded to hunt for targets. Since the difference between a neutral and an Allied ship could be difficult to ascertain,

largely due to the latter's attempt to disguise itself, a great deal of time needed to be spent on a detailed review of a vessel's documentation. Just stopping a ship, however, could prove difficult; as von Forstner indicates, it could attempt to run. Yet von Forstner did not hesitate to use force when necessary. He focused not on the suffering of the enemy, but on the service he was providing for those at home, whom he helped with every additional ship he torpedoed.

A submarine conceals within its small compass the most concentrated technical disposition known in the art of mechanical construction, especially so in the spaces reserved for the steering gear of the boat and for the manipulation of its weapons.

The life on board becomes such a matter of habit that we can peacefully sleep at great depths under the sea, while the noise is distinctly heard of the propellers of the enemy's ships, hunting for us overhead; for water is an excellent sound conductor, and conveys from a long distance the approach of a steamer. We are often asked, "How can you breathe under water?" The health of our crew is the best proof that this is possible. We possessed as fellow passengers a dozen guinea pigs, the gift of a kindly and anxious friend, who had been told these little creatures were very sensitive to the ill effects of a vitiated atmosphere. They flourished in our midst and proved amusing companions.

It is essential before a U-boat submerges to drive out the exhausted air through powerful ventilating machines, and to suck in the purest air obtainable; but often in war time one is obliged to dive with the emanations of cooking, machine oil, and the breath of the crew still permeating the atmosphere, for it is of the utmost importance to the success of a submarine attack that the enemy should not detect our presence; therefore, it is impossible at such short notice to clear the air within the boat. These conditions, however, are bearable, although one must be constantly on the watch to supply in time fresh ventilation. [...]

When everything is in readiness, the crew is given a short leave on land, to go and take the much coveted hot bath. This is the most important ceremony before and after a cruise, especially when the men return, for when they have remained unwashed for weeks, soaked with machine oil, and saturated with salt spray, their first thought is—a hot bath. At sea, we must be very sparing of our fresh-water supply, and its use for washing must be carefully restricted.

The commander usually spends the eve of his departure in the circle of his comrades, but it is a solemn moment for him as soon as he sails from his native shore. He becomes responsible for every action which is taken, and for many weeks no orders reach him from his superiors. He is unable to ask any one's advice, or to consult with his inferiors, and he stands alone in the solitude of his higher rank. Even the common sailor is conscious of the seriousness of the task ahead and of the adventures which may occur below seas. No loud farewells, no jolly hand, no beckoning girls are there to bid us Godspeed. Quietly and silently do we take our departure. Neither wife nor child, nor our nearest and dearest, know whither we go, if we remain in home waters, or if we go forth to encounter the foe. We can bid no one farewell. It is through the absence of news that they know that we are gone, and no one is aware, except the special high officer in this department of the Admiralty who gives the commander his orders, on what errand we are bound or when we shall return, for the slightest indiscretion might forfeit the success of our mission.

Before dawn, on the day of our departure, the last pieces of equipment and of armament are put on board, and the machinery is once more tested; then, at the appointed hour, the chief engineer informs the commander that everything is ready. A shrill whistle bids the crew cast loose the moorings, and at the sound of the signal bell the boat begins to move. As we glide rapidly out of port, we exchange by mutual signs a few last greetings with our less favored comrades on the decks of the ships we leave behind, who no doubt also long to go forth and meet the enemy. [...]

In this manner, on a fine March morning, we steered our course to the English coast, to take active part in the commercial war. Gently the waves splashed around the prow and glided over the lower deck. Our duty was to examine every merchantman we met with the object of destroying those of the enemy. The essential thing was to ascertain the nationality of the ships we stopped. On the following morning, we were given several opportunities to fulfill our task.

It is well known that the English merchantmen were ordered by their Government to fly a neutral flag, so as to avoid being captured by our warships. We all remember how, on one of her earlier trips through the war zone, the gigantic "Lusitania" received a wireless message to conceal the Union Jack and to fly the Stars and Stripes of the United States, but destiny after all overtook her at a later date.

All of us U-boat commanders were told not to trust to the nationality of any flag we saw, and to stop every steamer on our path and to examine her papers thoroughly. Even these might be falsified, and we must therefore judge for ourselves, according to the appearance of the crew and the way in which the ship was built, whether she were in reality a neutral. Of course many neutrals had to suffer from the deceptions practiced by the English, and although their colors were painted on their sides and they were lighted at night by electricity, yet this device could also be copied. Therefore, we were obliged to detain and examine all the ships we encountered, greatly to the inconvenience of the innocent ones.

I will describe the manner in which a warship undertakes the search of a merchantman: Through flag signals the merchantman is bidden to stop immediately; if he does not obey, the warship makes his orders more imperative by firing blank shot as a warning. If then the merchantman tries to escape, the warship is justified in hitting the runaway. On the other hand, if the steamer or sailboat obeys the summons, then the warship puts out a boat with an armed prize crew and an officer to look over the ship's papers. These consist in certificates of nationality, of the sailing port, and port of destination, and they contain a bill of lading as to the nature of the cargo, also the names of the crew and a passenger list if it is a passenger steamer. If the ship is a neutral and her papers are satisfactory, she is allowed to proceed, whereas an enemy's ship is either captured or sunk. If a neutral ship carries contraband of war, this is either confiscated or destroyed, but if it exceeds half the total cargo, then this ship is also condemned.

It is nearly impossible for a submarine to send a prize crew on board a big ship, therefore neutral States have given their captains the order to go in a ship's boat and deliver their papers themselves on board the submarine; but they often annoyed us by a long parley and delay, and it was always with a feeling of disappointment that we were obliged to leave inactive our cannons and torpedoes, the crew sadly exclaiming, "After all, they were only neutrals!"

One sunny afternoon, we were in the act of examining the papers of a Dutch steamer that we had stopped in the neighborhood of the Meuse Lightship, when we perceived on the horizon another steamer coming rapidly towards us, and we judged by its outline that it was of English construction. The steamer we were examining proved to be unobjectionable in every respect, and sailing only between neutral ports, so we dismissed it, and just as it was departing, the English steamer, evidently apprehending our presence, turned about in great haste in hope to escape from us, and steered with full steam ahead towards the English shores, to seek the protection of the ships on the watch patrolling the English coast.

The English captain well knew what fate awaited him if he fell into the hands of a wicked German U-boat. Mighty clouds of smoke rose from her funnels, giving evidence of the active endeavors of the stokers in the boiler-room to bring the engines up to their highest speed, and before we had time to give signal to stop, the steamer was in flight.

Meanwhile we had also put on all steam in pursuit, and drove our engines to their utmost capacity. The English ship was going at a great pace, and we had many knots to cover before we could catch up with her to impose our commands, for she paid no heed to the international flag-signal we had hoisted—"Stop at once or we fire!"—and she was striving her uttermost to reach a zone of safety. Our prow plunged into the surging seas, and showered boat and crew alike with silvery, sparkling foam. The engineers were being urged to their greatest power, and the whir of the propeller proved that below, at the motor valves, each man was doing his very best. Anxiously, we measured the distance that still separated us from our prey. Was it diminishing? Or would they get away from us before our guns could take effect? Joyfully we saw the interval lessening between us, and before long our first warning shot, across her bow, raised a high, threatening column of water. But still the Englishman hoped to escape from us, and the thick smoke belching from the funnels showed that the stokers were shoveling more and more coal into the glowing furnace; they well knew what risk they had to run.

Even after two well-aimed shots were discharged from the steel mouths of our cannons, right and left on either side of the fugitive, which must have warned the captain that the next shot would undoubtedly strike the stern, he was still resolved neither to stop nor surrender.

Nothing now remained for us but to use our last means to enforce our will. With a whistling sound, a shell flew from the muzzle of our cannon and a few seconds later fell with a loud crash in a cloud of smoke on the rear deck of the steamer. This produced the desired effect.

Immediately the steamer stopped and informed us by three quick blasts from the steam whistle (the international signal) that the engines would be reversed and the ship stopped. The captain had given up his wild race.

Huge white clouds from the uselessly accumulated steam rose from the funnels, and to our signal, "Abandon the ship at once," the Englishman replied with a heavy heart by hoisting a white and red striped pennon, the preconcerted international sign that our order had been understood and was being obeyed.

This small striped pennon has a deep significance: it means that a captain accepts this most painful necessity knowing that his dear old boat will soon lie at the bottom of the sea; truly a difficult decision for the captain of a proud ship to make. The crew were

by this time reconciled to their fate and, as we drew near to parley with the captain, the life boats were launched; the men tossed in their belongings and, jumping in, took their places at the oars. It need hardly be said that we, on the other hand, were pleased with our capture. I have often shaken hands with the gunner who had fired the last deadly shot, for we waste no emotion over our adversary's fate. With every enemy's ship sent to the bottom, one hope of the hated foe is annihilated. We simply pay off our account against their criminal wish to starve all our people, our women, and our children, as they are unable to beat us in open fight with polished steel. Ought we not therefore rejoice in our justifiable satisfaction?

Source: Forstner, Georg-Günther von. *The Journal of Submarine Commander von Forstner*. Translated by Mrs. Russell Codman. Introduced by John Hays Hammond, Jr. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1917.

15. A Japanese Soldier's Poem, 1944

In July 1944, a Japanese soldier named Shōichi Ishikawa wrote a poem that he sent to his family. Although short in length, it expresses both personal and national goals. For himself, Ishikawa hoped to return to his home. The poem expresses this by referencing a kine, or mallet. Ishikawa means the mallet commonly used in preparing the traditional New Year's dish by pounding rice into a dough-like form called mochi. With this reference the poem evokes the warmth of home, the visiting of family on a holiday, and the abundance of food during such celebrations, all things soldiers in the field daydreamed about.

For Japan, Ishikawa hoped for victory. This is likely another reason why Ishikawa chose to place the events of the poem around New Year's, although he wrote it at the height of summer. By 1944, Japan suffered from declining fortunes in the war. Although it is unclear during which part of July Ishikawa composed the poem, by the middle of the month the prime minister and head of the army, Hideki Tojo, was forced to resign after the devastating loss of Saipan, events that shook Japan's morale. Ishikawa set the poem at New Year's to indicate not only a time for celebration with family, but also a new beginning, a chance for Japan to turn its fortunes around.

Listening to the sound of the beating mallet
Welcoming in this year of total victory
Thinking of home, I gaze at the moon
From my oil-drum bath

Source: Poem by Ishikawa Shōichi. Private collection. Translated by Stephen Snyder. Courtesy of Yuki-toshi Ishikawa and Stephen Snyder.

16. An American Serviceman's Letters from Vietnam, 1969

In June 1969, Kevin Fitzsimmons, a volunteer from Long Island, New York, began his tour of duty in Vietnam. Linked to a larger policy aimed at containing Communism

during the Cold War, U.S. involvement grew slowly, but eventually ballooned under President Lyndon Johnson's administration into active engagement, as both the deployment of troops to Vietnam and American casualties increased. Protest from Americans over engagement in Vietnam also grew, and the United States finally withdrew in 1973. For his part, Fitzsimmons served in Long Binh, near Saigon, working in one of the base offices.

Instead of flying bullets and burning villages, Fitzsimmons's letters provide a glimpse of another side of the Vietnam War: filing papers, shopping, and chatting with others. Yet, the more dangerous side of war is not absent either. Fitzsimmons tells his wife about the recent attack on his base to temper whatever she might hear through official news channels and to prevent her from worrying. Yet, even though the attack clearly unsettled him, the account also indicates how such events themselves partially became a normal part of life in a war zone, something not to be played up too much.

The following excerpt also underlines the various ways in which Fitzsimmons kept his morale up. News from home was a major boost. Even reading a local paper that discussed the various events going on in New York City gave Fitzsimmons a way to stay connected. In addition to Fitzsimmons's religious beliefs, his morale was also boosted by his empathy for the people he saw around him on a daily basis and the desire to help them. This provides a notable contrast to the mood of general disillusionment with American involvement in Vietnam for which the period is more commonly remembered.

18 August, 1969

Dear Teresa,

Today I received your two loving letters of 9th and 10th. Really darling, you are such a good writer... What a treat. All those thoughtful things you sent me. The one item I'm a little hesitant about using is the fan. After all, it is pink. It was a lovely thought, though. Speaking about fans, yesterday they were selling them in a PX so I bought one. It's quite large for a table model and works by pushing buttons on the base of the stand. There are 3 speeds and you can choose oscillation or not, whatever you wish. It cost \$19.50 but I think it was well worth it as when I leave here I should be able to get \$15 for it. You have an excellent skill in choosing tobacco. It's just wonderful! xxx How much did you pay for it? I hope not too much. I am thoroughly enjoying smoking it. Thank you for the Village Voice, it reminds you of all the different things happening in this big city. I will eagerly look forward to getting my copy in the mail every so often thru the subscriptions you mailed in. xxxx The colander, Molly Frank catalog, candy and everything else is so nice to get. I feel it's like Christmas in August. It makes me exceedingly happy...

...By now darling, you have probably read in the papers that Long Binh was hit by the VC. They did make an advance on our bunker line but they were beaten back. Also, they let loose with from 40-60 rockets. They were 104 mm size. Your father can explain how large that is. One landed up by the showers but no one got hurt. I was safely in a bunker but the noise and flash was quite nerve wracking. In Security Guard Co, which is the next company over, one landed in the road in front of the mess hall and tore up the railing and knocked out 2 jeeps that were parked 10 feet away. I tell you darling, God is with the men, at least in my area for 2 men were sitting in a latrine and a rocket hit the ground and exploded 2 feet from the building. They weren't hurt, which is a miracle for they were awfully close to the exploding rocket. Needless to say,

I didn't sleep too well last night. Hearing these rockets coming in and exploding is an experience one is not likely to forget. I just hope and pray this was the end of it. I love you so much! xxxx I don't want to cause you more worry than is necessary. I decided to tell you the above because I knew that back in the U.S. they would play it up bigger than it was.

As far as the electrical outlet problem goes, I purchased an extension cord and have it coming over to the head of my bed. I use it to plug in my razor, fan and my tape recorder wherein I listen to your beautiful voice... try and keep happy, darling. xx Please don't worry, someone is watching over me and I'll be safe.

Love always,

Kevin

...

[no date]

Darling,

...The past two days I've been filing personnel records and counting what kind of paperwork was processed when and in what quantity for the last 6 months. It's not hard but it sure is boring. When it starts getting to me I get up and walk out of the office and chew the fat with other soldiers or some Vietnamese office workers who are mostly women. It's very interesting to talk to them through broken English and mispronounced words. They seem to be very gentle and kind. I'm interested in their mode of thought and their ideas on different subjects, the war included. It's also very sad to see people just trying to live their lives and be frustrated and caught up in the war. The typist in my office, a Miss Try-Mong-Lan (Dream Flower) is half Chinese and half Vietnamese. She lives in Choulon, the Chinese part of Saigon, and during Tet she was caught in a crossfire between VC and U.S. troops. She was shot in the leg though luckily it was just a flesh wound. She's all right now. Anyway, she is 25 and says she will never marry because with the war she is afraid her husband would be caught in a battle and be killed and she would be all alone with children. For the Vietnamese there is little security for life, limb or property. I am anxious for the war to be over not only for us and the U.S. troops but also for the Vietnamese people... Maybe I'm getting too sentimental but when you talk to the people you feel a lot of sympathy. Heavens help these people if the VC win! I guess these are some of the reasons why I offered to teach our typist some English. On my part, of course, there is also curiosity. After a while, as you get to know them, race disappears and you see them as individuals, like you and me, trying to get along as best we can. I hope when the war ends this govt. will spend money to rebuild this country. I think if the war protestors could get over here and see things the way they are and meet the people face to face they would quickly change their tune... well, it's sleep time. So I'll leave you on this sentence. You will forever occupy my entire heart.

Love,

Kevin

Source: Letters from Kevin Fitzsimmons, August 18, 1969 and undated, private collection. Courtesy of Kevin Fitzsimmons.

Part VII

RECREATIONAL LIFE

Not all our time is taken up with work, education, and other obligations. Humans recreate, and the patterns of recreation in the modern world have been different than in previous periods. Professional sports, a central cultural element in many modern nations, were virtually unknown before the modern period. Not only sports. Music, theatre, dance, and travel are enjoyed by millions around the world in forms and fashions beyond the imagining of earlier generations.

Games are nothing new, and neither are sports, but the organized leagues and teams of contemporary sports are a modern phenomenon. While often played just for fun and competition, sports and games tend to reflect the values of the people who are playing and watching. Some sports are typical of certain social groups or classes, and eschewed by others. While, in many places, sport is a unifying cultural element, it can also be divisive: the modern Olympics, based on the ancient Greek games, represent some of the best impulses of global sports—an international forum to bring together competitors from around the world (Document 2). On the other hand, Jackie Robinson's description (Document 3) of being the first African-American player in American major league baseball shows some of the ugliness of racial bigotry. Much earlier, in the eighteenth century, Benjamin Franklin wanted chess to show us the path to a moral life (Document 1), and he helped introduce this ancient game, which continues to be tremendously popular around the world, to the North American continent.

Another popular recreational activity is travel. More people travel for leisure now than ever before in history. Modern tourism's roots are found in the Grand Tour, an extended trip through Continental Europe for upper-class Englishmen and other Northern Europeans to complete their educations, although as the selections from James Boswell's letters (Document 5) indicate there was more than French food and Roman antiquities on the minds of some. Olaudah Equiano's account (Document 4) of his journey through Europe as a slave provides another perspective on travel. While travel has expanded dramatically and become easier and more popular, the nature of travel has changed. S. L. Bensusan (Document 6) relishes the increasingly difficult task of travel to a place where tourists do not go, while, as Deborah McLaren's selection points out (Document 7), travel and tourism has become so popular that some see it as a threat to ecological stability and the survival of local cultures.

People need not go far from home to enjoy music and dance, however, and these are other popular recreational activities. Music and dance can inspire and unite people, as the entries about the Omaha Corn Dance (Document 8) and the words to eighteenth-century political tunes (Document 9) indicate. At the same time, these activities can be shocking or taboo, as in a reviewer's description of a near-riot at the premiere of a Modernist ballet (Document 11) or Holland Weeks's implication (Document 10) of divine judgment for dancing at a ball.

Often these recreational activities can be connected to other facets of life: the religious implications of dance, the political use of music, and the economic consequences of sports are just a few examples. Whether for these reasons or simply for pleasure, listening to music, traveling to faraway places, or playing games are just some of the things that people do every day to relax and enjoy themselves. The modern world has continually created new and varied kinds of entertainments that have become part of recreational life.

Games and Sports

Throughout history, when people have leisure time, they have often played games. Some of the games of the modern period are similar to those from earlier periods, but, as in most aspects of modern life, new forms of games and sports have developed in response to changes in social structures, economic patterns, media and technology, and other influences.

One important change is the emergence of mass spectatorship. In fact, following games and sports either in person or by media has become a more popular pastime than actually playing them. Large audiences for sports events have made professional sports a possibility. Team sports, while not unique to the modern world, are also far more common today than they were before 1700. The result is the typical model of modern sport: professional team sports played with codified rules and organized leagues or associations have evolved or spread around the world, and clubs and teams representing institutions or geographic areas receive the loyalty of devoted fans. Successful players become celebrities, and events such as the World Cup in soccer or the Super Bowl in American football are significant cultural events.

No modern sporting event, however, rivals the Olympic Games. The modern revival of the Olympic Games, as described by the Games' founder Pierre de Coubertin (Document 2), was conceived as a forum for amateur athletics and a symbol of international cooperation and sporting competition. Billions of people worldwide focus every four years on the Olympic spectacle.

While the Olympics have generally been, as Pierre de Coubertin envisioned, a force for international unity and cooperation, games and sports can also reflect our divisions. When Jackie Robinson became the first African-American in American major league baseball in 1947, the event was a landmark in eradicating racial divisions in the United States, but his account of his reception in the Major Leagues (Document 3) also gives evidence of the depth of those divisions and the power of sport to bridge them.

Not all sports are team sports, and not all games are athletic. Board games, games of chance, card games, and computer games are played by millions and may require

some combination of luck and mental skill, but minimal physical athleticism. Chess, for example, is a game popular the world over that occupies the mind. Not new to the modern age, it has remained popular. Benjamin Franklin was an avid chess player and his essay on the morals of the game (Document 1) implies that recreational activities can be instructive about other aspects of daily life. Chess may have been around for thousands of years, and the Olympics and baseball appear as if they will remain popular for the foreseeable future, but new forms of sports and games are constantly evolving, while others all but disappear. Few people play whist (an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century card game) anymore, and no one had ever tried snowboarding a generation ago. New or old, games and sports are undoubtedly part of modern life.

1. Benjamin Franklin: Chess, Morals, and Modern Life

Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) is famous for many reasons; he is known as a politician and inventor, an educator and diplomat, a womanizer and wit. He was also, like many in his time and throughout the modern period, an avid chess player. Chess is not a modern game; it originated in India or China and had taken a form recognizable as modern chess in Persia in the sixth century. Brought to Europe in the middle ages, the vizier became the queen, elephants became bishops, and chariots were rooks.

Unlike many other games, it is relatively simple in its rules, offers profound complexity and virtually infinite variations, and involves no element of chance or luck. It inhabits culture from the children's whimsy of Lewis Carroll and Harry Potter to the modernist iconoclasts Marcel Duchamp and Vladimir Nabokov. Matches had repercussions for international politics in the Cold War. In Franklin's day, a mechanical chess-playing automaton dressed as a Turk (actually a compelling illusion) fascinated the crowned heads of Europe, even beating Napoleon, while in recent years Garry Kasparov's matches against IBM's Deep Blue were front-page news around the world.

Franklin's commentary expands the importance of chess beyond a merely amusing and compelling pastime to a game that can be a powerful metaphor for life. Chess, for Franklin, is to be taken seriously and the lessons it can teach are both important and worthwhile. He explains the relationship between chess and daily life, and the virtues it teaches—foresight, circumspection, and caution, but also hope and perseverance—and he also offers advice on how to play fairly in a social setting, with the same rules implicit for other social interactions.

The gamesmanship that Franklin decries is still a part of chess, however. While some players or commentators see chess as metaphorically violent or brutal, and many have despised and even tried to suppress the game, the practical and optimistic Franklin, in a view typical of the eighteenth century, sees in the game not a paradigm of battle, but a way to improve the individual and a means to create a more civil and rational society.

Whether or not one finds Franklin's morals persuasive, chess continues to be popular despite the changes since his time. While hundreds of other games have come and gone, chess has proven remarkably enduring—there are more people playing chess today than ever before in history. Far from being defeated by the computer age, tens of millions of games are played on the Internet each year and the ancient game of chess remains an integral part of everyday life.

THE MORALS OF CHESS

Playing at Chess, is the most ancient and universal game known among men; for its original is beyond the memory of history, and it has, for numberless ages, been the amusement of all the civilized nations of Asia, the Persians, the Indians, and the Chinese. Europe has had it above a thousand years; the Spaniards have spread it over their part of America, and it begins lately to make its appearance in these States. It is so interesting in itself, as not to need the view of gain to induce engaging in it; and thence it is never played for money. Those, therefore, who have leisure for such diversions, cannot find one that is more innocent; and the following piece, written with a view to correct (among a few young friends) some little improprieties in the practice of it, shews at the same time that it may, in its effects on the mind, be not merely innocent, but advantageous, to the vanquished as well as to the victor.

The Game of Chess is not merely an idle amusement; several very valuable qualities of the mind, useful in the course of human life, are to be acquired and strengthened by it, so as to become habits ready on all occasions; for life is a kind of Chess, in which we have often points to gain, and competitors or adversaries to contend with, and in which there is a vast variety of good and ill events, that are, in some degree, the effect of prudence, or the want of it. By playing at Chess then, we may learn:

1st: Foresight, which looks a little into futurity, and considers the consequences that may attend an action; for it is continually occurring to the player, "If I move this Piece, what will be the advantage or disadvantage of my new situation? What use can my adversary make of it to annoy me? What other moves can I make to support it, and to defend myself from his attacks?"

2nd: Circumspection, which surveys the whole Chess-board, or scene of action:—the relation of the several Pieces, and their situations; the dangers they are repeatedly exposed to; the several possibilities of their aiding each other; the probabilities that the adversary may make this or that move, and the attack this or that Piece; and what different means can be used to avoid his stroke, or turn its consequences against him.

3rd: Caution, not to make our moves too hastily. This habit is best acquired by observing strictly the laws of the game; such as, if you touch a piece you must move it somewhere; if you set it down, you must let it stand.

Therefore, it would be the better way to observe these rules, as the game becomes thereby more the image of human life, and particularly of war; in which if you have incautiously put yourself into a bad and dangerous position, you cannot obtain your enemy's leave to withdraw your troops, and place them more securely, but you must abide by all the consequences of your rashness.

And, lastly, we learn chess by the habit of not being discouraged by present bad appearances in the state of our affairs; the habit of hoping for a favourable chance, and that of preserving in the search of resources. The game is so full of events, there is such a variety of turns in it, the fortune of it is so subject to vicissitudes, and one so frequently, after contemplation, discovers the means of extricating one's self from a supposed insurmountable difficulty, that one is encouraged to continue the contest to the last, in hopes of victory from our skill; or, at least, from the negligence of our adversary: and whoever considers, what in Chess he often sees instances of, that success is apt to

produce presumption and its consequent inattention, by which more is afterwards lost than was gained by the preceding advantage, while misfortunes produce more care and attention, by which the loss may be recovered, will learn not to be too much discouraged by any present successes of his adversary, nor to despair of final good fortune upon every little check he receives in the pursuit of it.

That we may therefore, be induced more frequently to choose this beneficial amusement in preference of others, which are not attended with the same advantages, every circumstance that may increase the pleasure of it should be regarded; and every action or word that is unfair, disrespectful, or that in any way may give uneasiness, should be avoided, as contrary to the immediate intention of both the parties, which is, to pass the time agreeably.

1st: Therefore, if it is agreed to play according to the strict rules, then those rules are to be strictly observed by both parties; and should not be insisted upon for one side, while deviated from by the other: for this is not equitable.

2nd: if it is agreed not to observe the rules exactly, but one party demands indulgences, he should then be as willing to allow them to the other.

3rd: No false move should ever be made to extricate yourself out of a difficulty, or to gain an advantage; for there can be no pleasure in playing with a man once detected in such unfair practice.

4th: If your adversary is long in playing, you ought not to hurry him, or express any uneasiness at his delay; not even by looking at your watch, or taking up a book to read: you should not sing, nor whistle, nor make a tapping with your feet on the floor, or with your fingers on the table, nor do anything that may distract his attention: for all these things displease, and they do not prove your skill in playing, but your craftiness and your rudeness.

5th: You ought not to endeavour to amuse and deceive your adversary by pretending to have made bad moves; and saying you have now lost the game, in order to make him secure and careless, and inattentive to your schemes; for this is fraud and deceit, not skill in the game of Chess.

6th: You must not, when you have gained a victory, use any triumphing or insulting expressions, nor show too much of the pleasure you feel; but endeavour to console your adversary, and make him less dissatisfied with himself by every kind and civil expression that may be used with truth; such as, you understand the game better than I, but you are a little inattentive, or, you play too fast; or, you had the best of the game, but something happened to divert your thoughts, and that turned it in my favour.

7th: If you are a spectator, while others play, observe the most perfect silence: for if you give advice, you offend both the parties: him against whom you give it, because it may cause him to lose the game: him in whose favour you give it, because, though it be good, and he follow it, he loses the pleasure he might have had, if you had permitted him to think till it occurred to himself. Even after a move or moves, you must not, by replacing the Pieces, show how they might have been placed better; for that displeases, and might occasion disputes or doubts about their true situation.

All talking to the players lessens or diverts their attention; and is, therefore, unpleasing; nor should you give the least hint to either party, by any kind of noise or motion; if you do, you are unworthy to be a spectator.

If you desire to exercise or show your judgment, do it in playing your own game, when you have an opportunity, not in criticizing or meddling with, or counseling the play of others.

Lastly, if the game is not to be played rigorously, according to the rules before mentioned, then moderate your desire of victory over your adversary, and be pleased with one over yourself.

Snatch not eagerly at every advantage offered by his unskillfulness or inattention; but point out to him kindly, that by such a move he places or leaves a Piece en prise unsupported; that by another, he will put his King into a dangerous situation, &c.

By this general civility (so opposite to the unfairness before forbidden) you may happen indeed to lose the game; but you will win what is better, his esteem, his respect, and his affection; together with the silent approbation and the good will of the spectators.

Source: Franklin, Benjamin. "The Morals of Chess." *Columbian Magazine*, 1786.

2. Pierre de Coubertin on the First Modern Olympics, 1896

The original Olympic Games were held in ancient Greece beginning in 776 B.C. and running until the fourth century A.D.; their revival in the late nineteenth century has made them a staple of international sports for over 100 years. While the modern Olympics have become a tremendously successful institution, they do not compare with the ancient games, which lasted for over 1,200 years. The following selection by Pierre de Coubertin, a Frenchman who was instrumental in organizing the revival of the Olympic Games, describes the first modern games held in Athens in 1896.

Many of the features he describes are still familiar around the world as important parts of the Olympics today, such as the opening and closing ceremonies, the bestowing of medals, and the absence of other prizes. The games also saw the inauguration of the Marathon. Although there were only a few hundred athletes compared to today's thousands, it was the largest international sporting event ever held at the time, and has become a central part of global sports culture. Nonetheless, the Olympic Games have not been without controversy. The truly amateur nature of the athletes is more or less gone, various groups of nations have boycotted games for political purposes, and several games have been marred by ugly incidents, such as Adolph Hitler's racism at the 1936 Berlin games, the hostage crisis and death of Israeli athletes at Munich in 1972, and the persistent temptation of athletes to cheat by taking drugs.

Overall, though, the ideal of a spirit of international friendship and competition has persisted, much like the vision of de Coubertin. From their origins in 1896, the modern Olympics have only grown. Women's events were added in 1900, and a separate winter Olympics were added in 1924. Today, hundreds of countries send thousands of athletes to games that are watched by billions; the modern Olympics are unquestionably an important part of sports in modern life.

The Olympic Games which recently took place at Athens were modern in character, not alone because of their programs, which substituted bicycles for chariot races,

and fencing for the brutalities of pugilism, but because in their origin and regulations they were international and universal, and consequently adapted to the conditions in which athletics have developed at the present day. The ancient games had an exclusively Hellenic [Greek] character; they were always held in the same place, and Greek blood was a necessary condition of admission to them. It is true that strangers were in time tolerated; but their presence at Olympia was a tribute paid to the superiority of Greek civilization than a right exercise in the name of racial equality. With the modern games it is quite otherwise. Their creation is the work of "Barbarians." It is due to the delegates of the athletic associations of all countries assembled in Paris in 1894. It was there agreed that every country should celebrate the Olympic games in turn. The first place belonged by right to Greece; it was accorded by unanimous vote; and in order to emphasize the permanence of the institution, its wide bearings, and its essentially cosmopolitan character, an international committee was appointed, the members of which were to represent the various nations, European and American, with whom athletics are held in honor. The presidency of this committee falls to the country in which the next games are to be held. [...]

Easter Monday, April 6, the streets of Athens wore a look of extraordinary animation. All the public buildings were draped in bunting; multicolored streamers floated in the wind; green wreaths decked the house-fronts. Everywhere were the two letters "O.A.," the Greek initials of the Olympic games, and the two dates, B.C. 776, A.D. 1896, indicating their ancient past and their present renaissance. At two o'clock in the afternoon the crowd began to throng the Stadion and to take possession of the seats. It was a joyous and motley concourse. The skirts and braided jackets of the palikars contrasted

with the somber and ugly European habiliments. The women used large paper fans to shield them from the sun, parasols, which would have obstructed the view, being prohibited. The king and queen drove up a little before three o'clock, followed by Princess Marie, their daughter, and her fiancé, Grand Duke George of Russia.

The crown prince, taking his stand in the arena, facing the king, then made a short speech, in which he touched upon the origin of the enterprise, and the obstacles surmounted in bringing it to fruition. Addressing the king, he asked him to proclaim the opening of the Olympic games, and king, rising, declared them opened. It was a thrilling moment. Fifteen hundred and two years before, the Emperor Theodosius had suppressed the Olympic games, thinking, no doubt, that in abolishing this hated survival of paganism he



An audience watching a fencing match during the original Olympic games in Greece, 1896. Library of Congress.

was furthering the cause of progress; and here was a Christian monarch, amid the applause of an assemblage composed almost exclusively of Christians, announcing the formal annulment of the imperial decree. [...]

The Greeks are novices in the matter of athletic sports, and had not looked for much success in their own country. One event only seemed likely to be theirs from its very nature—the long-distance run from Marathon. [...] A young peasant named Loues, from the village of Marousi, was the winner in two hours and fifty five minutes. He reached his goal fresh and in fine form. He was followed by two other Greeks.... When Loues came in to the Stadion, the crowd, which numbered sixty thousand persons, rose to its feet like one man, swayed by extraordinary excitement. [...]

Every night while the games were in progress the streets of Athens were illuminated. There were torch-light processions, bands played the different national hymns, and the students of the university got up ovations under the windows of the foreign athletic crews, and harangued them in the noble tongue of Demosthenes. [...]

There were nocturnal festivities on the Acropolis, where the Parthenon was illuminated with colored lights, and at the Piraeus, where the vessels were hung with Japanese lanterns. Unluckily, the weather changed, and the sea was so high on the day appointed for the boat-races, that the project was abandoned. The distribution of prizes was likewise postponed for twenty-four hours. It came off with much solemnity, on the morning of April 15, in the Stadion. The sun shone again, and sparkled on the officers' uniforms. [...]

The prizes were an olive branch from the very spot, at Olympia, where stood the ancient Altis, a diploma drawn by a Greek artist, and a silver medal... On one side of the medal is the Acropolis, with the Parthenon and the Propylaea; on the other a colossal head of the Olympian Zeus...

After the distribution of prizes, the athletes formed for the traditional procession around the Stadion. Loues, the victor of the Marathon, came first, bearing the Greek flag. Then the Americans, the Hungarians, the French, the Germans. The ceremony, moreover, was made more memorable by a charming incident. One of the contestants, Mr. Robertson, an Oxford student, recited an ode which he had composed, in ancient Greek and in the Pindaric mode, in honor of the games. Music had opened them, and Poetry was present at their close; and thus was the bond once more renewed which in the past united the muses with feats of physical strength, the mind with the well-trained body. [...]

Should the institution prosper,—as I am persuaded, all civilized nations aiding, that it will,—it may be a potent, if indirect factor in securing universal peace. Wars break out because nations misunderstand each other. We shall not have peace until the prejudices which now separate the individual races shall have been outlived. To attain this end, what better means than to bring the youth of all countries periodically together for amicable trials of muscular strength and agility? The Olympic games, with the ancients, controlled athletics and promoted peace. It is not visionary to look to them for similar benefactions in the future.

Source: Coubertin, Pierre de. "The Olympic Games of 1896." *The Century Magazine* 53:1 (November 1896).

3. Race, Baseball, and Jackie Robinson

Baseball was being played in the United States by the 1840s after being invented, according to legend, by Abner Doubleday in 1839. As early as the 1870s, baseball was called America's National Pastime and was the most popular sport in the United States. In the modern era, baseball has played a central role in American society. Like team sports in many other places, American baseball served not only as an entertainment, but also as a means of identity, unifying people, and creating common experiences in a mass culture.

However, baseball also divided. The racial segregation of baseball echoed the segregation of the United States, and the integration of baseball became a bellwether for the Civil Rights Movement and the end of institutional racial discrimination. Professional basketball and football had integrated earlier, but because of baseball's greater popularity and higher status in the national consciousness, it was a greater barrier.

Through the Second World War, major league baseball in the United States was played only by white men. Separate Negro Leagues had been established for African-American players, who were not allowed to play with whites. That situation changed when Jackie Robinson took the field for the Brooklyn Dodgers against the Boston Braves in April, 1947. Jackie Robinson gave his own account of these events in his 1972 autobiography, *I Never Had It Made: The Jackie Robinson Story*, from which the following selection is taken.

Although by nature a proud man who was always willing to stand up for his rights and his dignity, Robinson was unable to do so when he entered the major leagues. The non-violent resistance that Robinson demonstrated—not reacting to insults, threats, and even violence against him on and off the baseball field—anticipated the broader non-violent protests that gave so much power to the Civil Rights Movements in the 1950s and 1960s.

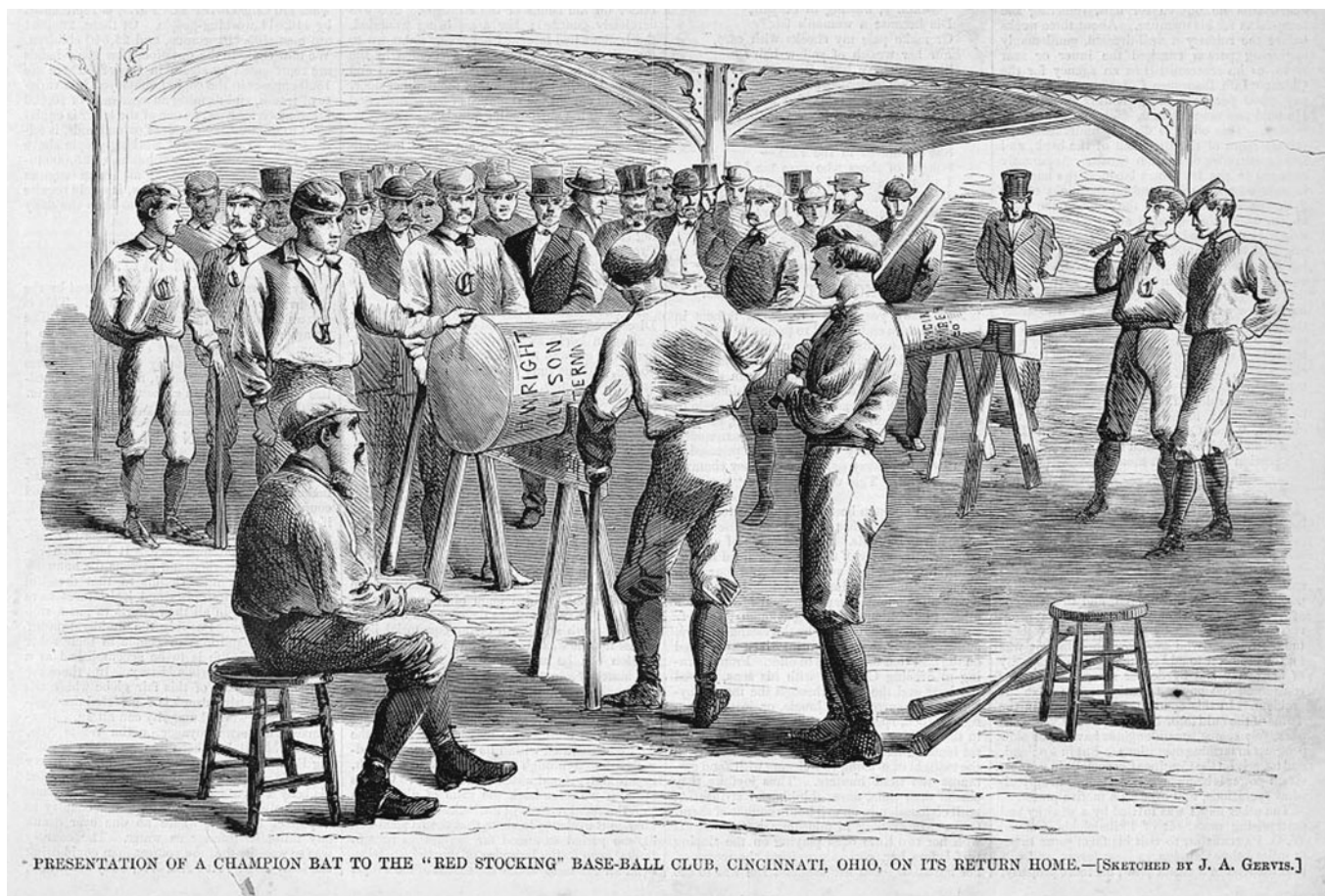
The breaking of the color barrier in major league baseball by Jackie Robinson was not only an event in sports, but an important event in the culture of everyday life in a racially segregated society. Of course, Robinson did not fully integrate baseball, nor did his play end racism or stop racial injustice. He succeeded brilliantly at baseball, and his success made possible important changes in sports and society. Some of the language in the following selection is strong, even objectionable, but Robinson was certainly called many names, and the story of how he was treated is inseparable from the story of sports and everyday life in the United States in the twentieth century.

“So there’s more than just playing,” he [Branch Rickey] said. “I wish it meant only hits, runs, and errors—only the things they put in the box score. Because you know—yes, you would know, Robinson, that a baseball box score is a democratic thing. It doesn’t tell how big you are, what church you attend, what color you are, or how your father voted in the last election. It just tells what kind of baseball player you were on that particular day.”

I interrupted. “But it’s the box score that really counts—that and that alone, isn’t it?”

“It’s all that ought to count,” he replied. “But it isn’t. Maybe one of these days it will be all that counts. That is one of the reasons I’ve got you here, Robinson. If you’re a good enough man, we can make this a start in the right direction. But let me tell you, it’s going to take an awful lot of courage.”

The next few minutes were tough. Branch Rickey had to make absolutely sure that I knew what I would face. Beanballs would be thrown at me. I would be called the



Members of the Red Stocking baseball team and distinguished guests standing around a "champion" baseball bat, 27 feet in length, presented to the team after amassing a 21–0 record, 1869. Library of Congress.

kind of names which would hurt and infuriate any man. I would be physically attacked. Could I take all of this and control my temper, remain steadfastly loyal to our ultimate aim? [...]

On the morning of April 9, 1947, just before an exhibition game, reporters in the press box received a single sheet of paper with a one-line announcement. It read: "Brooklyn announces the purchase of the contract of Jack Roosevelt Robinson from Montreal. Signed, Branch Rickey." [...]

Early in the season, the Philadelphia Phillies came to Ebbets Field for a three-game series. I was still in my slump and events of the opening game certainly didn't help. Starting to the plate in the first inning, I could scarcely believe my ears. Almost as if it had been synchronized by some master conductor, hate poured forth from the Phillies dugout.

"Hey, nigger, why don't you go back to the cotton field where you belong?"

"They're waiting for you in the jungles, black boy!"

"Hey, snowflake, which one of those white boys' wives are you dating tonight?"

“We don’t want you here, nigger!”
“Go back to the bushes!”

Those insults and taunts were only samples of the torrent of abuse which poured out from the Phillies dugout that April day. I have to admit that this day of all the unpleasant days in my life, brought me nearer to cracking up than I ever had been. . . . I felt tortured and I tried just to play ball and ignore the insults. But it was really getting to me. What did the Phillies want from me? What, indeed, did Mr. Rickey expect of me? I was, after all, a human being. What was I doing here turning the other cheek as though I weren’t a man?

Source: Robinson, Jackie, as told to Alfred Duckett, *“I Never Had It Made”: The Jackie Robinson Story*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1972.

Travel

Travel before the modern age was often difficult and only undertaken with a serious purpose. Reasons for travel might be emigration, war, trade, education, or religious pilgrimage. The idea of tourism, travel for amusement and recreation, is a modern idea, enhanced by the increasing ease and decreasing costs of travelling long distances. Not all modern travel is touristic, of course. Olaudah Equiano’s story (Document 4) tells of his capture as a slave and then recounts his seeing Europe through African eyes. Although he later traveled widely to make a living, he also enjoyed the new experiences of travel. James Boswell (Document 5) was an Englishman of privilege in the eighteenth century, an era when many such young men were sent to complete their education by a trip to the European Continent. So popular was this route that it came to be known as the Grand Tour, and was nearly obligatory for young aristocrats, later followed by many from the middle classes, seeking similar educational and recreational benefits. The Grand Tour of the nineteenth century then might be rather like studying abroad or backpacking through Europe for modern students, many of whom follow the same routes and see the same sights as their eighteenth-century predecessors, although few travelers today hike or ride a donkey across the Alps anymore, the only way to do it in Boswell’s day.

The sheer number of people traveling has made tourism a large industry. As tourism grew in popularity, responses to the consequences of tourism have emerged. S. L. Ben-susan (Document 6) describes with pleasure the difficulties and isolation of his trip to Marrakesh, where there are no trains and no other tourists, and, consequently, no tourist industry or the perceived artifice that accompanies it. Another, more recent response to tourism is ecotourism, which focuses on visiting places with natural sights to see, rather than man-made or historical ones. Deborah McLaren’s critique (Document 7) as well as *ecotourism* itself brings an awareness of the negative effects tourism can have on the ecology and the economies of tourists’ destinations.

The effect of tourism’s role in the daily lives of so many is much different than the relatively few young British gentlemen in the eighteenth century. From college kids with backpacks to retirees seeing the world in their golden years, travel has become an immensely popular hobby and part of everyday recreational life.

4. Olaudah Equiano: An African Point of View on Travel

Olaudah Equiano, also known as Gustavus Vassa, was born around 1745 in Africa, in what is present-day Nigeria. He was captured and sold into slavery as a child, but he avoided the harshness of life as a plantation slave in the Caribbean or British American colonies that was the fate of most slaves, instead laboring as a slave on British naval and commercial sailing ships. He eventually bought his freedom, became literate, and embarked on a career as a sailor, servant, explorer, merchant, and abolitionist. He also eventually became a Christian, married an Englishwoman, and wrote an autobiography, which proved very popular, especially in the English abolitionist movement.

Although included in this section on recreational life, Equiano's travels were not undertaken for strictly recreational purposes. His first travels were a result of being kidnapped and transported, barely surviving the Middle Passage, on a slave ship bound for the Caribbean. After he was sold to a sea captain, he sailed where his masters sailed, and had no choice in the matter, even being taken into battle.

Even after he purchased his freedom, travel for Equiano was employment, not recreation. Certainly he chose the life he did in part because he enjoyed the adventure, stimulation, risk of exploration, travel, and going to unknown places. Of course, that is part of the appeal of travel even today for tourists. For Equiano, though, the risks and adventures were considerably greater. He visited many places and nearly died any number of times, being shipwrecked, kidnapped, nearly frozen, and caught in a volcanic eruption—his adventures are too many to include them all here.

The following excerpt from his autobiography recounts several different parts of his life, from his first encounters with some European technology and customs, to his first sight of snow and to his impressions of Italy, all formed from a very different perspective than that of James Boswell, who toured Italy in the same period (see Document 5).

Some of Equiano's comments on his capture by slave traders seem calculated to appeal to the entirely white audience for the book. For example, one might wonder if he is playing on racial stereotypes as he describes his wonder at the magic of a sailing ship. Indeed, some scholars have questioned the authenticity of Equiano's story of his origins and account of the Middle Passage. Regardless, the text is one of the earliest slave narratives and one of the few texts published by an African in the eighteenth century. Equiano's career of slavery, adventure, and travel offer interest and insight into the beginning of the modern period.

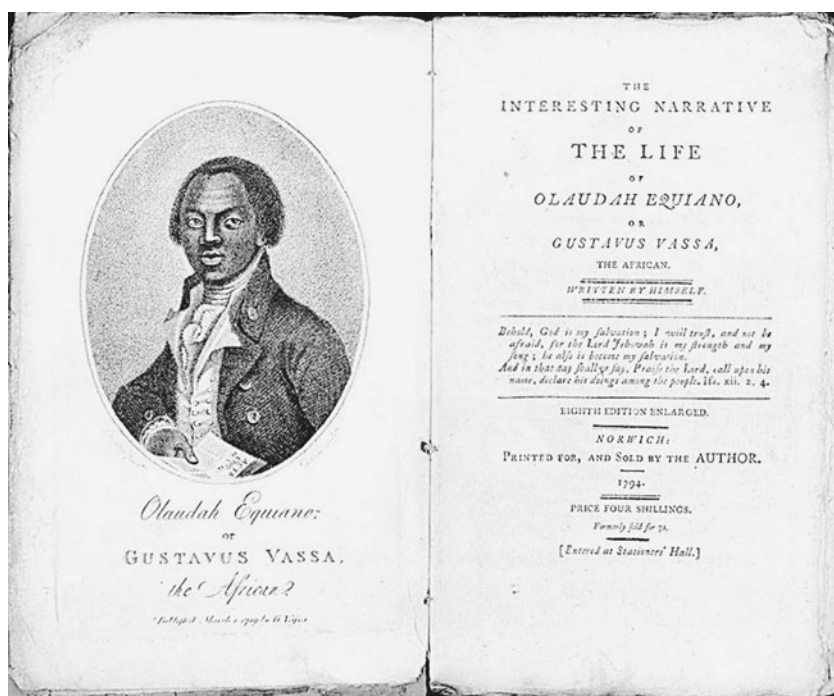
The first object which saluted my eyes when I arrived on the coast was the sea, and a slave-ship, which was then riding at anchor, and waiting for its cargo. These filled me with astonishment, which was soon converted into terror, which I am yet at a loss to describe, nor the then feelings of my mind.... I was now persuaded that I had gotten into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me. Their complexions too differing so much from ours, their long hair, and the language they spoke, which was very different from any I had ever heard, united to confirm me in this belief. Indeed, such were the horrors of my views and fears at the moment, that, if ten thousand worlds had been my own, I would have freely parted with them all to have exchanged my condition with that of the meanest slave in my own country.

In a little time after, amongst the poor chained men, I found some of my own nation, which in a small degree gave ease to my mind. I inquired of these what was to be done with us? They gave me to understand we were to be carried to these white

people's country to work for them. I then was a little revived, and thought, if it were no worse than working, my situation was not so desperate: but still I feared I should be put to death, the white people looked and acted, as I thought, in so savage a manner; for I had never seen among any people such instances of brutal cruelty; and this not only shewn towards us blacks, but also to some of the whites themselves. One white man in particular I saw, when we were permitted to be on deck, flogged so unmercifully with a large rope near the foremast, that he died in consequence of it; and they tossed him over the side as they would have done a brute. This made me fear these people the more; and I expected nothing less than to be treated in the same manner. I could not help expressing my fears and apprehensions to some of my countrymen: I asked them if these people had no country, but lived in this hollow place the ship? They told me they did not, but came from a distant one. "Then," said I, "How comes it in all our country we never heard of them?" They told me, because they lived so very far off. I then asked where were their women? Had they any like themselves! I was told they had: "And why," said I, "do we not see them?" They answered, because they were left behind. I asked how the vessel could go? they told me they could not tell; but that there were cloths put upon the masts by the help of the ropes I saw, and then the vessel went on; and the white men had some spell or magic they put in the water when they liked in order to stop the vessel. I was exceedingly amazed at this account, and really thought they were spirits. [...]

At last, when the ship we were in had got in all her cargo, they made ready with many fearful noises, and we were all put under deck, so that we could not see how they managed the vessel. But this disappointment was the least of my sorrow. The

stench of the hold while we were on the coast was so intolerably loathsome, that it was dangerous to remain there for any time, and some of us had been permitted to stay on the deck for the fresh air; but now that the whole ship's cargo were confined together, it became absolutely pestilential. The closeness of the place, and the heat of the climate, added to the number in the ship, which was so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us. This produced copious perspirations, so that the air soon became unfit for respiration, from a variety of loathsome smells, and brought on a sickness among the slaves, of which many died, thus falling victims to the improvident avarice, as I may call it, of their purchasers. This wretched situation was again aggravated by the galling of the chains, now become insupportable; and the filth of the necessary tubs, into which



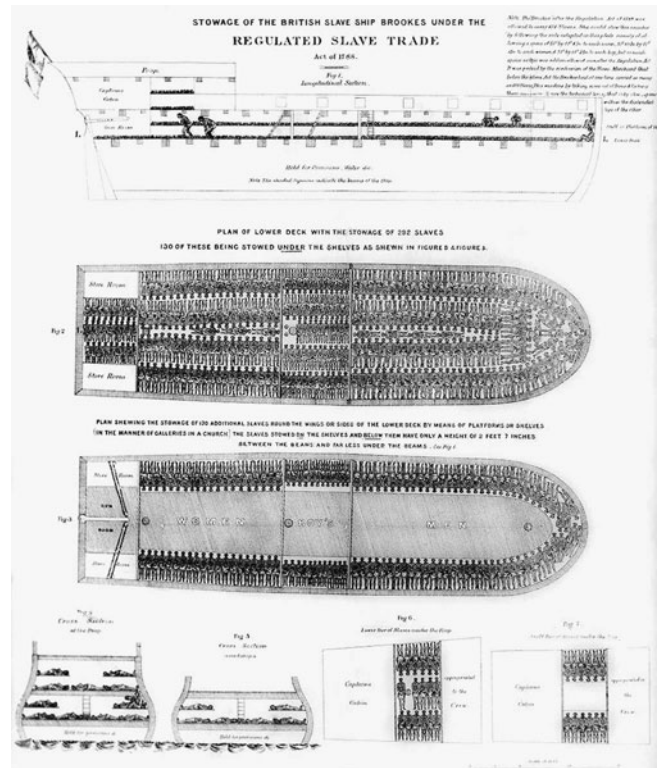
Frontispiece and title page from *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, 1794. Courtesy Eon Images.

the children often fell, and were almost suffocated. The shrieks of the women, and the groans of the dying, rendered the whole a scene of horror almost inconceivable.

It was about the beginning of the spring 1757 when I arrived in England, and I was near twelve years of age at that time. I was very much struck with the buildings and the pavement of the streets in Falmouth; and, indeed, any object I saw filled me with new surprise. One morning, when I got upon deck, I saw it covered all over with the snow that fell over-night: as I had never seen anything of the kind before, I thought it was salt; so I immediately ran down to the mate, and desired him, as well as I could, to come and see how somebody in the night had thrown salt all over the deck. He, knowing what it was, desired me to bring some of it down to him: accordingly I took up a handful of it, which I found very cold indeed; and when I brought it to him he desired me to taste it. I did so, and I was surprised beyond measure. I then asked him what it was? He told me it was snow: but I could not in any wise understand him. He asked me if we had no such thing in my country? and I told him, No. I then asked him the use of it, and who made it; he told me a great man in the heavens, called God: but here again I was to all intents and purposes at a loss to understand him; and the more so, when a little after I saw the air filled with it, in a heavy shower, which fell down on the same day. After this I went to church; and having never been at such a place before, I was again amazed at seeing and hearing the service. I asked all I could about it; and they gave me to understand it was worshipping God, who made us and all things. I was still at a great loss, and soon got into an endless field of inquiries, as well as I was able to speak and ask about things. . . . [I] was amazed at their not sacrificing, or making any offerings, and eating with unwashed hands, and touching the dead. I likewise could not help remarking the particular slenderness of their women, which I did not at first like; and I thought they were not so modest and shamefaced as the African women. [. . .]

I thought it best, therefore, to try the sea again in quest of more money, as I had been bred to it, and had hitherto found the profession of it successful. I had also a very great desire to see Turkey, and I now determined to gratify it. Accordingly, in the month of May, 1768, I told the Doctor of my wish to go to sea again, to which he made no opposition; and we parted on friendly terms. [. . .]

We sailed from England in July following, and our voyage was extremely pleasant. We went to Villa Franca, Nice, and Leghorn; and in all these places I was charmed with the richness and beauty of the countries, and struck with the elegant buildings with which they abound. We had always in them plenty of extraordinary good wines and rich fruits, which I was very fond of; and I had frequent occasions of gratifying both my taste and curiosity; for my captain always lodged on shore in those places,



Stowage of the British slave ship *Brookes* under the Regulated Slave Trade Act of 1788. Plan shows that over 400 slaves could be transported by being closely packed on the lower deck of the ship. Courtesy of Eon Images.

which afforded me opportunities to see the country around. I also learned navigation of the mate, which I was very fond of. When we left Italy, we had delightful sailing among the Archipelago islands, and from thence to Smyrna in Turkey. This is a very ancient city; the houses are built of stone, and most of them have graves adjoining to them; so that they sometimes present the appearance of church-yards. Provisions are very plentiful in this city, and good wine less than a penny a pint. The grapes, pomegranates, and many other fruits, were also the richest and largest I ever saw or tasted. The natives are well-looking and strong made, and treated me always with great civility. [...]

Our next voyage was to the Mediterranean. The ship was again got ready, and we sailed in September for Genoa. This is one of the finest cities I ever saw; some of the edifices were of beautiful marble, and made a most noble appearance; and many had very curious fountains before them. The churches were rich and magnificent, and curiously adorned both in the inside and out. But all this grandeur was, in my eyes, disgraced by the galley-slaves, whose condition, both there and in other parts of Italy, is truly pitous and wretched. After we had staid there some weeks, during which we bought many different things we wanted, and got them very cheap, we sailed to Naples, a charming city, and remarkably clean. The bay is the most beautiful I ever saw; the moles for shipping are excellent. I thought it extraordinary to see grand operas acted here on Sunday nights, and even attended by their Majesties. While we remained here, there happened an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, of which I had a perfect view. It was extremely awful; and we were so near that the ashes from it used to be thick on our deck. After we had transacted our business at Naples, we sailed with a fair wind once more for Smyrna, where we arrived in December.

Source: Equiano, Olaudah. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself*. London, 1789.

5. James Boswell: *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*

Before the modern era, travel for the sake of education was uncommon. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, though, young men from England, other parts of northern Europe, and even from the United States, were being sent to Continental Europe on what came to be known as the Grand Tour, an extended trip that usually included France, Switzerland, Italy, and perhaps Germany and the Low Countries and that could last several months to several years. The Grand Tour was restricted by the expense of travel to only elites, although this changed in the nineteenth century as rail travel made tourism a rapidly growing recreational choice.

The following selection includes excerpts from the journals and letters to friends in England of James Boswell that were written during his stay in Rome in 1765. Boswell is one of the best-known English memoirists and travel writers of the eighteenth century. His letters and journals are known for their wit as well as their frank treatment of his sexual activities, an element that plays a part here.

On their journeys, those on the Grand Tour would complete their educations, refining their knowledge of Continental manners and customs, languages, and fashion; calling on

the famous and elites of the places they visited; and touring the sights, which focused on the works of the Renaissance and classical antiquity in Italy. Boswell's case was not different; after visiting the French philosophes Voltaire and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, he made his way to Italy, and his journal entries in Rome evidence his appreciation of the Eternal City's sights and the proper responses to the art and antiquities he was being shown. At the same time, his letter reveals that his activities were not limited to art and thus resulted in an outbreak of venereal disease. Whether punctuated by sexual misadventures or not, the Grand Tour is taken by many to be a direct predecessor of modern tourism, and stands at the beginning of a uniquely modern type of travel.

Course in Antiquities and Arts in Rome, 1765.

MONDAY 25 MARCH. Mr. Morison, a Scottish antiquary, began to show me the most remarkable sights of Rome. We went out in the morning, as we intended to do every day.

[...] Then we went to the Capitoline hill. We climbed on the roof of the modern Senate, from which Mr. Morison pointed out ancient Rome on its seven hills. He showed me a little map of it, and read me a clear summary of the growth of this famous city to its present extent.

TUESDAY 26 MARCH. We viewed the celebrated Forum. I experienced sublime and melancholy emotions as I thought of all the great affairs which had taken place there, and saw the place now all its ruins, with the wretched huts of carpenters and other artisans occupying the site of that rostrum from which Cicero had flung forth stunning eloquence. I saw there the remains of the magnificent portico that once adorned the Forum, whose three remaining column give us a superb idea of what it was. . . . We entered the former Colosseum, which certainly presents a vast and sublime idea of the grandeur of the ancient Romans. It is hard to tell whether the astonishing massiveness or the exquisite taste of this superb building should be more admired. A hermit has a little apartment inside. We passed through his hermitage to climb to where the seats and corridors of the theatre once were; Mr. Morison gave me a clear picture of all this. It was shocking to discover several portions of this theatre full of dung. It is rented to people who use it in this fashion.

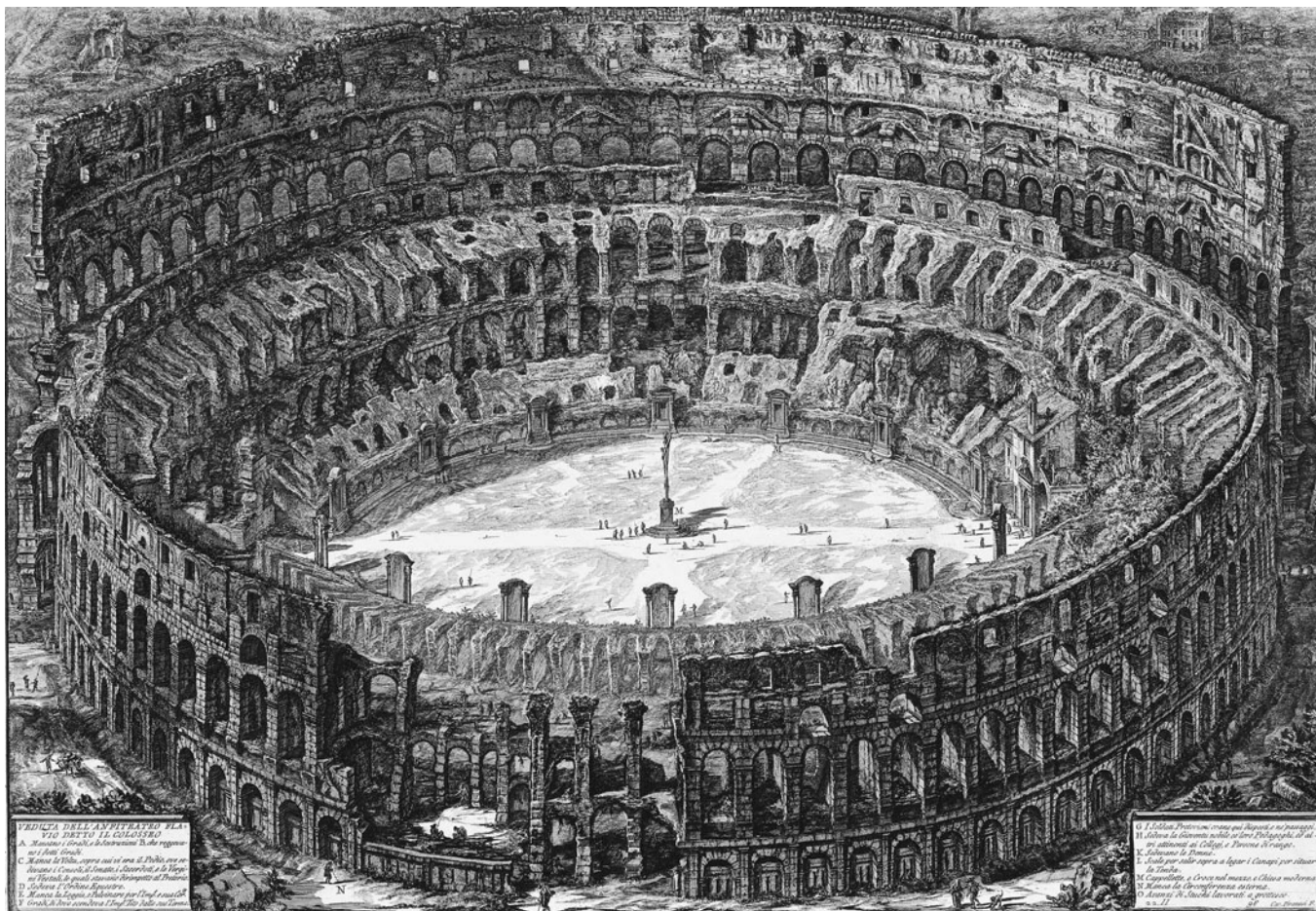
WEDNESDAY 27 MARCH. We went out in the afternoon. . . . We climbed the Palatine hill, where the magnificent Palace of the emperors stood. Since it has suffered many changes, we must believe that the ruins we now see date from the time of Domitian. . . . We much classical gaiety enjoyed, notwithstanding of our direct opposition of sentiment on every important subject. He is an exception to all general rules, and his constant felicity shakes my solid speculations on human woe. He has an elasticity of mind that nothing can crush.

...

[Letter from Boswell to John Johnston]

Monigo, 19 July 1765

MY DEAR JOHNSTON. . . . I intended to have left Rome before the middle of May, but I formed a great intimacy with Lord Mountstuart, who kept me on from week to week and at last insisted with me to accompany him in the rest of his tour of Italy. He removed the objections which I made on my father's account by assuring me that he



Piranesi, Giovanni Battista, *Veduta di Roma: The Colosseum*, eighteenth century. Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, NY.

would take care to have my conduct represented to him in such a manner that instead of being offended he should be highly satisfied with me. You may be sure this made me very happy, and on the fourteenth of June I set out with pride and pleasure as the distinguished friend of an amiable young nobleman, son to the favourite of our Sovereign. I promised myself a sure interest for life, and I felt my heart warm with affection to a branch of the royal house of Stuart. [...]

We are now at his seat in the country, where fine air, regular living, and moderate amusement keep us in a state like what you have proved in your simple summer days at Shaw. This is a new strong proof to me that a man ought never to despair; for after all my tossings in the variety of life, after all my dismal days of horrid gloom, I am now clear as when my mind was rural, young, and undisturbed except one day in seven. And yet, Johnston, I have reason to be unhappy, for my conduct of late has not been that of a sage. At Rome I ran about among the prostitutes till I was interrupted by that distemper which scourges vice in this world. When I got to Venice I had still some small remains of disease, but strange, gay ideas which I had formed of the Venetian courtesans turned my head, and away I went to an opera dancer and took Lord Mountstuart with me. We both had her; and we both found ourselves taken in for the punishment which I

had met with at Rome. Pretty doings! Our evil has been recompensed but moderately but we are as much to blame as if we had suffered most sadly. I have blamed myself so much, and repented so sincerely, that I am now no more distressed. Besides I do assure you the climate of Italy affects me much. It inflamed my hot desires, and now it keeps my blood so warm that I have all day long such spirits as a man has after having taken a cheerful glass....

I leave this in a day or two, and after going with my Lord as far as Verona, I shall separate from him and go to Parma, where I have an amiable French acquaintance, a man of knowledge and taste and sensibility to whom I was recommended by M. Rousseau. I may perhaps [spend] a little time at the Court of Parma and then go straight to Florence, and after seeing the curiosities there, jaunt through the rest of Tuscany, embark at Leghorn and sail to Genoa, where I shall embark for France. You must know I (have) been longer in Italy than my father intended and have spent £440 since the month of January. I hope my worthy father will not be uneasy; for I am determined (to) do what he inclines as far as may lie in my power.

I think, Johnston, you have here a pretty full account of me. Let me add that my regard and affection for you is just as when we walked upon Arthur Seat, and that I will convince you of when we meet. I am uneasy to think that I am not yet master of myself, but I always hope to be better. Remember me kindly to all friends, and pray write soon. Adieu, my dear friend. I am ever yours,

James Boswell.

Source: Boswell, James. *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Italy, Corsica and France, 1765–1766*. Edited by Frank Brady and Frederick A. Pottle. New York: McGraw Hill, 1955. Quoted by permission of the Editorial Committee of the Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell.

6. On the Road to Marrakesh

Driven in large part by the spread of railroads and steamships, the number of people who could manage the lowered cost, reduced time, and decreased difficulties of recreational travel grew tremendously, and the tourist industry developed in the nineteenth century to provide transportation, accommodations, and other services to the masses of new tourists.

The growth of tourism made some feel as though travel had been deprived of some of its adventure. S. L. Bensusan is among these. Writing at the turn of the twentieth century, Bensusan describes the lure of getting to someplace exotic and special, away from other tourists with their guidebooks and photographic equipment. He laments the typical seeing of standard sights, which he claims results in really seeing very little. Whether his disdain for the typical tourist is justified or not, what his commentary makes clear is that tourism was becoming a sufficiently popular pastime and industry to be criticized for its scale.

Of course, Bensusan remains a tourist, even if he chooses to ride a mule to Marrakesh instead of taking a train to someplace more popular. Although he mentions the trash and the dirt, his impressions are sentimental and decidedly those of a tourist; he mentions the major sites and some local color, although it remains quite clear that his experience there is one of a stranger, and his understanding of the culture of the Maghreb is limited.

His motivations, however, are still alive and well today, and though the typical tourist has a guidebook uploaded to her Blackberry and a digital camera with built-in Global Positioning System, the impulse to see what others have not seen, to go where others cannot or will not go, to do what others have not done, still stimulates many travelers.

IN RED MARRAKESH

There are certain cities that cannot be approached for the first time by any sympathetic traveler without a sense of solemnity and reverence that is not far removed from awe. Athens, Rome, Constantinople, Damascus, and Jerusalem may be cited as examples; each in its turn has filled me with great wonder and deep joy. But all of these are to be reached nowadays by the railway, that great modern purge of sensibility. Even Jerusalem is not exempt. A single line stretches from Jaffa by the sea to the very gates of the Holy City, playing hide-and-seek among the mountains of Judea by the way, because the Turk was too poor to tunnel a direct path.

In Morocco, on the other hand, the railway is still unknown. He who seeks any of the country's inland cities must take horse or mule, camel or donkey, or, as a last resource, be content with a staff to aid him, and walk. Whether he fare to Fez, the city of Mulan Idrees, in which an old writer assures us, "all the beauties of the earth are united"; or to Mequinez, where great Mulai Ismail kept a stream of human blood flowing constantly from his palace that all might know he ruled; or to Red Marrakesh, which Yusuf ibn Tachfin built nine hundred years ago,—his own exertion must convoy him. There must be days and nights of scant fare and small comfort, with all those hundred and one happenings of the road that make for pleasant memories. So far as I have been able to gather in the nine years that have passed since I first visited Morocco, one road is like another road, unless you have the Moghrebbin Arabic at your command and can go off the beaten track in Moorish dress. . . .

For the rank and file of us the Government roads and the harmless necessary soldier must suffice, until the Gordian knot of Morocco's future has been untied or cut. Then perhaps, as a result of French pacific penetration, flying railway trains loaded with tourists, guide-book in hand and camera at the ready, will pierce the secret places of the land, and men will speak of "doing" Morocco, as they "do" other countries in their rush across the world, seeing all the stereotyped sights and appreciating none. For the present, by Allah's grace, matters are quite otherwise.

Marrakesh unfolded its beauties to us slowly and one by one as we pushed horses and mules into a canter over the level plains of Hillreeli. Forests of date-palm took definite shape; certain mosques, those of Sidi ben Yusuf and Bab Dukala, stood out clearly before us without the aid of glasses, but the Library mosque dominated the landscape by reason of the Kutubia tower by its side. The Atlas Mountains came out of the clouds and revealed the snows that would soon melt and set every southern river aflood, and then the town began to show limits to the east and west where, at first, there was nothing but haze. . . .

I had little thought to spare for such matters as we rode into Marrakesh for the first time. The spell of the city was overmastering. It is certainly the most African city in Morocco to-day, almost the last survivor of the changes that began in the latter half of

the nineteenth century, and have brought the Dark Continent from end to end within the sphere of European influence. Fez and Mequinez are cities of fair men, while here on every side one recognized the influence of the Soudan and the country beyond the great desert. Not only have the wives and concubines brought from beyond the great sand sea darkened the skin of the present generation of the Marrakshis, but they have given to most if not all a suggestion of relationship to the Negro races that is not to be seen in any other Moorish city I have visited. It is not a suggestion of fanaticism or intolerance. By the action as well as their appearance one knew most of the passers for friends rather than enemies. They would gratify their curiosity at our expense as we gratified ours at theirs, convinced that all Europeans are harmless, uncivilized folk from a far land, where people smoke tobacco, drink wine, suffer their women-folk to go unveiled, and live without the True Faith....

ROUND ABOUT MARRAKESH

The charm of Marrakesh comes slowly to the traveler, but it stays with him always, and colours his impressions of such other cities as may attract his wandering footsteps. So soon as he has left the plains behind on his way to the coast, the town's defects are relegated to the background of the picture his memory paints. He forgets the dirty lanes that serve for roads, the heaps of refuse at every corner, the pariah curs that howled or snapped at his horse's heels when he rode abroad, the roughness and discomfort of the accommodation, the poverty and disease that everywhere went hand in hand around him.

But he remembers and always will remember the city in its picturesque aspects. How can he forget Moorish hospitality, so lavishly exercised in patios where the hands of architect and gardener meet—those delightful gatherings of friends whose surroundings are recalled when he sees, even in the world of the West—

Groups under the dreaming garden trees,
And the full moon, and the white evening star.

He will never forget the Kutubia tower flanking the mosque of the Library, with its three glittering balls that are solid gold, if you care to believe the Moors (and who should know better!), though the European authorities declare they are but gilded copper. He will hear, across all intervening sea and lands, the sonorous voices of the three blind mueddins who call True Believers to prayer from the adjacent minarets.

Source: Bensusan, S. L. *Morocco*. Painted by A. S. Forrest. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1904.

7. Ecology Meets Tourism

With the growth of interest in environmentalism and consciousness of the Earth's finite resources, a new variety of travel emerged in the late twentieth century: ecotourism, or tourism that has as its object not the usual sights and cities and ruins, but sites of ecological

importance, such as coral reefs, rain forests, and the like. Of course, these types of tourism, as all others, have an impact on the places where increasingly large numbers of persons want to go. Even though many poorer countries see clear economic benefits from comparatively wealthy foreigners visiting—and spending their money—and are eager to encourage tourism, either ecotourism or the more traditional types, success often brings unintended consequences.

In the following excerpt, Deborah McLaren does not target the ecotourist; her main objections are to the tourism industry and the underlying cultural structures that allow and even promote tourism that, in developing tourist destinations and services, does not act responsibly toward local economies, indigenous groups and cultures, and environmental conditions.

Growing out of her own experiences as a tourist, McLaren's position reflects a re-examination by some of the assumptions about travel and recreation in the late twentieth century. McLaren argues that ecotourism reflects an interest in nature that is not met by contemporary daily life, so many travelers have shifted tourism priorities to outdoors and nature-oriented activities. However, travelers' interest is not just in nature. Earlier in the modern period, tourists were not especially concerned about the social and environmental impact of their tourism. For McLaren and those who share her view, tourism has significant consequences in many other areas: ecology, economics, anthropology, even geopolitics. She calls for a change that will preserve indigenous and local cultures and values, enhance local ecological stability, and provide sustainable economic models, without preventing travel itself. The agenda is ambitious, but whether or not one agrees with her re-evaluation of touristic priorities, McLaren's ecotourist is a new kind of traveler with a new set of sensibilities for the modern age.

My participation as a tourist propelled me into a process of critical analysis and a conscious effort to support change within the tourism industry. From this perspective, my goal is to demonstrate how traditional tourism, especially in countries in the global South (so-called developing countries in the Southern Hemisphere), basically follows a consumption-oriented Western model. The overwhelming growth of tourism has been destructive to both ecology and people in host countries. [...]

A desperate need exists for information and tools to create change. I've learned to look past immediate tourism issues for root causes—to world economics, the media and technologies, development models, corporate control, the continuation of colonization, racism, and other forms of injustice. My exploration of tourism issues has been difficult, alarming, and wonderful and has led me to look for ways to change, challenge, and sometimes completely denounce the industry. [...]

Tourism is inherently about our earth. Vacations at lakeside camps, at ski resorts, and in national parks reflect the need for human beings to spend time in nature. The global tourism industry obviously has an enormous impact on the environment and in most cases sells nature as part of the tourist product. We cannot simply buy into the eco-jargon. What we need is an overview of tourism that acknowledges that "green" travel, or ecotravel, is a mere part of the larger impact of the industry and that we urgently need to look at the broad issues related to tourism's impacts upon the earth.

Traditional tourism is experiencing increasing resistance. Some of it has simply been to "greenwash" tourism and promote it as a sustainable development strategy or

as “cultural heritage” that enshrines past culture and negates current culture. Since the 1970s, however, local people have joined with ecumenical groups, Indigenous Peoples, women’s groups, grassroots groups, environmentalists, and even tourists to challenge and denounce the negative impacts of global tourism and seek alternatives in an international “responsible tourism” movement. Growing numbers of organizations outside of but reliant upon the travel industry are also rethinking their roles in tourism and creating strategies for change. Some of these groups are organizing solidarity tours to pressure governments and support each other at the grassroots level; others are linking with each other on social justice issues.

Thousands of communities around the world are attempting some form of tourism development. Many people in communities where abrupt transformations are taking place have little information about the forces changing their lives. What is apparent, though, is that most of these communities are going through almost entirely the same process: fairly well-defined cycles of expectation and disappointment. Yet tourism continues to grow haphazardly, often to the detriment of local people, communities, and the environment, with little long-term, integrated planning.

The effects of travel and tourism development are usually studied in bits and pieces. For instance, environmentalists typically scrutinize the negative effects of tourism development upon natural resources and focus primarily on conservation issues. Economists concentrate upon business, employment, trade, and financial issues. Anthropologists document changing tribal cultures, some on the verge of vanishing. In the United States, we tend to study the global South as a separate entity, although we have recently come to learn that its survival is directly tied to the survival of the industrialized nations of the North. We must begin to explore the overlapping issues of tourism development and its effects upon the earth and society through a more integrated approach. Tourists are becoming increasingly concerned about the impact of their travel and the control of the giant tourism industry, and they are looking for information and tools to assist them in becoming more responsible travelers and bringing about change within the industry.

But should we work to change tourism, or should we stop traveling altogether? Concepts for alternative tourism as well as for alternatives to tourism reflect the growing awareness of the importance of cultural preservation, ecological protection, and decentralized political and economic decision making. These factors are critical, especially as the era of exploitive free trade and globalization of the economy intensifies. In the struggle to return control of tourism to the local community, we must increasingly scrutinize our motives for traveling, decide whether we have the “right” as consumers to buy other cultures and environments, and support responsible tourism. We must analyze “green” strategies such as ecotourism and sustainable tourism to determine whether we are simply being “greenwashed.” In an age when the media dominates and shapes our views of the world, we must utilize tourism as a means to communicate with one another. In fact, we have no better way to understand the global crisis that we face than through people-to-people communication. Through firsthand, one-on-one meetings with people we encounter in our travels, we discover universal themes of human culture. We become more aware that no matter where we live, we are all confronting

similar situations. Even nature travel is in many ways a reconnection between post-industrialized society and Mother Earth.

The issue of growth in the travel industry—how much, how fast, what kind—is crucial to the future of communities, local lifestyles and cultures, and the natural environment. A variety of instabilities and inequities are associated with the expansion of tourism. If the social costs of infinite growth (human consequences of ecological pollution, centralized concentration of power, inequitable income distribution) are as high as they appear to be, our current social systems cannot support such growth indefinitely. Tourism remains a passive luxury for thousands of travelers. This situation must change. [...]

Where will tourists be traveling in the next century? Will there be any places left to “discover”? Or will our search for unspoiled environments and cultures be in vain, as they become replaced by manufactured cultures on reconstructed islands of paradise? If the megamall, theme park, and cruise ship are any indication of our future, “super-tourists,” who can afford it, may pay to visit the last pristine places on the planet, to view the history of the Indigenous Peoples and organic agriculture, admire what used to be rain forests, and watch “virtual” cultural entertainment. Perhaps they will visit private, enclosed biospheres or even the moon. Of course, there will be plenty of souvenirs for them to buy.

Source: McLaren, Deborah. *Rethinking Tourism and Ecotourism*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2003. Used with permission.

Music and Dance

Music and dance are popular recreational activities. In the age of mp3 players and digital downloads, it is easy to forget that before the modern era, music was most often made by people who wanted to hear it, and could not be recorded or preserved. When people wanted music, they made it, just as when people wanted to dance, they danced. The ability of music and dance to inspire and entertain, to convince and to celebrate, to attract and to unify, has been used for many reasons in the modern era. Not all groups in the modern world see music and dance as simply a pastime. For some, such as the Omaha (Document 8), dance is a sacred activity that celebrates life and encourages the divine world to look favorably on the dancers. On the other hand, some groups refuse to dance or condemn dancing, as Holland Weeks does in his letter (Document 10) to his siblings, telling them of a young girl who is dying after dancing at a ball.

Not all music and dancing have religious connotations, of course. Music and dance can also be more deliberately aesthetic, as in ballet or symphonic music, or sometimes they have a political dimension, or other underlying purposes as well. The eighteenth-century songs from France and Ireland (Document 9) are expressions of political sentiment as well as entertaining tunes. The music and dance of the early twentieth century ballet *Le Sacre du Printemps* proved to be so radical and, though deeply influential on twentieth century performing arts, provoked a shocked response from the audience (Document 11). This shouldn't be surprising. While the forms and styles of music and dance have changed, and the ease with which they are enjoyed is greater, the power

of music and dance to move us remains evident from religion, to politics, to youthful rebellion. Music and dance are a part of everyday modern life.

8. Descriptions of Native American Dances

Corn was an important staple crop for Native Americans from Canada into Mexico. The rituals performed for a good harvest, described in part by the songs and dances described here, come from several North American tribes, including the Omaha and Pawnee of the plains, and the Osage, who had been pushed westward into the plains from the Ohio and Mississippi valleys by the expansion of the United States. These groups engaged both in hunting and agriculture. Even into the beginning of the modern period, agriculture was intensive labor without a sure reward. The consequences of failure could mean privation. This was of course true not only of Native American agriculture, but of virtually all agriculture before modern techniques and transportation systems made for higher yields with less labor and the ability to move large amounts of food to areas with poor harvests from those with better ones.

The following descriptions were written by Alice Fletcher from her own late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century observations of Native American dances, then adapted for use by children's groups to perform. While today the re-enacting of sacred dances of Native American tribes by groups of children might be seen by some as disrespectful, the text still gives an effective description of the detailed actions and words of Native American music and dance.

While for some recreating the dances might be a summer-camp amusement, dances such as the corn dance are more than simply recreation. They are part of sacred rituals performed to assure the success of crops, on which the very lives of the performers might depend. At the same time, they were no doubt fun for the original dancers, providing a way for the community to come together and celebrate a new growing season. They are serious music and dance, but beautiful to behold, even if the outside observer does not understand the full ritual significance of the actions, and all the more so for the original participants who would see the significance of each movement, gesture, and word. They were an important part of the everyday life of the tribes who performed them.

THE LIFE OF THE CORN A DRAMA IN FIVE DANCES

INTRODUCTION.—These Dances in their purport and music are taken from the sacred rituals of the Omaha, the Osage and the Pawnee tribes. The richness and beauty of symbolism in the original language suffer a loss of native naivete in their English interpretation.

Among the Omaha tribe when the time came for planting, four kernels from a red ear of corn were given to each family by the keeper of this sacred rite. These four red kernels were mixed with the ordinary seed corn, that it might be vivified by them

and made to yield an ample harvest. Red is the symbolic color of life. In this ceremony is preserved a trace of the far-away time when all the precious seed corn was in the care of priestly keepers. The ceremony of giving out the four red kernels served to turn the thoughts of the people from a dependence solely on their own labor in cultivating corn to the life-giving power of Wakon'da dwelling within the maize.

In the Omaha Ritual Song of twenty-six stanzas which preceded the distribution of the four red kernels, the Corn speaks. It tells of its roots reaching in the four directions (where dwell the messengers that bring life), of the growth of its jointed stalk, of the unfolding of its leaves, of the changing color of the silk and of the tassel, of the ripening of the fruit, of the bidding of the people to come, to pluck and to eat.

The music of this Ritual Song is simple. It is here given with a very brief paraphrase of the words of the Ritual Song.

DANCE I

INTRODUCTORY Note.—This ceremonial dance touches upon the mystery of the giving of life that life may be maintained; an exchange that links together the different forms of life and enhances the joy of living.

Properties.—Thin green mantles; yellow plumes like the corn tassel; bone clips; as many of these articles as there are dancers.

Directions.—This dance belongs to both sexes and a number of each should take part, if that is possible. Should there be trees near the open space where the dance takes place, one-half of the dancers, closely wrapped in their green mantles, should be grouped at one side among the trees and the other half similarly placed at the other side. In the center of the space a single dancer stands facing the rear, wrapped about the head and body with the green mantle, leaving only the face exposed.

All being in readiness, the central figure turns slowly, lifts a draped arm and says slowly and impressively:

“Harken! The Corn speaks!”

The group of dancers on the right then sing softly the first line only of the Ritual Song in which the Corn speaks. The group of dancers on the left repeat the same line like an echo of the first group. Both groups of dancers now begin to move slowly and in rhythm with the following song toward the figure standing in the center of the space, singing, as they move, the Ritual Song from the beginning:

Ritual Song No. 1

Fourfold deep lie my roots within the land;
Clad in green, bearing fruit, Lo! here I stand!
Pluck and eat, life for life, behold, I give!
Shout with joy, dance and sing with all that live.

At the words “Lo! here I stand!” the company of dancers should all be standing in a semi-circle. As the words in the third line, “Behold, I give!” are sung, the draped arms should be slightly extended forward as in a presentation. The fourth line requires some dramatic action, but it should be restrained rather than free. The arms, still draped with the green mantles, should be raised a little as the words “Shout with joy” are sung, and



San Buenaventura's Day Corn Dance, performed by the two moieties, first the Turquoise, then the Pumpkin, in front of the church and campo santo. Two of the three Koshare clowns who were present can be seen just in front of the chorus. Library of Congress.

during the singing of the remainder of the line swayed from side to side in rhythm with the song, always with a reserve in the movements, because of the mystery mentioned in the words of the song, that life is maintained by the giving of life. A pause of about two beats should follow this Ritual Song.

As "Ho-o! Ho-o!" the opening of the next song, is given, every dancer should suddenly turn half-way round, give a movement of the head such as would cause the mantle to fall back and leave the head with the corn tassel exposed; the ends of the mantle should be gathered in the hands so that the mantle can wave with the dance as the following song is sung:

Song No. 2

Ho-o! Ho-o!
 Dance we singing,
 Promise bringing
 Of the wealth of summer fair;
 Hearts beat lightly,
 Skies shine brightly,
 Youth and Hope are ev'rywhere.
 Refrain: Ho-o! Ho-o! Ho! Ho! Ho!

As each “Ho-o!” of the refrain is sung, the dancers should whirl like merry sprites, twine and untwine their green mantles about their forms until the song begins again. Then they should all skip off with springing, rhythmic steps in open Indian file, letting their mantles float and wave about them as they wind in and out over the camp ground carrying “Youth and Hope ev’rywhere.” Every time the refrain is reached, the dancers should stop and whirl, then as the song begins again move off in line, dancing as before. When they are ready to stop (that can only be done during the singing and whirling of the refrain), each dancer should whirl from the line and keep up that movement, singing “Ho!” until his or her tent is reached.

Source: Fletcher, Alice C. *Indian Games and Dances with Native Songs: Arranged from American Indian Ceremonials and Sports*. New York: C. C. Birchard and Co., 1915.

9. Political Music: “The Marseillaise” and “The Wearin’ O’ the Green”

The two songs in this selection are both from the eighteenth century and originate in important political movements. The Marseillaise was the marching song of volunteers from the southern French city of Marseille, who marched to Paris in 1792 to support the French Revolution. Although banned at various points in French history because of its revolutionary content, it is the national anthem of France today (although the lyrics were later officially changed to something less overtly bloody). The song has a stirring, martial marching melody, and it shows how music can be turned to political ends. The translation of the lyrics given here is not precisely literal, and it is designed to fit the music, rather than be a word-for-word meaning. For example, the original uses the words “citoyens,” for citizens, which contrasted after the French Revolution with the population’s previous status as “subjects” of the king. The refrain actually speaks of watering the fields with the enemies’ “impure blood,” but it was, after all, a battle song.

The Wearin’ O’ the Green is another popular eighteenth-century political tune that originated in Ireland. Political (and religious) connotations to colors are still popular even today in Ireland and elsewhere. In Ireland, orange is associated with Protestantism and English rule, and green is the color of Catholicism and Irish independence. In the late eighteenth century, when Ireland was under English rule, a movement to lift the restrictions on Irish Catholics, which included laws prohibiting Catholics from owning land, operating schools, or serving as a lawyer, juror, soldier, or in any public office, took the Shamrock as its token. (See Roman Catholic Church in the Glossary.)

Influenced by and allied with the French Revolutionary government, whose anthem was The Marseillaise, they shifted into a non-sectarian liberal revolutionary party intent on establishing a free Irish state on the French model. Following an unsuccessful rebellion in 1798, wearing a shamrock, a revolutionary insignia, became a crime punishable by hanging, and the song reflects the rhetoric both of political liberation and emergent nationalism. Sectarian (that is based on a religious sect) violence rather than simply separatist (interested in separating Ireland from the British crown, regardless of faith) violence followed the failure of the rebellion through most of the nineteenth century. As a note, James Napper Tandy was an Irish rebel leader in exile after 1798, and caubeen is an Irish Gaelic word for a traditional peasant hat resembling a beret.

The Marseillaise (1792) by Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle

Ye sons of freedom, wake to glory!
 Hark! hark! what myriads bid you rise!
 Your children, wives, and grandsires hoary
 Behold their tears and hear their cries!
 Shall hateful tyrants, mischief breeding,
 With hireling hosts, a ruffian band,
 Affright and desolate the land.
 While peace and liberty lie bleeding?
 To arms! to arms! ye brave!
 The avenging sword unsheathe;
 March on! march on! all hearts resolved
 On victory or death.

Now, now the dangerous storm is rolling,
 Which treacherous kings confederate raise;
 The dogs of war, let loose, are howling.
 And lo! our walls and cities blaze;
 And shall we basely view the ruin,
 While lawless force with guilty stride,
 Spreads desolation far and wide.
 With crime and blood his hands imbruing.
 To arms! to arms! ye brave!
 The avenging sword unsheathe;
 March on! march on! all hearts resolved
 On victory or death.

With luxury and pride surrounded,
 The vile insatiate despots dare,
 Their thirst of gold and power unbounded,
 To mete and vend the light and air!
 Like beasts of burden they would lead us,
 Like gods, would bid their slaves adore;
 But man is man, and who is more?
 Then shall they longer lash and goad us?
 To arms! to arms! ye brave!
 The avenging sword unsheathe;
 March on! march on! all hearts resolved
 On victory or death.

O Liberty! can man resign thee,
 Once having felt thy generous flame?
 Can dungeons, bolts, or bars confine thee,
 Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
 Too long the world has wept, bewailing
 That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield,
 But freedom is our sword and shield,
 And all their arts are unavailing.
 To arms! to arms! ye brave!
 The avenging sword unsheathe;
 March on! march on! all hearts resolved
 On victory or death.

The Wearin' O' the Green (1798)

Oh, Paddy dear! an' did ye hear the news that's goin' round?
The shamrock is by law forbid to grow on Irish ground!
No more St. Patrick's Day we'll keep, his color can't be seen,
For there's a cruel law agin' the wearin' o' the green!
I met with Napper Tandy, and he took me by the hand,
And he said, "How's poor Ould Ireland, and how does she stand?"
She's the most disthressful country that iver yet was seen,
For they're hangin' men and women there for wearin' o' the green.

An' if the color we must wear is England's cruel red,
Let it remind us of the blood that Ireland has shed;
Then pull the shamrock from your hat, and throw it on the sod,—
And never fear, 'twill take root there, tho' under foot 'tis trod!
When law can stop the blades of grass from growin' as they grow,
And when the leaves in summer-time their color dare not show,
Then I will change the color, too, I wear in my caubeen,
But till that day, plaze God, I'll stick to wearin' o' the green.

Source: Tappan, Eva March, ed. *The World's Story: A History of the World in Story Song and Art*. Volume 5: *Italy, France, Spain and Portugal* and Volume 10: *England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914.

10. Dancing to Death: A Cautionary Tale, 1802

While dancing is a custom in cultures around the world, not all groups engage in or approve of dancing. The more austere Protestant Christianity of the Puritans and other English nonconformist groups who settled in New England often rejected dancing as a practice that was at best foolish and at worst sinful—as some religious groups continue to do today. The author of the following selection, Holland Weeks, was an active minister in Connecticut and Vermont, and pastor of the First Church in Waterbury, Connecticut, when he wrote this letter to his siblings in 1802. Weeks gives a great deal of advice in his letter and backs it up with a vivid didactic story of a girl who falls ill with consumption, known today as tuberculosis, after attending a ball. Essentially, she dances herself to death as a cautionary tale. The moral of the story is clear: dancing leads to no good.

Medically, of course, there is nothing in Weeks's description to show that the poor girl actually contracted tuberculosis from going to the ball, dancing, or anything else. She could just as easily have become infected at church. Rather than a medical case, though, Weeks presents her disease as divine punishment for her dissolute behavior—dancing at a ball was seen as vanity and a social stimulation of sexual attraction. He implies that God's justice and mercy are evident in her living long enough to repent of her ways and tell others to avoid the vice for which she will pay with her life.

This kind of didactic tale was a common educational technique and literary genre in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; good children are rewarded for their virtue, and those who are not so virtuous have a far less pleasant fate. A greedy girl sticks her hand in boiling jam and is permanently disfigured; a boy who doesn't want to go to school hides in the woods and is eaten by wolves, a vain girl is disfigured by smallpox. Although many

would disagree with Weeks, his description of the vice of dancing is, like the virtue of dancing, a part of daily life.

Waterbury, Sept. 14th, 1802.

To my younger brothers and sisters.

Dear and beloved; [...]

I have [...] advice to give you. And that is, to read your bibles and other good books. Frequent your closets every day. Always attend public worship. Love one another. Speak no angry, boisterous words and harsh words to one another. Be profoundly dutiful, respectful, and obedient to our aged grandmother and to our honored Parents. Behave with a modest respect towards all superiors; Improve every opportunity to obtain instruction in good manners and religion. Spend your time always to some good purpose. Avoid those foolish amusements which serve more to corrupt than improve and reform the youthful mind. I will relate to you the case of a young girl in Waterbury who now lies at the point of death with the consumption. She attended a ball last spring and was immediately confined to her bed. She must now be called to the bar of God in consequence of that very act. She might have died in her impenitent state. But God we trust has been pleased to have mercy on her soul. She appears to be remarkably resigned. She says, "a death bed is pleasant." But she looks upon the practice of attending balls as an awful thing. She says, "if young people will go, the Lord will not go with them": and this is one thing which makes it appear awful to her. And she says that if young people felt as they ought they would have no desire to go. I hope you will kindly receive this admonition. Write to me as soon as you can.

Your affectionate brother Holland.

* damaged manuscript, word missing

Source: Holland Weeks to his siblings, September 14, 1802. Weeks Family Papers. Henry Sheldon Museum, Middlebury, Vermont. Used with permission.

11. Rite of Scandal: Shocked Reaction to Igor Stravinsky's The Rite of Spring

Ballet had developed in Europe into a style of formal, refined concert dance that was popular among the elites of Europe and increasingly around the world throughout the modern period. Although ballet became less popular in Western Europe in the nineteenth century, it especially flourished in Russia. The Russian impresario Sergei Diaghilev brought his company of the Ballets Russes, or Russian Ballet, to Paris in 1909, and quickly developed a reputation for exotic, stimulating, and interesting ballet and opera. Diaghilev and his company helped fuel a revival of interest in ballet, and made the seventeenth-century courtly dance into an art form relevant and influential in the twentieth century. However, nothing had really prepared audiences for the radical artistic Modernism of Igor Stravinsky's music and Vaslav Nijinsky's choreography, and the Ballet Russes took the high society of Paris by storm in 1913, when a new ballet, Le Sacre du Printemps (The Rite of Spring), debuted.

The setting of Le Sacre du Printemps is spring in prehistoric Russia: an exotic, faraway place to the Parisian audience. The plot is very simple: in the first act, the tribes play springtime

games with primitive religious overtones. The second act becomes more sinister when a maiden is chosen, and must dance herself to death to appease the vernal deities. Unlike the graceful, elongated movements and harmonious music of most ballet, the dancers stomped and squatted and struck awkward poses to pulsing, irregular, and dissonant music.

Both the music and the dance heralded a new age in art: the Modern. The new forms and sounds, incomprehensible to many, provoked a raucous reaction in the theater during the performance, countered by those who embraced the innovative and daring style. The result was a scandalous event, a near-riot in a fashionable theater, and exactly what the producers wanted; the kind of event that creates publicity and interest that money can't buy.

Gustave de Pawlowski, the critic wrote this review of the first performance, coined the phrase "Massacre du Printemps." He grasps but does not altogether like the primitivism of the ballet on stage, and harshly treats the audience for being just as uncivilized as the show.

More than making money, the work of Stravinsky and Nijinsky was central to the development of twentieth-century music and dance, influencing such figures as Martha Graham, Aaron Copland, and many others. The Ballets Russes in many ways revived ballet and created avenues for exploration of new dance styles and new musical innovations, changing and anticipating much of how these art forms were a part of daily life in the twentieth century.

Where on earth, then, were these pigs brought up?

That is the kindest sentence among plenty of others which came to mind throughout this memorable and elegant occasion.

It puts in a nutshell the astonishment which we should feel in witnessing the stupid and intentional nastiness of what is euphemistically called "the Paris elite" in the presence of any truly new and bold innovation. This same audience, which for years has never protested the most dull vaudevilles, the butt ends of operettas served up to them every day with an English sauce to cover, . . . this same public pretends to suffer intolerably when an artist, captivated by something exotic, attempts to wrest from this feeling something new, to entertain or even interest [us] with hitherto unknown lines and movements.

Real snobbery, according to Thackeray, consists, whatever one may think, not in daring but in reaction. It accepts only those old audacities experienced a hundred times and admitted by caste. True audacity belongs to the lonely artists. Therefore, while the dances from Prince Igor were enjoyed for the hundredth time with attention and respect, since their primitive naïvetés are photographed in history and geography text books, *Le Sacre du Printemps* was greeted with horror because it showed earlier customs than those pictured in the particular history text books consulted by these cosmopolitan people. It is true the majority of the audience present could not have understood the title of the work. The men thought it would deal with bloody beatings, and the women assumed it would concern the latest fashion promoted by a novelty shop.

Thus it was only by cupping our ears in the middle of an indescribable racket that we could painfully grasp an approximate idea of this new work, which was drowned out equally by its defender and its adversaries. We respect to the limit the rights of the defendant in a court of assizes; but it seems that artists who put forth their cases in the theater do not enjoy the right to the same consideration. It is enough to make you wild.

All of this does not mean, I hasten to add, that this new work is above all criticism. Far from it. The authors and the interpreters have brought off an improbable

tour-de-force by staging in two acts these primitive gestures, unthinking, childish frenzies of primitive tribes awakening to the mysteries of life; but a work of art, I have already observed this once before, should not be based only upon the vulgar or the ugly. . . . If one uses ugliness in art it should be used only as a point of comparison. There would be nothing wrong, for example, with showing us the impoverished gestures of primitive tribes in *Le Sacre du Printemps* as long as this demonstration was short, incidental, and did not last two full acts. [. . .]

The authors of *Le Sacre du Printemps* have used nothing but onomatopoeia. Their personal style does not assert itself enough. We are shown a certain kind of prehistoric naturalism in a setting where we are not accustomed to expect it, a slice of life hewn out of an auroch [an extinct type of wild cow]. The experiment, from the artistic point of view, is not without real interest: it offers us something new at a time when the artistic world seems no longer to know novelty.

Moreover, even if the general idea behind this work seems to us a bit weak, it is true nevertheless that through the meticulous direction and through the coordination of the gestures with the music, a kind of strange and new stylization results, a style which I should probably call the style of reflexive movements, or, if you prefer, of automaticity.

I am sure you have experiences at a travelling circus that kind of giddiness which is produced by the cacophony of different orchestras and the absurdity of contradictory gestures which you notice in all the attractions. . . . [I]t is an intense hurly-burly but one that gives you, strangely, a general impression of harmony. We derived the same kind of feeling from the jerky gestures of prehistoric automatons, from the spontaneous and irrational poses in *Le Sacre du Printemps*, and all that, in spite of the dissonances, give the impression of animal automaticity, of very precisely stylized convulsive reflexes clearly outlined. And was it not the intention of the authors to convey to us exactly this impression of animality, of instinctive reflexes?

Whatever their intention was, never has an attempt been so thoroughly misunderstood. It was not a “Sacre” but a “Massacre du Printemps,” and the fact is, to say the least, scandalous. [. . .]

The audience thinks it is showing its good taste in revolting. Such an attitude surpasses snobbery—it is the vicious hatred of art.

But we must console ourselves with the thought that everybody shows his admiration as he is able: the toad slobbers when the sun is too hot, the distinguished ladies shake their feather boas, their escorts make dangerous signs of congestions, the crowd makes its own animal cries.

And this, for the clear-sighted artists, is, in fact, the prettiest concert of praise he could hope for. For everyone expresses himself according to his own nature, and the comparison, you must admit, serves the interpreters to advantage, even when the author puts savages on the stage.

Source: Pawlowski, Gustave de. “Au Theatre des Champs-Elysees: *Le Sacre du Printemps*, ballet de deux actes de M. Igor Stravinsky” [At the Champs-Elysees Theater: The Rite of Spring, a ballet by Igor Stravinsky]. *Comoedia*, VIII/2068 (May 31, 1913). Translated by Truman Bullard. Courtesy of Truman Bullard.

Part VIII

RELIGIOUS LIFE

Religious life is a central part of life for many in the modern world. Religious affiliation is often a major part of the identities of both individuals and groups, combining with geographical, ethnic, familial, and other factors to fundamentally shape how people and groups see themselves and the world. This can be either positive or, unfortunately, negative. Religions are often major motivators and promoters of charity, reconciliation, and peace, but religious beliefs can also create intolerance and serious, sometimes intractable, conflicts.

The patterns of religious life and practice have changed in the modern period. One major change is the evolution of religious freedom. Along with the evolution of other human and political rights, freedom of conscience has come to be seen as a basic right in many places in the modern world. At the same time, there have been and still are places where the practice of religion is restricted or repressed by religious governments, anti-religious governments, or other religious groups. For example, in 1700, there was no place in the English-speaking world where Roman Catholics could legally celebrate the Mass; today there is nowhere in the English-speaking world where the same ritual is illegal. The repression of Jews was far worse, culminating in the *Holocaust* that took millions of Jewish lives, and even today various Muslim communities are negotiating difficult circumstances in the midst of complex global situations.

Another important occurrence is the increasing movement and communication of people that has brought more people from different places into contact with each other than ever before, and one of the things they share or bring to the contact is their religious life. Consequently, this volume has a section titled “Religions in Contact,” which is intended to help document the ways in which religions have interacted in the modern world, from missionaries in North America (Document 1), to philosophers in Japan (Document 3) and the tensions among Christianity, Judaism, and a rationalist modern *Deism* (Document 2). The importance of contact between religions is central to modern religious life.

Other basic ways of looking at modern religions and religious life include their forms of worship, belief systems, and their understanding of death and the afterlife. Of course, none of these elements is easily divorced from the others in the practice of a religion: forms of worship reflect aspects of the belief system. The differences between

Catholics and Protestants that Henry Hills (see Document 4) highlights in his pamphlet are essentially doctrinal, but they result in substantial differences in religious worship. It is impossible to imagine the hajj taking on the form that Sir Richard Francis Burton (Document 5) describes without the belief system of Islam being as it is. Russian Orthodox (Document 6) and Jewish belief systems are also described (Document 7). Pope Paul VI's confirmation (Document 10) of the prohibitions of artificial birth control and extramarital sex essentially as extensions of the celebration of marriage has very specific consequences for religious practice: the teaching he sets out regulates a form that is just one part of a larger system of beliefs. Other selections describe the Cult of the Supreme Being in Revolutionary France (Document 8) and the practice of modern *Shinto* in Japan (Document 9).

How religions react to death is a part of belief, and funerary practices and the attitudes toward death that they reveal are themselves often a form of worship and a part of a larger belief system about the nature of the person and the world from a particular religious point of view. The tombstones of New Englanders (Document 13) mark and identify the remains of the dead, memorialize the individual, and express hopes for his or her salvation in a Protestant Christian context, while the unique funerals of the Indian Zoroastrian Parsis (Document 12) show less concern for the body and an overriding interest in community and reverence for earth, fire, and water. (See *Zoroastrianism* in the Glossary.) Louis de Jaucourt's entry on "Death" in the eighteenth-century *Encyclopédie* (Document 11) takes a rationalist, scientific view of death as a natural process. Around the modern world, more so than perhaps at any other time, religious life is diverse, vibrant, and complex.

Religions in Contact

Encounters between people of different faiths are certainly not unique to the modern world. The movements of people caused by migration, trade, military conflicts, and even enslavement have brought differing religions into interaction. Accelerated transportation and communications, *colonialism* and global trade, and a variety of other trends in the modern world have made contact between religions an increasingly important part of modern religious life.

One important trend has been the missionary activities of predominantly Christian Europeans as they spread across the globe in the modern period. This brought them into contact with many different religious traditions in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, including those Fr. Francisco Hildago describes in Texas (Document 1). Other changes in religious life made for new kinds of contacts; not all religious contacts are between new groups. The modern world has produced some devoutly empirical thinkers like the American Thomas Paine (Document 2), who derided revealed religion as superstitious and often hypocritical. Christians and Jews had long been living in proximity, with the Christians in many cases oppressing the Jews, and Paine lambastes them both, but evidences his own biases in the process.

Not all religious contact produces conflicts, however, as Ueda Shizuteru's thought from the Kyoto School of philosophy and theology shows (Document 3). Centered at Kyoto University in Japan in the twentieth century, the ideas of the Kyoto School

integrate elements of Christianity and *Buddhism*. The result is neither wholly Christian nor Buddhist, but a new perspective on religious belief and in some cases a new form and practice unique to the modern world. Whether through proselytizing, synthesizing, criticizing, simply coexisting, or some other form of contact, religious life exists in the modern world in the context of faiths in contact with other faiths.

1. Fr. Francisco Hidalgo: Spanish Missionaries in Eighteenth-Century Texas

One of the central issues of interaction between the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas and the Europeans and Africans who conquered or colonized in America is the meeting of religious traditions. The Spanish were especially adept at using religious missions as ways to extend influence over the large areas of America that they claimed.

The Spanish brought with them strategies and technologies that allowed them to both impress and offer protection to the Indians who accepted Christianity, although disease was a problem in the missions, as with much European-Native American contact, and many Native Americans who moved to the Spanish missions suffered because of a lack of immunity to European diseases.

In this selection, Fr. Francisco Hidalgo, a Spanish missionary priest of the Roman Catholic Church working in the early eighteenth century, reports to his superiors on the life and religious practices of the Native American inhabitants and the interaction of Roman Catholic Christianity and the indigenous religious traditions in what is now eastern Texas. Fr. Hidalgo's observations are interesting on a number of levels: first, they provide an important documentary account of Tejas religious practice; the Tejas themselves had no written language and created no records of their own practices and beliefs. At the same time, Fr. Hidalgo's own religious point of view can also be detected. While he sees the indigenous cult to be superstitious and in need of eradication, he seems genuine in his own faith and in his concern for the souls of the Tejas, who seem generally to view Christianity in similar terms, resisting conversion and believing it is bad for them—even bringing death.

The ways that both Fr. Hidalgo himself and the Tejas people negotiate the tensions that arise as a result of this contact between their different religious traditions are in some ways typical. Some on each side reject the other religion, and even when some of the Tejas adopt the Christianity of the Franciscan priests, they remain unwilling to wholly abandon their native religious practices.

Eventually most of the inhabitants did become Roman Catholic, but the relationship between Christian evangelization and Native American religious traditions was—and in some places remains—a central part of daily religious life when Europeans came into contact with Native Americans.

[To Friar Isidro Cassos]

November 20, 1710

... In the pueblo [village] of San Francisco de los Texas a priest went to a house near where I was to baptize an Indian. At the door he found a Tesusan Indian dancing in a circle of live coals without getting burned. The priest, in the name of God, forbade the Indian to come out of the circle. The Tesusan Indian strove to come out

to keep the priest from baptizing the sick Indian, but he could not in spite of everything he did....

I have heard it said on many occasions that the fire the Tejas Indians have in their houses was brought from the house of their high priest, whom they call *chenesí*. If the fire goes out they start immediately for the house of the priest to get new fire. It never goes out in the house of sacrifice. The Indians say they have two children from God whom they call in their language *coneneses* "the little ones."... The Indians go at night to say their prayers. Their priest assumes the voices of the two children and asks for what he needs for their use. He threatens that if they do not do as they are told they will be punished suddenly with snake bites. They make many prayers in their language to the two *coneneses* and when they have finished and start out at the door they bleat like goats that are following close after the herd. Once Father Fray Antonio Bordoi went into the house of sacrifice to see the *coneneses* to find out what they were. The priest objected and declared that he would certainly die. But the father went in and found a little box with packages. But he did not see any children. Into the fire which the Indians keep burning in their houses they throw a great amount of fat, offering it to the "Great Captain." After their crops are matured all the Indians gather in the house and *patio* of their captain to hold their feasts. Those who are to dance come out of a house near the captain's. It is a little straw hut they build for the occasion. Twelve old men come out of it to dance, all having tufts or plumes. They advance singing in a strange tongue which the people do not understand. These twelve old men stay in the little straw hut as long as the feast lasts. There they go through their ceremonies, say their prayers, and drink a tea [*cacina*] like that commonly used in Florida. This I saw. Every evening these same twelve old men come to the *patio* of the captain's house, singing these same songs in a strange tongue. One follows exactly behind the other and immediately form a circle. There they hold three dances during these days and there are no more during the rest of the year. The Indians have the doors of all their houses toward the east. I heard them tell the soldiers on this occasion they did this because it never blows from that side, I do not understand the mystery. When they kill a deer they never cut it up until the priest of the pueblo arrives. He cuts it up. The Indians had rather lose it than to cut it open before their priest arrives. He cuts it up, selects the portion belonging to his priestly office, and it is sent to him. The same thing is done in the case of their crops of corn and beans. Each one and each family gives a portion of everything to the high priest.

Frey Francisco Hidalgo

...



The old church at the Mission San Francisco de la Espada, San Antonio, Texas. Library of Congress.

[To Viceroy Baltasar de Zúñiga y Guzmán]

November 4, 1716

Most Excellent Sir,

[...]

[O]n June 28 of the present year, 1716, we reached the boundaries of the country of the Tejas where, having exchanged all the customary courtesies and after a warm welcome to our Spaniards by the said Indians, an account of everything and of the establishment of the missions was given to that superior government.

It now remains for me to give an account of our experience and of the information I have acquired as to the condition of the said country. And, because these are so important, your Excellency will be good enough to consider them, so that when everything is taken into consideration, a good ending may be forecast.

This nation of the Asinai, whom we call Tejas or Texias, contains many tribes. It extends as far as Rio del Misuri [Missouri River], according to the reports of the Indians from the north and west. It contains many settlements, some large and some small. On the northern border, reckoning from that court and looking in the direction above mentioned, the four missions for the different tribes are located. [...]

The whole nation is idolatrous—as is at present recognized. They have houses of worship and a perpetual fire which they never let die out. They are very perverted and in their dances they have the Indian braves or the Indian women who get drunk on peyote or frijolillo, which they make for the occasion, and the people believe everything these persons tell them they have seen. They have idols large and small. They believe in the devil and offer sacrifices to him believing that he is the true god. In the pictures they make of him they paint him with horns and a face of fire and with other features that prove their great deception.

We have not succeeded in getting them to put their houses close to the church, although they promised at first to do so. Therefore, there is no Christian doctrine imparted to them, first, because of the great repugnance they have for Christianity, and, second, because of the great distance there is between their houses and because of other motives and reasons they have. Their repugnance to baptism from past times is well known, for they have formed the belief that the water kills them. Some of those who have been baptized have died, both adults and children. They do not wish for fire to be taken from their houses because they believe that someone in the house will die. [...]

They bury their dead, after bathing them, interring with them the trophies



The old convent at the Mission Senora de la Purisima Concepcion, San Antonio, Texas. Library of Congress.

they have captured, with the deer skins they possess, and with all the gifts their relatives supply. They place there something of everything they have to eat as well as buffalo hides. They bury the scalps so that their enemies may go along to serve them in the other life. They place there provisions for the journey and other possessions to serve for clothing.

Frey Francisco Hildago

Source: Hatcher, Mattie Austin. "Description of the Tejas or Asinai Indians, 1691–1722." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly Online* 31, no. 1 (1927): 50–62. http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/publications/journals/shq/online/v031/n1/article_7.html.

2. Thomas Paine: Enlightened Intolerance

Thomas Paine (1737–1809) was an English-born intellectual, revolutionary, inventor, radical, and pamphleteer who was passionately committed to liberal values and Enlightenment ideals. Among his ideas were progressive income taxes, abolition of slavery, guaranteed minimum incomes, and many other ideas radical for his era, and even ours. After immigrating to America in 1774, he began promoting American independence. He is perhaps best known today for his 1776 pamphlet *Common Sense*, which dramatically solidified support in America for declaring independence from Britain. As a Deist who believed in an unknowable and non-interfering God, he despised revealed, organized religion as dangerous superstition and an impediment to social progress and liberty, claiming, "My own mind is my own Church." In this he was hardly alone: widespread sectarianism, anti-Semitism, and anti-clericalism (especially in the English speaking world) were facts of life in the eighteenth century.

His poem "The Monk and the Jew" displays both the clever satirical wit valued among Enlightenment thinkers, and attacks some of their favorite targets: social and religious attitudes formed outside of enlightened reason. Paine evidences a sharply prejudiced attitude toward Christianity in general and the Roman Catholic Church in particular, as well as an anti-Semitism that marred some of the most open minds of the age, including those of Voltaire and Immanuel Kant. Though the Monk comes across as a heartless and doctrinaire hypocrite who refuses to help his neighbor as Christ commanded, the Jew is an ugly caricature of speech and personality, willing to lie, cheat, and deceive to get what he wants. While Paine makes a valid point about Christian anti-Semitism and religious intolerance, one can only conclude that Paine himself was little more tolerant of others' beliefs than those he sought to satirize.

The Monk and the Jew

An unbelieving Jew one day
Was skating o'er the icy way,
Which being brittle let him in,
Just deep enough to catch his chin;
And in that woeful plight he hung,
With only power to move his tongue.
A brother skater near at hand,
A Papist born in foreign land,

With hasty strokes directly flew
To save poor Mordecai the Jew—
“But first,” quoth he, “I must enjoin
That you renounce your faith for mine;
There’s no entreaties else will do,
’Tis heresy to help a Jew—”

“Forswear mine fait! No! Cot forbid!
Dat would be very base indeed,
Come never mind such tings as deeze,
Tink, tink, how fery hard it freeze.
More coot you do, more coot you be,
Vat signifies your faith to me?
Come tink agen, how cold and vet,
And help me out von little bit.”

“By holy mass, ’tis hard, I own,
To see a man both Hang and drown,
And can’t relieve him from his plight
Because he is an Israelite;
The Church refuses all assistance,
Beyond a certain pale and distance;
And all the service I can lend
Is praying for your soul, my friend.”

“Pray for my soul, ha! ha! you make me laugh.
You petter help me out py half:
Mine soul I farrant vill take care,
To pray for her own self, my tear:
So tink a little now for me,
’Tis I am in the hole not she.”

“The Church forbids it, friend, and saith
That all shall die who had no faith.”
“Vell, if I must pelieve, I must,
But help me out von little first.”
“No, not an inch without Amen
That seals the whole”—“Vell, hear me den,
I here renounce for coot and all
De race of Jews both great and small;
’Tis de verst trade peneath the sun,
Or vurst religion; dat’s all von.
Dey cheat, and get deir living py’t,
Amd lie, and swear the lie is right.
I’ll co to mass as soon as ever
I get to toder side the river.
So help me out, dow Christian friend,
Dat I may do as I *intend*.”

“Perhaps you do intend to cheat,
If once you get upon your feet.”
“No, no, I do intend to be
A *Christian*, such as one as *dee*.”
For, thought the Jew, he is as much

A Christian man as I am such.
 The bigot Papist joyful hearted
 To hear the heretic converted,
 Replied to the *designing* Jew,

“This was a happy fall for you:
 You’d better die a Christian now,
 For if you live you’ll break your vow.”
 Then said no more, but in a trice
 Popp’d Mordecai beneath the ice.

Source: Paine, Thomas. *The Life and Writings of Thomas Paine*. Edited by Daniel Edwin Wheeler. Volume 10. New York: Vincent Parke and Co., 1908.

3. Philosophy and Theology in Twentieth-Century Japan: The Kyoto School

The Kyoto school is not a literal school, but is the name given to a group of Japanese philosophers and thinkers of several generations at Kyoto University, who began in the first half of the twentieth century to integrate Western philosophical and theological traditions with different strains of Buddhism. Most members of the Kyoto school were practicing Buddhists, and some had even lived and trained as Buddhist monks. Buddhism was treated both as a religious practice and as an object of study in the Western tradition, and the results have been compelling scholarship on the Western academic model that offers insight into Buddhist and Christian traditions. However, the work did not stop there; for example, one member of the Kyoto school, Hisamatsu Shin'ichi, went beyond the bounds of academic study and started a new religious movement with students that focused on scholarship as service and the unity of religious practice.

The following selection is from a work by Ueda Shizuteru, who studied at Kyoto University and Marburg University in Germany. It seeks points of contact between the German medieval Christian mystic Meister Eckhart (1260–1328) and the teachings of Zen Buddhism on the idea of “nothingness.” Although the discussion gets rather abstract, the conclusions which Shizuteru draws are ideas that are not wholly consistent either with Christian theology or Zen teaching, but something new that tries to incorporate them both. In this sense, it is a good illustration of the idea of the Kyoto school and an interesting example of religions in contact in the modern world.

According to Meister Eckhart, God gives birth to his Son in the solitary soul. “The Father begets me as his Son, as his very same Son. Whatever God works is one. Thus he begets me as his Son without any distinction.” The “birth of God in the soul,” spoken of here in the language of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, is the leap to realization of his own authentic life that man experiences in “solitariness” with the surrender of ego. “The Father begets me as his Son without any distinction.” This means that the absolute event of salvation touches each and every individual in its full originality, without first passing through a mediator. This being the case, Eckhart stands very close to Mahayana Buddhism, the philosophical-religious base of Zen

Buddhism. According to Mahayana teaching, the very same awakening to the very same truth transforms each and every individual into the very same Buddha—that is, it makes of each individual the same “Awakened One” that it made of the historical Buddha, Gautama.

So far the similarity is only of a general nature. A more deep-reaching spiritual kinship appears when Eckhart speaks of a “breakthrough to the nothingness of the godhead.” “The soul is not content with being a Son of God.” “The soul wants to penetrate to the simple ground of God, to the silent desert where not a trace of distinction is to be seen, neither Father nor Son nor Holy Spirit.” By carrying out in radical fashion his neoplatonically laden understanding of “being one,” Eckhart transfers the essence or ground of god back beyond the divine God to the simply modeless, formless, unthinkable, and unspeakable purity that he calls, in distinction to God, “godhead” and that he describes as a nothingness. [...]

God is divine in turning towards his creatures: for in his essence, beyond the opposition of God and creatures, he is a nothingness pure and simple. . . . For Eckhart, the nothingness of the godhead is, in a non-objective manner, the soul’s very own ground. Hence the soul, in order to return to its original ground, must break through God and out into the nothingness of the godhead. . . . Here is true freedom, freedom without God, a “godlessness” wherein the nothingness of the godhead, and thus the essence of God, is present. Eckhart’s thought draws him here beyond the opposition of theism and atheism, beyond the opposition of personalism and impersonalism. [...]

In Zen Buddhism this same coincidence is at stake—except that there negation and affirmation are effected more radically than they are in Eckhart. The radicalness of Zen is evident from the fact that it speaks of nothingness pure and simple, while Eckhart speaks of nothingness of the godhead. [...]

Eckhart advances a radical de-imaging of the soul which is consummated in and as a ceaseless “letting go.” This “letting go” accord his teaching with its extremely dynamic quality, corresponding to the dynamic of the Zen coincidence of negation and affirmation—except that in Zen, where we see a radical execution of the Mahayana Buddhist thinking on relatedness, the scope of this coincidence is wider than it is in Eckhart. [...]

In the history of Buddhism, it has been Zen that has given this coincidence a fresh, existential concreteness to cut through the layers of speculations surrounding it. This Zen has achieved by having the concepts of absolute nothingness and the self interpenetrate one another. In a word, we are presented with a nothingness-self—or, one might say, a nothingness viewed as a someone rather than a something. [...]

In general, philosophy and Zen—crudely put, thinking and non-thinking—stand opposed to one another. This tension, however, became something creative . . . through Zen and philosophy bringing one another into question. In the light of Zen, philosophy was made into a question about the origination of principles. In the light of philosophy, Zen was made into a question about the possibility of the project of building a world and possibility of cultivating a logic.

Source: Ueda Shizuteru. “Nothingness’ in Meister Eckhart and Zen Buddhism.” In *The Buddha Eye: An Anthology of the Kyoto School*. Translated by James W. Heig, edited by Frederick Frank. New York: Crossroad, 1982.

Forms of Worship

Sometimes what a believer does is more important than what he or she says or believes. Almost all organized religions have some kind of organized worship activities, whether in churches, temples, synagogues, mosques, or other places. Sometimes these forms of worship can be a cause of great conflict between religions, or there can be internal disputes over forms of rites and rituals as serious as any over doctrine. The dissent of the sixteenth-century *Protestant Reformation* over liturgy and worship as much as theology, which is reflected below in Henry Hills' pamphlet (Document 4), led to decades of wars in Europe, and is still disputed among Christians today.

The emphasis in this section is not on disputes, however. Forms of worship here are less strictly construed, and extend to actions undertaken for religious reasons outside of formal rituals. Thus, not only is the attendance at church on Easter described by Henri Troyat (Document 6) a form of worship but also his description of the family's feast and celebrations afterward. The centrality of the family in the celebration is just as important to the celebration of Easter as their liturgical observations, just as it is to the family of Rafael Uzan (Document 7) in his family's preparations for *Passover*. Of course, forms of worship can also be highly formalized rituals, as the extended description of the culmination of the *hajj* for Richard Burton (Document 5) as an impostor shows. Whether formal or informal; communal, familial, or individual; public or private; the variety of worship in the modern world reflects the importance of diversity of religious life.

4. Reformation Rhetoric: Catholic Pamphleteer Henry Hills

Henry Hills was a Catholic pamphleteer in Protestant England at the end of the seventeenth century. At first, the following selection might seem a little confusing: although Hills' pamphlet is defending the positions of the Roman Catholic Church, it begins with a series of positive assertions that represent Protestant positions on a series of issues that were in contention between Catholics and various Protestant groups during the Protestant Reformation and Catholic Reformation, offering a rhetorical challenge to provide support for these positions (which Protestant pamphleteers were in turn happy to provide). The religious environment in which Hills was writing was a volatile one, to say the least.

Although the United States draws much of its legal and cultural heritage from England, one of the freedoms Americans enjoy is the free exercise of religion and the prohibition of the establishment of a state religion. This is not exactly the case in England, where, though broad religious freedom is a fact today, Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547) established the Church of England in 1534, and the monarch, as head of the state, was simultaneously the head of the state church, a position Queen Elizabeth II retains to this day.

Many of the issues Hills raises relate directly to the Mass, the Roman Catholic worship service. Catholics believe that the bread and wine becomes transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ (see Transubstantiation in the Glossary), called the Eucharist, through the ritual of the Mass. Protestant groups developed different beliefs about the Eucharist according to group or denomination. Some, like the Church of England, believe in consubstantiation, that bread and wine remains bread and wine but becomes simultaneously also Christ's body and blood; other believe that the nature of the bread and wine

depends on the believer's attitude; still others believe that it is simply a symbol or that all Eucharistic practice is idolatrous worship of bread and wine rather than of God. While the Eucharist and many of the other points of contention that Hills mentions may seem unimportant to those outside the Christian tradition, they were at the center of intense religious disputes at the beginning of the modern era.

While the intense divisions in Christianity of the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation and Catholic Reformation have persisted through the Modern period, the disputes became more simply religious and cultural, and less political and military. With some notable exceptions, by the eighteenth century, Catholics and Protestants generally stopped killing each other just for being Catholics and Protestants. Other reasons, such as ethnic conflicts and nationalism, imperial ambitions, class antagonisms, and other loyalties either ameliorated religious tensions or subsumed religious animosities into other disputes. Regardless, Christian religious beliefs, whether Catholic or Protestant, continued to play a central role in the daily lives of many in the modern world of Europe and far beyond.

A Request To Protestants, To produce Plain Scriptures directly authorizing these their Tenets.

- I. Scripture is clear, in all necessities, to every Sober Enquirer
- II. The Secular Prince hath all Spiritual Jurisdiction and Authority, immediately, from and under God.
- III. Justification by Faith alone (viz. a Persuasion that we are justified) is a wholesome Doctrin.
- IV. The Substance of Bread and Wine remains after, what it was before Sacerdotal Consecration.
- V. Our Lord's Presence in or with the Eucharist is merely gracious and influential; and, if more, only to the Faithful.
- VI. Adoration of the Eucharist (i.e. of our Saviour under the Species of Bread and Wine) is Idolatry.
- VII. All Christians, whenever they communicate [receive Communion], are Oblig'd to receive in both Kinds.
- VIII. Chastity, deliberately vow'd, may be, inoffensively, violated.
- IX. All Christian Excellencies are commended.
- X. Every Soul, as soon as expired, is convey'd to Heaven or Hell.
- XI. Desiring the Intercessions of the Blessed, is more Superstitious, and derogatory to our Lord's Mediatorship, than entreating the Prayers of Holy Men Militant.
- XII. Honouring the Cross, the Reliques and Representations of our Lord and his Saints, with that degree of Reverence we do the Gospels, (commonly kiss'd and sworn by) Altar, and other Sacred Utensils, is Idolatry.
- XIII. The Pope is Antichrist.
- XIV. Every Prayer us'd in Divine Office, must be in a language vulgar, and intelligible to every Auditor.
- XV. A Company of Christians, voluntarily separating from all other Christian Societies, condemning their Doctrins and Rites, destitute also of any visible Correspondence with them in the Eucharist, in any Religious Assemblies or Solemn Devotions can, notwithstanding this perverse, entire, and manifest

separation, be a mystical member of Christ, in Catholic Unity, and a Charitable part of the Catholic Church.

- XVI. The whole clergy of the Catholic Church may apostatize from Fundamental Truth and Holiness; whilst part of a National Laity may preserve both, discover the Clergies Defection, and depriving them, heap to Themselves Teachers of their own sending and instruction.

Source: Hills, Henry. "A Request to Protestants..." London, 1667.

5. Sir Richard Francis Burton: A Non-Muslim's Pilgrimage to Mecca

One of the Four (sometimes Five) Pillars of Islam is the hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca, to be made, if possible, at least once in a Muslim's life. The other Pillars are prayer, zakat or charitable giving, fasting during the holy month of Ramadan, and sometimes as a fifth (or rather first), a declaration of faith in Allah and his prophet Muhammad. The following nineteenth-century account of the hajj pilgrimage and completion of the prescribed rituals comes from an interesting source: Sir Richard Francis Burton, an English officer, adventurer, linguist, and translator who was not himself Muslim at all. In 1853, he disguised himself as an Indian-born Afghan and undertook the hajj as if he was Muslim. Had he been discovered, he most likely would have been executed.

A certain European and Christian bias is evident in Burton's passages, and he is quite willing to criticize on a number of levels: he calls Indian architecture barbarian, derides the interpolation of his guide boy's prayers with cursing at groups who get in their way, highlights the need to force one's way violently through the crowd, and points out the conflicts within Islam, whether on national and ethnic grounds or religious differences (such as Sunnism and Shi'ism).

While his presence demonstrates a certain level of indifference to Muslim religious sensibilities, at the same time, Burton has a complex relationship to what he is doing. He is not unsympathetic to his fellow pilgrims, and seems genuinely interested in the rituals and practices of the pilgrimage, although he does not assign the same values to them that his fellow pilgrims do. Burton's account offers a perspective that is both necessarily that of an outsider, but it is also given from an inside point of view impossible for a total outsider to have. Burton provides a detailed account of the culmination of the hajj that explains to his non-Muslim audience what a Muslim describing the same experience might have taken for granted. Regardless of what one thinks of what Burton did, he offers a vivid and informative account of an act of worship central to the religious beliefs and everyday life of millions.

There at last it lay, the bourn of my long and weary Pilgrimage, realising the plans and hopes of many and many a year. The mirage medium of Fancy invested the huge catafalque amid its gloomy pall with peculiar charms. There were no giant fragments of hoar antiquity as in Egypt, no remains of graceful and harmonious beauty as in Greece and Italy, no barbarous gorgeousness as in the buildings of India; yet the view was strange, unique—and how few have looked upon the celebrated shrine! I may truly say that, of all the worshippers who clung weeping to the curtain, or who pressed their

beating hearts to the stone, none felt for the moment a deeper emotion than did the Haji, from the far north. It was as if the poetical legends of the Arab spoke truth, and that the waving wings of angels, not the sweet breeze of morning, were agitating and swelling the black covering of the shrine. But, to confess humbling truth, theirs was the high feeling of religious enthusiasm, mine was the ecstasy of gratified pride.

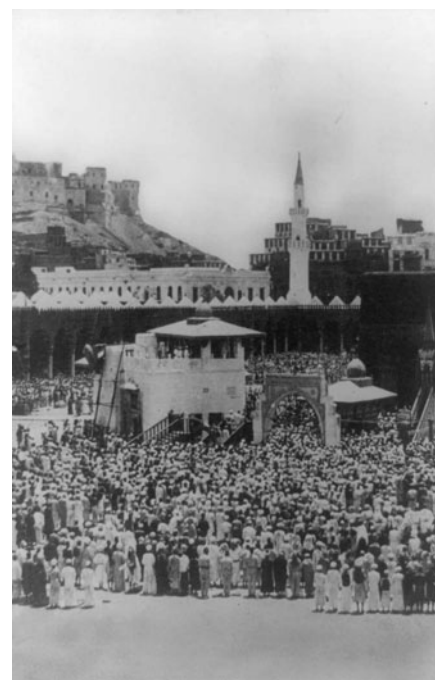
Few Moslems contemplate for the first time the Ka'abah, without fear and awe: there is a popular jest against new comers, that they generally inquire the direction of prayer. This being the Kiblah, or fronting place, Moslems pray all around it; a circumstance which of course cannot take place in any spot of Al-Islam but the Harim [Haram—the mosque in Mecca]. The boy Mohammed, therefore, left me for a few minutes to myself; but presently he warned me that it was time to begin. Advancing, we entered through the Bab Benu Shaybah, the "Gate of the Sons of the Shaybah" (old woman). There we raised our hands, repeated the Labbayk, the Takbir, and Tahlil; after which we uttered certain supplications, and drew our hands down our faces. Then we proceeded to the Shafe'is' place of worship—the open pavement between the Makam Ibrahim and the well Zemzem—where we performed the usual two-bow prayer in honour of the Mosque. This was followed by a cup of holy water and a present to the Sakkas, or carriers, who for the consideration distributed, in my name, a large earthen vaseful to poor pilgrims. [...]

Then commenced the ceremony of Tamif or circumambulation, our route being the Malaf—the low oval of polished granite immediately surrounding the Ka'abah. I repeated, after my Mutawwif, or cicerone [guide], "In the Name of Allah, and Allah is omnipotent! I purpose to circuit seven circuits unto Almighty Allah, glorified and exalted!" This is technically called the Niyat (intention) of Tawaf. Then we began the prayer, "O Allah (I do this), in Thy Belief, and in Verification of Thy Book, and in Faithfulness to Thy Covenant, and in Perseverance of the Example of the Apostle Mohammed—may Allah bless Him and preserve!" till we reached the place Al-Multazem, between the corner of the Black Stone and the Ka'abah door. Here we ejaculated, "O Allah, Thou hast Rights, so pardon my transgressing them!" Opposite the door we repeated, "O Allah, verily the House is Thy House, and the Sanctuary Thy Sanctuary and the Safe-guard Thy Safeguard, and this is the Place of him who flies to Thee from (hell) Fire!" At the little building called Makam Ibrahim we said, "O Allah, verily this is the Place of Abraham, who took Refuge with and fled to Thee from the Fire! O deny my Flesh and Blood, my Skin and Bones to the (eternal) Flames!" As we paced slowly round the north or Irak corner of the Ka'abah we exclaimed, "O Allah, verily I take Refuge with Thee from Polytheism, and Disobedience, and Hypocrisy and evil Conversation, and evil Thoughts concerning Family and Property and Progeny!" When fronting the Mizab, or spout, we repeated the words, "O Allah, verily I beg of Thee Faith which shall not decline, and a Certainty which shall not perish and the good Aid of Thy Prophet Mohammed—may Allah bless Him and preserve! O Allah, shadow me in Thy Shadow on that Day when there is no Shade but Thy Shadow and cause me to drink from the Cup of Thine Apostle Mohammed—may Allah bless Him and preserve!—that pleasant Draught after which is no Thirst to all Eternity O Lord of Honour and Glory!" Turning the west corner, or the Rukn al-Shami, we exclaimed, "O Allah, make it an acceptable Pilgrimage, and a Forgiveness of Sins, and a laudable Endeavour, and

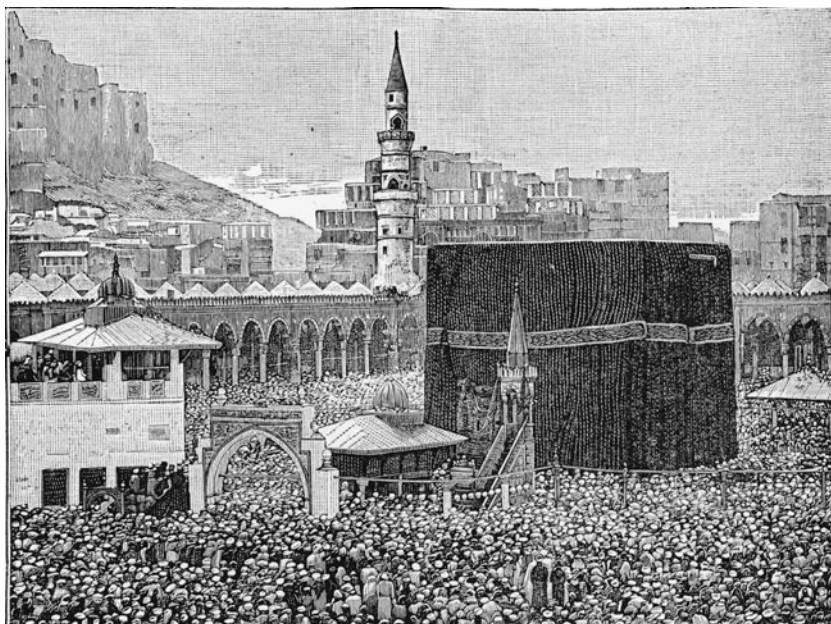
a pleasant Action (in Thy sight), and a store which perisheth not, O Thou Glorious! O Thou Pardoners!" This was repeated thrice, till we arrived at the Yamani, or south corner, where, the crowd being less importunate, we touched the wall with the right hand, after the example of the Prophet, and kissed the finger-tips. Finally between the south angle and that of the Black Stone, where our circuit would be completed, we said, "O Allah, verily I take Refuge with Thee from Infidelity and I take Refuge with Thee from Want, and from the Tortures of the Tomb, and from the Troubles of Life and Death. And I fly to Thee from Ignominy in this World and the next, and I implore Thy Pardon for the Present and for the Future. O Lord, grant to me in this Life Prosperity, and in the next Life Prosperity, and save me from the Punishment of Fire!"

Thus finished a Shaut, or single course round the house. Of these we performed the first three at the pace called Harwalah, very similar to the French pas gymnastique, or Tarammul, that is to say "moving the shoulders as if walking in sand." The four latter are performed in Tarammul, slowly and leisurely; the reverse of the Sai, or running. These seven Ashwat, or courses, are called collectively one Usbu. The Moslem origin of this custom is too well known to require mention. After each Tautah or circuit, we, being unable to kiss or even to touch the Black Stone, fronted towards it, raised our hands to our ears, exclaimed, "In the Name of Allah, and Allah is omnipotent!" kissed our fingers, and resumed the ceremony of circumambulation, as before, with "Allah, in Thy Belief," &c.

At the conclusion of the Tawaf it was deemed advisable to attempt to kiss the stone. For a time I stood looking in despair at the swarming crowd of Badawi and other pilgrims that besieged it. But the boy Mohammed was equal to the occasion. During our circuit he had displayed a fiery zeal against heresy and schism, by foully abusing every Persian in his path; and the inopportune introduction of hard words into his prayers made the latter a strange patchwork; as 'Ave Maria purissima,—arraah, don't ye be letting the pig at the pot,—sanctissima," and so forth. He might, for instance, be repeating "And I take Refuge with Thee from Ignominy in this World," when "O thou rejected one, son of the rejected!" would be the interpolation addressed to some long-bearded Khorasani,— "And in that to come"— "O hog and brother of a hogges" And so he continued till I wondered that none dared to turn and rend him. After vainly addressing the pilgrims, of whom nothing could be seen but a mosaic of occupits and shoulder-blades, the boy Mohammed collected about half a dozen stalwart Meccans, with whose assistance, by sheer strength, we wedged our way into the thin and light-legged crowd. The Badawin turned round upon us like wild-cats, but they had no daggers. The season being autumn, they had not swelled themselves with milk for six months; and they had become such living mummies, that I could have managed single-handed half a dozen of them. After thus reaching the stone, despite popular indignation testified by impatient shouts, we monopolised the use of it for at least ten minutes. Whilst kissing it and rubbing hands and forehead upon it I narrowly observed it, and came away persuaded that it is an aerolite. It is curious that almost all travellers agree upon one point, namely, that the stone is volcanic. [...]



Moslems worshipping the shrines sacred to Islam, Mecca, ca. 1885. Library of Congress.



Nineteenth-century illustration, "The Kaaba in Mecca." Courtesy of Eon Images.

Having kissed the stone we fought our way through the crowd to the place called Al-Multazem. Here we pressed our stomachs, chests, and right cheeks to the Ka'abah, raising our arms high above our heads and exclaiming, "O Allah! O Lord of the Ancient House, free my Neck from Hell-fire, and preserve me from every ill Deed, and make me contented with that daily bread which Thou hast given to me, and bless me in all Thou hast granted!" Then came the Istighfar, or begging of pardon: "I beg Pardon of Allah the most high, who, there is no other God but He, the Living, the Eternal, and unto Him I repent myself!" After which we blessed the Prophet, and then asked for ourselves all that our souls most desired.

After embracing the Multazem, we repaired to the Shafeis' place of prayer near the Makam Ibrahim, and there recited two prostrations, technically called Sunnat-al-Tuwaf, or the (Apostle's) practice of circumambulation. The chapter repeated in the first was "Say thou, O Infidels," in the second, "Say thou He is the one God." We then went to the door of the building in which is Zemzem: there I was condemned to another nauseous draught, and was deluged with two or three skinfuls of water dashed over my head en douche. This ablution causes sins to fall from the spirit like dust. During the potation we prayed, "O Allah, verily I beg of Thee plentiful daily Bread, and profitable Learning, and the healing of every Disease!" Then we returned towards the Black Stone, stood far away opposite, because unable to touch it, ejaculated the Takbir, the Tahlil, and the Hamdilah; and thoroughly worn out with scorched feet and a burning head,—both extremities, it must be remembered, were bare, and various delays had detained us till ten A.M.,—I left the Mosque.

Source: Burton, Richard Francis. *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah*. New York: G. P. Putnam & Co., 1856.

6. Orthodox Christian Easter in Pre-Revolutionary Moscow

The most important religious celebration of the year for Christians is Easter, when they believe Jesus Christ rose from the dead three days after his crucifixion. In pre-Revolutionary Russia, an officially Orthodox Christian state and traditionally Orthodox Christian culture, the celebration as described here by Henri Troyat was a major holiday that extended far beyond the doors of the churches. Like many religious observations, the celebration included a communal meal with specific dishes, including paskha, a pyramid shaped cheese-cake with dried fruit, and kulich, a round sweet bread with icing. Gifts are also exchanged,

social calls are made to family and friends, and greetings are offered to complete strangers. Russians do not greet each other with “Happy Easter!” but instead say “Christ is Risen!” and the polite response is “Indeed, He is Risen!” All these are ritual parts of the celebration that make the holiday something that penetrates almost every aspect of life.

The following selection is from a work of fiction in which John Russell, an Englishman, visits Moscow under the protection of the Zubov family, a business connection of his father’s. The plot is an excuse to demonstrate daily life in Moscow, cobbled together from Troyat’s own memory and his parents’ and others’ stories.

The account gives a vivid impression and accurate details, even if as a whole it is rather romanticized and idealized. Troyat, born Lev Aslanovich Tarasov in Russia in 1911, was a Russian émigré and exile; he fled Russia as a child and never returned to his own country. His family left in fear of the Russian Revolution in 1917, and although Troyat became a prolific and prize-winning writer in France, he could only have had vague memories of celebrating Easter in Moscow.

After the Revolution of 1917, the officially atheist Soviet Union replaced the officially Orthodox Russian Empire and such celebrations of Easter were suppressed. After the fall of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, these celebrations came back quickly, and many of the traditions described here are once again central parts of Russian religious life.

For midnight mass the Zubovs and Russell went to the Kremlin. The crowd was so dense within the old crenellated walls that they were unable to get into the Cathedral of the Assumption. Although Alexander Vassilievitch had explained and described the ceremony to him beforehand, Russell was filled with wonder at the ocean of heads that rippled among the reefs of the churches and the palaces. The domes shone far above them in a dark wet mist. But on this evening the stars had come down to earth, for each of the faithful held a wax taper in his hand—a light for every face. The flames flickered in the wind. All classes of the population were represented among those gathered together. Some carried colored eggs and paskha wrapped in paper. Alexander Vassilievitch vanished and soon came back with tapers which he gave to his wife, son-in-law, daughters, son and guest. Russell hunted in his pocket for matches. Tatiana Sergeyevna stopped him. Was he going to commit sacrilege? His neighbor on the left, a robust tradesman, wearing boots and wrapped in a long blue tunic, gave him his own lighted candle. The flame had to pass in this way from one to another like faith in Jesus Christ. The wax sputtered and then burned brightly.

“Thank you,” said Russell.

And as his neighbor looked at him with surprise, he pulled himself together and murmured: “Spasibo!”

Tatiana Sergeyevna, and then Helen, came to light their candles from the same bright source, which Russell shielded with his hand. Soon all the members of the Zubov family were lit from below like the icons. Helen’s eyes shone like diamonds. A gilded line emphasized the curve of her cheek. Her lips were smiling with happiness. Everyone around her had a joyful air. People were not praying; they were whispering and jostling with feverish impatience, as they awaited permission to give free expression to their gladness. Distant singing flowed out through the cathedral doors. A misty glimmer floated above the entrance. All the candelabra were lit inside. Russell’s candle softened in his grasp. Suddenly Helen cried “Look!”

The religious processions emerged simultaneously from all the Kremlin's churches. Banners, tapers and golden chasubles formed long and scintillating rivers. Each procession moved forward through the crowd with a thousand flickering flames. Priests, deacons and the congregation were seeking Christ outside the sepulcher in the marvelous certainty of His resurrection. The choir's powerful singing rose so high and carried so far that it must have been heard at the ends of the earth. A star with a fluorescent train leapt into the sky, followed by another. Suddenly everything was lit up. Fireworks! Golden rain fell upon the domes, catherine wheels whirled at the top of the towers, and fiery letters—X.B.—quivered on the palace façades [X.B. are the Cyrillic letters that abbreviate "Khristos voskrese!"—"Christ is risen!"]. Under this torrent of light the whole Kremlin—its domes, crosses, battlements and columns—quivered like a magic vessel, ready to break from its moorings and make off into the darkness. The earth vibrated beneath Russell's feet. An enormous and melodious sound fell upon his ears. Light silver and heavy bronze, Ivan Veliky's bells were giving the signal for Christian rejoicing and all the city's bells replied. Deafened by this uproar, Russell was astonished to see his neighbor, the tradesman, turn to him a face that was overwhelmed with thankfulness:

"Khristos voskrese!" said the man.

And Russell felt the touch of a perfumed beard on his cheek. In his confusion he recalled Alexander Vassilievitch's advice and stammered:

"Voistinu voskrese! [Indeed He is risen!]"

Having exchanged the triple kiss with this stranger, he turned to the Zubovs, and every member of the family repeated the gesture. Russell repeated: Khristos voskrese, offered his lips and opened his arms. His heart was overflowing with Christian love.

As he brushed Helen's smooth cool cheek with his lips, he felt like an angel amongst angels. All around them people were embracing, congratulating one another and offering each other eggs.

"I am so hungry!" said Alexander Vassilievitch.

That same night, at the Zubovs' home, there was a gigantic supper for many guests. The servants, each of whom had received a little gift (paskha, kulich, cheap jewelry), all had merry faces. Russell was much amused by the custom of "egg fights" among those at table. Each took a colored hard-boiled egg and, grasping it in his hand, lightly struck the egg held by his neighbor. The one whose egg was broken was out of the game, and the winner at once faced a new adversary, and so on. The experts chose by preference the eggs with pointed ends and held them closely in their hands to lessen the



Russian Orthodox Patriarch Alexy II holds Easter service at the Christ the Savior Cathedral in Moscow, 2001. AP / Wide World Photos.

area of impact. At the end of the fight, the host announced the winner, who put his victorious egg aside in anticipation of a further trial and broke another on the edge of his plate for immediate consumption. Pink, yellow or green marbling, due to the coloring matter having penetrated the shell, sometimes marked the plump white surfaces of the shelled eggs. They were salted and munched rapturously. Even those who had taken great care not to observe Lent gave the impression of not having satisfied their hunger for seven weeks.

The eggs gave way to hot and cold zakuski [appetizers]. And the hot and cold zakuski gave place to the traditional sucking-pig, with its crisp crackling, its half-closed eyes, and a colored egg in its half-open mouth. Glasses of vodka, zubrovka and pertzovka [flavored vodkas] were the punctuation marks in this long gastronomic sentence. By turns, toasts were drunk to the lady of the house, the host, to the present and absent, to Britain, to Russia, to women in general and pretty women in particular. The paskha, in the shape of a truncated pyramid, white and packed with preserved fruits, flavored with vanilla, the cylindrical kulich with its topping of melted sugar, received the praise of the connoisseurs. Supper ended at four in the morning.

The next day Russell was awakened by the melodious ringing of a thousand bells which echoed the good news across the city.

Source: Troyat, Henri. *Daily Life in Russia under the Last Tsar*. New York: Macmillan and Co., 1962.

7. Preparing for Passover: A Jewish Family in Tunisia in the Twentieth Century

This selection is taken from an account by Rafael Uzan, whose childhood nickname was Fallu, of the preparations of his family for Passover, one of the major holidays of the Jewish calendar. Passover celebrates the biblical story of the angel of death “passing over” the homes of the Israelites that were marked with the blood of an unblemished lamb and killing the firstborn of all others in Egypt, a plague that finally prompted the pharaoh to release the Israelites from slavery.

Uzan grew up in Nabeul, a small town on the Tunisian coast, but immigrated to Israel in the 1950s like many North African Jews. At the time Uzan is writing, there seems to be peaceful coexistence between the minority Jewish population and the majority Muslims, although there are clear indicators that this has not always been the case. Uzan and his family were Sephardic Jews, or Jews who trace their origins or ritual practices to the Iberian (Spanish) peninsula, from which they spread to North Africa, other Mediterranean locations, and colonial America. Sephardic Jews contrast with Ashkenazi Jews, who can be traced to Germanic Central Europe and who gradually spread eastward, with large numbers also later emigrating to North America. Some of the elements Uzan mentions are specific to North African and Sephardic traditions, but many of the preparations for the Passover celebration are common to Jewish communities around the world.

Strict observance of Jewish custom requires that meat be slaughtered and inspected by the rabbi, and during Passover not a trace of leaven could remain in a house, and the thorough cleaning and extensive period of preparation also have the effect of enhancing the celebration of the holiday. In addition, the ritual slaughter of a sheep, marking the door with

its blood, and the Seder meal, which Fallu looks forward to with great enthusiasm, are essential parts of the biblical and ritual observance of Passover.

Jews have been minority communities virtually everywhere they have lived since the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 A.D. and the Jewish Diaspora from the second century until the creation of Israel as a state in 1948. Sometimes oppressed, less often not, they have persevered and preserved their ancient rituals in circumstances of varying difficulty, and the observance of Passover is still a part of everyday Jewish life.

Passover preparations got under way the very moment Purim [another Jewish holiday] flickered out. As only four weeks separate Passover from Purim there was much to be done if we wanted to celebrate our feast of freedom properly and even children had to pitch in. School was closed so that our classrooms could be taken over by a crowd of matzoh bakers, men working in shifts day and night, preparing the mountains of matzohs needed to feed the Jews of Nabeul for a week. Small portions of unleavened dough were flattened out with sticks; patterns were punched through the thin discs with the help of ten fingers, miraculously transforming lifeless lumps of dough into large flowers and crisp wagon wheels. The oven did the rest. Boys employed alongside the men would be running all over the place carrying flour and firewood, while women and grown-up girls, unclean for reasons that are obvious, had to stay away. As those hand-fashioned matzohs were naturally expensive, our committee would distribute them to the needy free of charge; my father, however, always made a point of paying for our rations. It was not the price of the matzohs, though, that was his greatest worry. The house had to be whitewashed inside and out; new shoes and clothes bought for the entire family; plenty of eggs and vegetables for the traditional dishes. What is more, without the slaughter of a sheep Passover was unthinkable. [...]

[O]nce our room had received its new coat of blue lime, Passover cleaning could begin in earnest. The short weeks still separating us from the Seder night were spent scouring, scraping and washing to make sure not the tiniest bread crumb, a speck of flour or anything else likely to ferment had been overlooked in our household. It is by refraining from contact with bread or other leavened food and drink that we try to relive the hardships our fathers suffered on their passage from slavery to freedom, from Egypt to the other side of the Red Sea over three thousand years ago. Rightly fearing that the Pharaoh would have second thoughts and pursue the builders of his towns into the desert, our people left in great haste. They had not even waited for their dough to rise, taking wafer-thin bread called matzoh with them on their flight. I have never understood why eating matzohs is considered a hardship. Those we crunched every year for eight days in honor of the Exodus were so delicious that our Moslem neighbors liked them better than any other of our holiday specialties, gratefully accepting every morsel we could spare.

For the moment, though, much remained to be done before we could recline at the Seder table eating matzohs. Anything movable in the house was taken apart for a thorough cleaning. Doors and shutters were taken off their hinges; all clothes, curtains and blankets were washed. My mother and her neighbors spent their days in the courtyard amid the soapy steam of linens boiling in copper vats, amicably chattering over the noise of water buckets rattling up and down the cistern. Patient and unruffled throughout the year, my mother became frantic during Passover cleaning. [...]

The next morning was slaughter day at my grandfather's house. Grazing on whatever there is to graze upon in a bare yard, our beautiful fat sheep had been there for some time in company of three or four others belonging to my uncles. It was a dark little yard, shadowed on all sides by a wall taller than the house itself, a thick, crumbly white wall full of holes. Goat cheese, I called it.

The old family fortress, wall and house, had been built by my grandfather's grandfather—the one they said had come from Italy. The fortunes of our family had long since dwindled and my grandparents, seeing their children stare at the naked walls with hunger in their eyes, had often wished the stones would turn to bread.... I loved the old house. Having known no true hunger in my childhood I liked the walls just as they were, hill of holes and crevices. [...]

It was bright morning and in one more day it would be Passover eve. Rabbi Shushan, the slaughterer, was standing in my grandfather's yard, sharpening his knife. He did so for a long time, drawing the blade back and forth, back and forth over his stone until the blade was sharp enough to kill a sheep with one single, swift stroke through the throat. [...] My grandmother, praying for a happy Passover, was kissing the mezuzah as he gave the blade a last test on his fingernail. One slit—the blood gushed out and everybody tensed, breathlessly looking at the rabbi as he pulled the bowels out of the carcass. One blemish on the stomach, a blue spot on the liver, a tear in the intestine and our beautiful sheep would be declared unclean, barely good enough to be sold to a Moslem at half price. Only after Rabbi Shushan had blown up the lungs through the windpipe and had found them whole would he at last smack his bloody hand on the sheep's hind legs—his way of saying that the meat was fit for Passover.

With broad smiles, men's blessings, women's ululations, one sheep after the other passed the test. Proud that I could stand the sight of blood without crying, I plunged my hand into the red stream, then, held up by my grandfather, planted it over the gate, beside his own broad, furrowed print. Everybody was singing and joking, the men busily stripping skins, the women cutting meat and scraping the bowels that would be made into spicy sausages and other stuffed delicacies. [...] Apart from teeth and hooves, not a morsel of the animal was thrown away. The meat, of course, was cooked or roasted, including the skin covering the head. The bones went into soups and stews. And if the sheep had been a ram, its horns were destined to become a shofar, to sound in the new year in the fall. The hide, smeared with salt and lime, was nailed to the door where it was left to dry skin side up until after the holiday, when, well rinsed in the sea, it would make me a soft and springy new bed.

Around noon on that busy day before the eve of Passover my mother and I went back to our own house where Nisria, the mother of my three little Moslem friends, was already waiting to buy our hametz. "God bless you, Nisria, what would we do without you?" My mother kissed our neighbor on both cheeks, then helped her carry over to her cave whatever was still left of our winter provisions: dried couscous, beans, flour—in short any food forbidden to us on Passover. Nisria was well versed in the game; making believe this was a true transaction, she paid us two sous for the whole bargain and left. But my mother did not have to worry: once the holiday was over Nisria would return everything untouched. Not a bean, a lentil or grain of couscous would be missing. On the contrary, Nisria would always add freshly baked bread for the whole family,

a sudden taste of heaven when you have gone without it for a week. How avidly we always fell upon her bread and how thankful she was for our matzohs.

For the rest of the day and far into the night my mother was completely absorbed in her cooking. She and her four neighbors squatting on low stools behind the charcoal burning in their tripods were cutting vegetables, chopping meat, swapping recipes and spices to the sound of bubbling stews and brass pestles, lustily pounding sesame seeds and cinnamon. Munching lettuce leaves and carrot chunks, I flitted about among the pots, pestles and women, fanning fires to burn brighter and faces to cool off. [...]

I ran off...to help my mother find hiding places for the bread, I said. Custom requires that we conceal ten small pieces of bread in our home on the night before Passover.

Getting up in the morning our first thought was again for the bread. Carefully counting, we collected the ten pieces from under the bed, the drawer, and from behind the water jug to burn them in the yard. Our neighbors were doing likewise and after we had all checked and re-checked the premises, convincing ourselves nothing leavened had been overlooked, we broke into loud congratulations.

"Happy holiday, happy holiday—next year in Jerusalem!" The women embraced as the sabruta, their high-pitched, warbling howl of joy echoed from one yard to the other. Surprising us with some last-minute shopping and the astonishing announcement, coming from him, that "You can't eat money, can you? Passover comes but once a year..." My father put a big bag of almonds in my mother's hands. Then shops bolted their doors though it was still early in the day, and while the Jews got into their new clothes Bab Salah Street lay empty in the sun, lazily stretching out in her own festive dress of freshly painted lime. Nothing more for me to do than wait, I thought, as I sat in the shelter of three big red hands that had barely had the time to dry, one just on top of me over the gate, and one on each side of the doorpost. Not even Mahmood, Kasham and Abdel Fader, my three Arab friends, were out in the street; nobody to play with but the mewling cats. Driven half crazy by the vapors of stewing lamb floating from every window, the cats came at me with trembling, upturned tails, furiously rubbing their heads against my legs.

"Patience, patience," I told them, waiting more ardently for the first stars to show up and Passover to begin...

Source: Awret, Irene. "Preparing for Passover in North Africa." In *The Life of Judaism*, edited by Harvey E. Goldberg. © 2001 by the Regents of the University of California. Published by the University of California Press. Reprinted with permission.

Systems of Belief

Different religious groups have systems of belief that are articulated to various degrees of specificity to offer adherents instruction in descriptions of the nature of the world, as well as moral issues and descriptions of the right way to live and worship. Belief systems may come from sacred texts or religious leaders. Some religious groups rely on personal experience for the formation of beliefs. Other ways of seeing parallels and distinctions are possible as well, of course, and the selections included in this section offer only a few examples of different systems.

In the wake of the *French Revolution* of the 1790s, the *Roman Catholic Church*, which had been the established church of the monarchical French royal state, was stripped of power and property. In its place, some revolutionaries, such as Louis de Saint-Just (Document 8), advocated establishing a wholly new religion devoted to a Supreme Being who was not the Christian God. The idea of a non-intervening, *Deist* god appealed to many who saw Christian religious belief systems as mystical, superstitious, hierarchical, and incompatible with liberty and rationality. Nonetheless, it shared the idea of a state-sanctioned, monotheistic religion. (See *Monotheism* in the glossary.)

Shinto in Japan also was state-sanctioned (Document 9), especially in the late nineteenth century, but differs from Western religions in many important aspects. It does not have a hierarchical priesthood or a single deity; instead, its animist beliefs center on revering ancestors and spirits, called *kami*, who may represent abstract ideas, guard clans, and inhabit everything from natural objects like rocks or trees, to foods. (See *Animism* in the Glossary.) Shinto builds shrines to individual *kami*; these shrines may vary in size from a small altar in a home to a large temple with extensive grounds.

The belief system of Shinto in Japan is much less structured than was Pope Paul VI's Catholic Church in the mid-twentieth century. Shinto does not have a well-developed moral theology, although behavior is still strongly regulated by tradition. On the other hand, Pope Paul VI's description (Document 10) of artificial birth control and extra-marital sexual activity is an example of moral features of a belief system, even if some adherents to that system do not practice it. These differing belief systems are just a few examples of the extraordinary diversity of religious practices in modern life.

8. Revolutionary France: The Cult of the Supreme Being

Louis de Saint-Just (1767–1794) was a French revolutionary whose writings advocate the pervasive social and religious reforms the leaders of the Revolutionary government sought to implement after the overthrow and execution of Louis XVI in 1793. A close compatriot of Maximilien Robespierre (1758–1794), under whose authority the Revolution became known as the Terror, Saint-Just was arrested with Robespierre and himself guillotined on July 28, 1794, or “10 Thermidor An II” in the Revolutionary calendar.

Saint-Just's recommendations were to position new French Republican (a term used here to contrast with monarchical and unconnected to American political parties) ideals in the place of all the aspects of life formerly dominated by a religion seen as being complicit in the oppression of the French people and supporting the claims of a divine-right monarch to absolute authority. It is not coincidental that Saint-Just demands together the redistribution of land, reform of education, institution of new forms of worship, and the revision of the calendar. The Roman Catholic Church was one of the largest landholders in France, had created and run the educational system, and was the official state religion whose rituals and forms of worship marked everything from birth, death, and marriage to the coronation of the king; its calendar, based on the year since the birth of Christ and on the cycle of saints' feasts and religious holidays, largely determined the patterns of everyday life.

Aside from confiscating Church property and schools, the program of education that Saint-Just proposed adapted the most current theories of education and instruction of the day to create natural, disciplined Republican citizens. The new Republican forms of

worship were also rooted in eighteenth-century ideas that were primarily Deist, a religious philosophy that argued a Supreme Being existed, but was to be understood by reason rather than revelation, was not immanent or present in the world, did not perform miracles or intercede in response to prayer, and was best worshipped in new, non-sectarian temples rather than by sacrifice or obedience in churches. The French Revolution also instituted an elegant, symmetrical decimal calendar with names derived from nature, holidays named for the working classes, and a 10-day week, 10-hour days, 100-minute hours, and 100-second minutes.

The French Revolution's rhetoric of liberty and equality did not mean for Saint-Just that the state was to relinquish its authority, however, but rather that the new state would implement its new ideals of egalitarianism, education, and civil religion in much the same ways that Saint-Just saw the Catholic Church having done under the previous regime. For Saint-Just and other revolutionaries, the reordering of religious life was virtually identical to the reordering of social and political life.

I challenge you to establish liberty so long as it remains possible to arouse the unfortunate classes against the new order of things, and I defy you to do away with poverty altogether unless each one has his own land. . . . When you find large landowners you find many poor people. Nothing can be done in a country where agriculture is carried out on a large scale. Man was not made for the workshop, the hospital, or the poorhouse. All that is horrible. Men must live in independence, each with his own wife and his robust and healthy children. We must have neither rich nor poor.

The poor man is superior to government and the powers of the world; he should address them as a master. We must have a system which puts all these principles in practice and assures comfort to the entire people. Opulence is a crime: it consists in supporting fewer children, whether one's own or adopted, than one has thousands of francs of income. [. . .]

Children shall belong to their mother, provided she has suckled them herself, until they are five years old; after that they shall belong to the republic until death. The mother who does not suckle her children ceases to be a mother in the eyes of the country. Child and citizen belong to the country, and a common instruction is essential. Children shall be brought up in the love of silence and scorn for fine talkers. They shall be trained in laconic speech. Games shall be prohibited in which they declaim, and they shall be habituated to the simple truth.

The boys shall be educated, from the age of five to sixteen, by the country; from five to ten they shall learn to read, write, and swim. No one shall strike or caress a child. They shall be taught what is good and left to nature. He who strikes a child shall be banished. The children shall eat together and shall live on roots, fruit, vegetables, milk, cheese, bread, and water. The teachers of children from five to ten years old shall not be less than sixty years of age. . . . The education of children from ten to sixteen shall be military and agricultural.

Every man twenty-one years of age shall publicly state in the temples who are his friends. This declaration shall be renewed each year during the month of Ventose [from the word for "wind," roughly March]. If a man deserts his friend, he is bound to explain his motives before the people in the temples; if he refuses, he shall be banished. Friends shall not put their contracts into writing, nor shall they oppose one another at law. If a man

commits a crime, his friends shall be banished. Friends shall dig the grave of a deceased friend and prepare for the obsequies, and with the children of the deceased they shall scatter flowers on the grave. He who says that he does not believe in friendship, or who has no friends, shall be banished. A man convicted of ingratitude shall be banished.

The French people recognize the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul. The first day of every month is consecrated to the Eternal. Incense shall burn day and night in the temples and shall be tended in turn for twenty-four hours by the men who have reached the age of sixty. The temples shall never be closed. The French people devote their fortunes and their children to the Eternal. The immortal souls of all those who have died for the fatherland, who have been good citizens, who have cherished their father and mother and never abandoned them, are in the bosom of the Eternal.

The first day of the month Germinal [from the word for “sprout,” roughly April] the republic shall celebrate the festival of the Divinity, of nature, and of the People; the first day of the month Floréal [from the word for “bloom,” roughly May], the festival of the Divinity, of love, and of husband and wife, etc.

Every year on the first day of Floréal the people of each commune shall select, from among the inhabitants of the commune, and in the temple, a young man rich and virtuous and without deformity, at least twenty-one years of age and not over thirty, who shall in turn select and marry a poor maiden, in everlasting memory of human equality.

Source: Saint-Just, Louis de. “Selections from the *Republican Institutions of Saint-Just*.” In *Readings in Modern European History*, edited by James Harvey Robinson and Charles A. Beard. Volume 1: *The Eighteenth Century: The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Period*. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1909.

9. The Emergence of Modern Japanese Shinto

Milton Terry was an American Protestant minister and Asianist, at the time called an orientalist, who visited Japan and compiled his experiences of the practice of Shinto in the late nineteenth century into a book for an American Protestant audience who knew little of the indigenous Japanese religion. The impression that Terry gives of the timelessness of the Shinto cult is only partially justified. The Shinto that Terry describes has its origins in the ancient practices of Japanese religious life, influenced by Buddhism and Confucianism imported from China, but is itself a manifestation of modern influences on religious life, rather than a true relic of ancient Japan.

Terry was writing in the wake of the Meiji Restoration in 1868, which had created a strong Imperial power in Japan and supplanted the power of the shoguns, or feudal lords. At the same time, late nineteenth-century Japan, closed to foreign influences for hundreds of years, had been forced by Western powers, such as the United States, into trading relationships. In response, Japan rapidly undertook radical social and technological reforms. The Meiji emperors sought to use a national version of Shinto to support their rule and bolster their authority in a period of significant cultural change.

Shinto remains the dominant religion of Japan today, and many of its citizens practice this ancient faith. It lacks many of the features commonly found in other world religions, such as formalized doctrines, a priesthood or ritual class, or a central religious authority or power structure. Nonetheless, it is a powerful cultural influence and an integral part of Japanese daily life.

From what we have now stated it is to be seen that reverence and worship of the ancestors of the Japanese, and the recognition of the Mikado's [Emperor's] divinity as the incarnation and earthly representation of the celestial gods, constitute the essence of the Shinto cult. All the Japanese are offsprings of the gods, but the imperial "Sovran Grandchild" of Amaterasu, the Sun-Goddess, is pre-eminently divine and worshipful. The first Mikado, however, was not the real son of Amaterasu, according to the mythic tradition of the prehistoric time, but her nephew, the son of Oshi-ho-mi-mi, whom she adopted as her son. But the title of "Sovran Grandchild," having been applied first to the founder of the Mikado's dynasty, came in time to be the common title of all the Mikado's successors. The imperial worship, accordingly, represents the most conspicuous national form of the Shinto cult.

9. The Great Sanctuaries. The Mikado's palace would, accordingly, be the most holy shrine of the national worship, the private and exclusive sanctuary of the imperial ancestors. But the most notable shrine of the Sun-Goddess is not now the residence of the Mikado. On account of some great calamity that occurred far back in prehistoric times, her worship was removed to a separate temple, and was finally established in the province of Isè, in which the temples, called the "Two great divine Palaces," are the resort of thousands of pilgrims every year, and, though not the most ancient, are regarded as first among all the Shinto temples in the land. These two divine palaces, or temples, called Geku and Nallot, are about three miles apart, and stand in the midst of groves of aged cryptomeria trees. They are approached through archways (called torii, or toriui) of simple construction. The Geku temple is an irregular oblong structure, 247 feet wide at the front, but only 235 feet wide in the rear; while the side to the right of the entrance is 339 feet, and that on the left is 335. Within this large enclosure are others of similar structure, all made of the wood of cryptomeria trees, and left unpainted and without ornamentation. The various buildings of the temples are thus fashioned after the manner of the simple, huts, or dwellings of the earliest inhabitants of these islands. Some of the buildings are covered with thatched roofs and have their walls and doors made of rough matting. [...]

11. The Ancestor Worship. We have already observed that ancestor worship is the basis of the Shinto cult. This kind of worship is also conspicuous among the Chinese, and is held by many writers to have been the original cult of all civilized races and peoples. It began, they tell us, with a belief in ghosts, and at the first there was no clear distinction between ghosts and gods. The departed spirit was thought of as abiding near the place where the dead body was deposited, and the earliest shrines would therefore be the graves or tombs of the dead. Later thought would beget the idea that the invisible spirits were present to witness the acts and share the joys and sorrows of the living. And this fundamental idea would, of course, develop into many diverse conceptions and practices among the different tribes. [...]

[T]he Shinto ancestor-worship [may be described] under its three forms of Domestic, Communal, and State cults. In every case it is a worship of the dead, but the individual, whether he be the most obscure servant, the influential citizen, the commanding chieftain, or even the Mikado, is but a part and parcel of the body politic. There is a most remarkable unity of popular and national life. Government and religion are virtually identical, and there is no distinction between religion and morality. Obedience and conformity to the rules of family life, and to the customs of society and the requirements of

the State—these are the simple sum-total of Shinto law and gospel. The individual must always stand ready to be sacrificed for the good of the community or of the State. Everything is to be regarded as public, and must serve the public weal. There is no such thing as privacy, and oddities have no respectable standing. Tradition and custom seem to constitute the essence of religion as well as of family, communal, and more public life.

There is no code of moral law; there is nothing in the worship that is fairly comparable to what we understand by dogma, creed, or Church. Strictly speaking, this system has no heaven or hell, no deep sense of sin, and no concept of mediatorial redemption from sin and evil. The dead—all the dead of all the ages—are conceived as somehow living in the unseen vacancy around, above, below; they are present at the worship; they haunt the tombs; they are interested in the life and works of their descendants; they visit their former homes and attend the family worship there; their happiness, in fact, depends upon the honor and worship which their living descendants pay them; and also the happiness and prosperity of the living is believed to depend upon their sense of filial duty and proper reverence toward the dead. Furthermore, all the dead are supposed to become gods and attain to supernatural power. But there is no one Supreme Deity; no central throne of God; no paradise of heavenly blessedness. So far as any ideas of this kind obtain among the people, they may be regarded as later conceptions introduced by missionaries or adherents of other religious systems.

But the cult implies beyond question a belief in some kind of future life. The Yomi, or Hades, of Shinto mythology, into which Izanagi went to seek his lost sister, was conceived as hideous and polluted land, and even the realm of the unseen heavenly deities was never longed for by the devotees of Shinto.

12. Elements of Animism. The ancestor-worship of Shinto can not be disassociated altogether from the elements of Animism which appear in the names and titles of certain deities, and also in the fact that there are “evil gods” and demons who are capable of working mischief and calamity in the family, the community, and the State. How these evil deities originated is matter of myth, legend, and speculation. Bad men would naturally be supposed to carry their evil character with them into the unseen world of the dead, and to have the same power to work harm among the living as the good spirits have to bestow benefits. But human spirits would hardly be supposed to become deities of the wind, and the thunder, and the waves, and the mountains; of the trees, and the fire, and the sun, and the moon, and the autumn, and the food of men. Here the old mythology of the *Ko-ji-ki* comes in to tell us of a prehistoric and cosmical origin of evils.



An elderly woman cleanses herself at a Shinto shrine in Japan. Courtesy of Photos.com.

[...] These evil gods afterwards multiplied, and may be supposed to be the authors of all the demons, goblins, and mischievous spirits of evil that disturb the world and its inhabitants. But there are also good spirits innumerable that animate all moving things. The winds and the waters, the songs of birds and the hum of the bees, the growing plants and trees, are all instinct with a sort of conscious life, and the spirits that live and move in them are to be recognized and revered by prayers and offerings.

The spirits of dead ancestors and the powerful spirits of the winds and the storms and the growths of nature may or may not have been supposed to have concert of action understood between them. The Japanese mind seems never to have elaborated any formal philosophy of this life or any specific theories of the life to come.

Source: Terry, Milton S. *The Shinto Cult: A Christian Study of the Ancient Religion of Japan*. Cincinnati, OH: Jennings and Graham, 1910.

10. Pope Paul VI's On Human Life

Regulating sexual activity and families has long been a function of complex social, moral, and religious beliefs, but evading such norms is just as old a practice. Among the changes of the twentieth century in the industrialized world were expansions in the social positions of women, alterations in family life, and the development of effective means of preventing conception and regulating birth.

Although the religious and moral aspect is important, regulation of family sizes and population has not only been a religious issue; governments and other groups, seeing social and economic consequences to demographic trends, have intervened in a variety of ways. Some governments have employed natalist policies to grow families and population. For example, in the 1930s, the Soviet Union awarded medals to "Heroic Mothers" who had large numbers of children. Some governments have enforced anti-natalist laws to control population, such as China's current policies of forced sterilizations or abortions and a limit of one child per family.

*Religious groups have also been mixed in their attitudes. Many Christian denominations, which had almost universally opposed artificial birth control and abortion, changed their positions on these issues in the twentieth century on a variety of grounds. Some observers expected the Roman Catholic Church to officially do the same in the 1960s, but Pope Paul VI, the head of the Church, did exactly the opposite on July 25, 1968, when he issued an encyclical (i.e., papal letter) titled *Humanae Vitae* (On Human Life), from which the following selection is taken.*

Paul VI describes the unique characteristics of married love and argues that sexual activity is appropriate only in the context of marriage and then when it is naturally both unitive and procreative, thereby forbidding the use of artificial birth control. In practice, Paul VI's view is not shared by many, including many Catholics. Critics may accuse the Catholic Church of being rigid, patriarchal, or out of touch, while supporters may claim Paul VI's predictions of social ills, such as increased poverty, disease, gender inequalities, and familial instabilities resulting from what he sees as immoral practices, prove him right. Whether this document and others like it show the continuing need for religious voices to help direct people in their daily lives, or serve as an example of the irrelevance of organized religious moral teaching, it nonetheless offers a significant religious perspective on a uniquely modern problem of everyday life.

HUMANAE VITAE
 ENCYCLICAL OF POPE PAUL VI
 ON THE REGULATION OF BIRTH
 JULY 25, 1968

To His Venerable Brothers the Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops and other Local Ordinaries in Peace and Communion with the Apostolic See, to the Clergy and Faithful of the Whole Catholic World, and to All Men of Good Will.

Honored Brothers and Dear Sons, Health and Apostolic Benediction.

The transmission of human life is a most serious role in which married people collaborate freely and responsibly with God the Creator. It has always been a source of great joy to them, even though it sometimes entails many difficulties and hardships.

The fulfillment of this duty has always posed problems to the conscience of married people, but the recent course of human society and the concomitant changes have provoked new questions. The Church cannot ignore these questions, for they concern matters intimately connected with the life and happiness of human beings. [...]

NEW QUESTIONS

3. This new state of things gives rise to new questions. Granted the conditions of life today and taking into account the relevance of married love to the harmony and mutual fidelity of husband and wife, would it not be right to review the moral norms in force till now, especially when it is felt that these can be observed only with the gravest difficulty, sometimes only by heroic effort?

Moreover, if one were to apply here the so called principle of totality, could it not be accepted that the intention to have a less prolific but more rationally planned family might transform an action which renders natural processes infertile into a licit and provident control of birth? Could it not be admitted, in other words, that procreative finality applies to the totality of married life rather than to each single act? A further question is whether, because people are more conscious today of their responsibilities, the time has not come when the transmission of life should be regulated by their intelligence and will rather than through the specific rhythms of their own bodies. [...]

MARRIED LOVE

9. In the light of these facts the characteristic features and exigencies of married love are clearly indicated, and it is of the highest importance to evaluate them exactly.

This love is above all fully human, a compound of sense and spirit. It is not, then, merely a question of natural instinct or emotional drive. It is also, and above all, an act of the free will, whose trust is such that it is meant not only to survive the joys and sorrows of daily life, but also to grow, so that husband and wife become in a way one heart and one soul, and together attain their human fulfillment.

It is a love which is total—that very special form of personal friendship in which husband and wife generously share everything, allowing no unreasonable exceptions and not thinking solely of their own convenience. Whoever really loves his partner loves not only for what he receives, but loves that partner for the partner's own sake, content to be able to enrich the other with the gift of himself.

Married love is also faithful and exclusive of all other, and this until death. This is how husband and wife understood it on the day on which, fully aware of what they were doing, they freely vowed themselves to one another in marriage. Though this fidelity of husband and wife sometimes presents difficulties, no one has the right to assert that it is impossible; it is, on the contrary, always honorable and meritorious. The example of countless married couples proves not only that fidelity is in accord with the nature of marriage, but also that it is the source of profound and enduring happiness.

Finally, this love is fecund. It is not confined wholly to the loving interchange of husband and wife; it also contrives to go beyond this to bring new life into being. “Marriage and conjugal love are by their nature ordained toward the procreation and education of children. Children are really the supreme gift of marriage and contribute in the highest degree to their parents’ welfare.” [...]

OBSERVING THE NATURAL LAW

11. The sexual activity, in which husband and wife are intimately and chastely united with one another, through which human life is transmitted, is, as the recent Council recalled, “noble and worthy.” It does not, moreover, cease to be legitimate even when, for reasons independent of their will, it is foreseen to be infertile. For its natural adaptation to the expression and strengthening of the union of husband and wife is not thereby suppressed. The fact is, as experience shows, that new life is not the result of each and every act of sexual intercourse. God has wisely ordered laws of nature and the incidence of fertility in such a way that successive births are already naturally spaced through the inherent operation of these laws. The Church, nevertheless, in urging men to the observance of the precepts of the natural law, which it interprets by its constant doctrine, teaches that each and every marital act must of necessity retain its intrinsic relationship to the procreation of human life. [...]

UNION AND PROCREATION

12. This particular doctrine, often expounded by the magisterium [collective teaching authority] of the Church, is based on the inseparable connection, established by God, which man on his own initiative may not break, between the unitive significance and the procreative significance which are both inherent to the marriage act.

The reason is that the fundamental nature of the marriage act, while uniting husband and wife in the closest intimacy, also renders them capable of generating new life—and this as a result of laws written into the actual nature of man and of woman. And if each of these essential qualities, the unitive and the procreative, is preserved, the use of marriage fully retains its sense of true mutual love and its ordination to the supreme responsibility of parenthood to which man is called. We believe that our contemporaries are particularly capable of seeing that this teaching is in harmony with human reason.

Source: Paul VI, Pope, *Humanae Vitae* [On human life]. © Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1968. Reprinted with permission.

Death and Afterlife

How people deal with death, and what they believe happens after death, are usually informed by their religious perspectives. Whether the person lives on in some form,

undergoes some kind of transformation, or simply ceases to exist is a matter of opinion often conditioned by religious beliefs or lack thereof. Not all religions have a well-developed theology of death, while others have complex descriptions of the fate of the person after life ends.

The selections in this section illustrate a variety of approaches taken by different religious traditions. Louis de Jaucourt (Document 11), an eighteenth-century Deist and rationalist, carefully avoids any anti-Christian statements in the *Encyclopédie*, one of the first attempted compendiums of human knowledge, but published in France, which at the time was an officially Christian country with a strict censor. Instead, he focuses almost entirely on assuaging fears of death by assuring his audience that the process is usually peaceful and relatively painless. The Parsi (Document 12), a group who settled in India after leaving Persia, have a very unusual way of dealing with the physical remains of the dead that comes directly from the tenets of their faith, known as *Zoroastrianism*. The tombstone engravings of New England Puritans and other Protestant non-conformists (Document 13) show a typical Christian approach. Their dead were buried in the earth and commemorated on tombstones, some of which included elaborate epitaphs that reveal things about what these communities valued and believed.

Even though both groups believed in a final judgment and salvation, burial in earth and separation of remains from other members of the community would be unthinkable to a Parsi, just as allowing bodies to be consumed by carrion birds as the Parsis do would be extremely disrespectful to a Congregationalist preacher. Jaucourt is quiet on the question of the treatment of bodies, although it seems it would not be of special importance to him. Of course, fundamental differences in practice do not always correspond to fundamental differences in belief, but they do add to the richness of this aspect of modern religious life.

11. Louis de Jaucourt: “Death” in the *Encyclopédie*

Taken from the landmark Encyclopédie of Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, one of the first attempts to gather together and organize all of human knowledge, the following selection from the Encyclopédie entry “Death” by an eighteenth-century French nobleman, Louis de Jaucourt, takes great pains to reflect on death as a natural process, and avoids any theological discussions. Writing in the spirit of the Enlightenment, a movement in the eighteenth century that emphasized rational, non-religious knowledge and an increasingly scientific approach to the study not only of the natural world, but of the social world as well, Jaucourt emphasizes what he thinks can be known about death, rather than the things that cannot. As empirical knowledge of the fate of the human after death was not available to him, he relied on other sources of information that he could verify. To Jaucourt, death is best approached as the investigation of natural phenomena, and examining the physiology of death is both more interesting and useful than the condition of an invisible, unmeasurable soul.

While religions often soothe the fear of death with the consolation of continued life after death, Jaucourt has the same goal—to cope with the fear of death—but his approach is very different. Fear of death he associates with ignorance of the actual process of a typical death and the fear of pain. He argues that most people die in calm and peace without pain, and death should not arouse fear—it only does so because of cultural habit and education.

Rather than commenting at all on the fate of the person after death, Jaucourt avoids angering the religious authorities of his time. Instead, he draws on the most recent medical research to explain death as a natural step in the context of the growth and decline of the human organism from its origins in the womb to its fullest development to its decline and eventually the "destruction of the vital organs." Life itself, Jaucourt says, is not an absolute, but a quantifiable, measurable thing, with a greater difference between the quantity of life in a person in full vigor and someone at the point of death than that in the very old or ill and the dead.

Death: destruction of the vital organs so that they cannot be revived. Birth is but a step towards this destruction. [...]

At the moment the foetus is formed, bodily life does not yet exist or is almost nothing, as one of the greatest geniuses of the Academy of Sciences (Buffon) has observed. Little by little, life increases and extends; it acquires substance as the body grows, develops and gains strength; as soon as it begins to decline, the quantity of life diminishes; finally, when it becomes bent, dry and collapses, life withers, contracts and is reduced almost to nothing. We begin to live by degrees, and we finish dying like we begin to live. All the causes of decline continually act on our material being and bring it little by little to dissolution. Death, this striking change of state, which is so feared, is in nature only the last nuance of a previous being; this necessary phase of our bodies' withering away is brought about like all the others that preceded it. Life starts to be extinguished long before it goes out completely; and in fact, there is perhaps a greater distance from old age to youth than from decrepitude to death; for we should not consider life here as an absolute, but as a quantity that can increase, diminish and finally arrive at its necessary destruction. [...]

The true philosophy, he says, is to see things as they really are. Our inner feelings would agree with this philosophy, if they were not perverted by the illusions of our imagination and by the unfortunate habit we have adopted of forging mental phantoms of pleasure and pain. Things are only pleasant or frightening from far away, but to be convinced of this, we need the wisdom and the courage to look at them close up. If we ask city doctors and ministers of the church, who are used to observing the actions of the dying, and who have heard their last words, they will agree that with the exception of a small number of chronically sick people, whose agitation, caused by convulsive movements, seems to indicate that they are suffering, in all other cases, people die peacefully and painlessly. And even those terrible agonies frighten the people present more than they torment the sick person; for how many people have we not seen who, after having survived this last extremity, have lost all memory of what had happened and what they felt: they had truly ceased to be for themselves at the time, since they had to wipe from the number of their days all those they spent in that state, of which they no longer had any idea. [...]

When the scythe of fate is raised to cut off our days, we do not see it, we do not feel it strike—the scythe, did I say? A poetic illusion! Death is not armed with a sharp instrument, no violence comes with it, we finish living by imperceptible degrees. The exhaustion of our forces nullifies all feeling and excites only a vague sensation in us that we feel when we give ourselves up to a vague reverie. From a distance, we fear this state, since we project ourselves into it, but when it arrives we have been weakened by the

gradual steps leading up to it, and the decisive moment comes without our suspecting it and without our thinking about it. This is how most human beings die, and among the small number who remain conscious until their last breath, there is perhaps not a single one who does not, at the same time, still retain hope and who does not persuade himself that he will return to life. For the happiness of mankind, nature has made this feeling stronger than reason; and if we did not awaken terror by the sad attentions and mournful ceremonies that precede death in society, we would not see it coming. [...]

An individual who had been cut off early on from relations with other people, and who had no way of understanding his origins, would believe not only that he had not been born, but even that his life would have no end.... A savage who saw none of his own kind die, would believe he was immortal. So we only fear death so much because of habit, education and prejudice.

But the greatest alarm reigns mainly in people who have lived in the world, in our cities, and whose education has made them more sensitive than others, since the common people, especially in the countryside, look on death without fear; death is the end of the sadness and the calamities of the poor. Death, said Cato, can never be premature for a consul, regrettable or dishonourable for a good man or unhappy for a wise man. [...]

It seems we pay a greater tribute of pain when we come into the world than when we leave it: in the first case, the baby cries, in the second, the old man sighs. At least it is true that we leave this world as we come into it, without knowing it. Death and love are consumed by the same means, by exhalation. We reproduce ourselves when it is from love that we die; when we become nothing (I am only speaking about the body, so let no one accuse me of materialism) it is by the shears of Atropos [a Greek goddess, one of the three Fates, who cut the thread of human life with her scissors]. Let us thank nature, which has granted the liveliest pleasures to the reproduction of our species, and almost always takes the edge off the sensation of pain, in the moments when it cannot keep us alive.

Death is thus not as terrible as we think. From far off we are poor judges of it; it is a spectre that strikes us with terror from a distance and that disappears when we come closer to it. We only form false ideas about it; we look at it not only as the greatest misfortune, but also as an evil accompanied by the most horrible anguish. We even try to increase its dire image in our imagination, and to increase our fears by reasoning about the nature of its pains. But nothing is more ill founded; since what can produce or give rise to it? Shall we say that pain resides in the soul or in the body? The pain of the soul can only be produced by thinking, and the pain of the body is always in proportion to the body's strength or weakness. In the instant of natural death, the body is weaker than ever, so it can only feel very little pain, if it even feels any.

Men fear death like children fear the dark, and only because their imaginations have been alarmed by ghosts that are as empty as they are frightening. All the ceremony of last farewells, the tears of our friends, mourning and the ceremony of the funeral, the convulsions of the body approaching dissolution—this is what tends to frighten us.

Source: Jaucourt, Louis de, "Death [Mort]." In *La Encyclopédie*, edited by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert. Vol. 10. Paris: 1751–1777, 716, s.v. "Mort." Translated by Malcolm Eden. Courtesy of Malcolm Eden.

12. Towers of Silence: Parsi Funeral Practices

The dominant religions in India are Hinduism, Islam, and Buddhism, with some Christianity and a few Zoroastrian Parsis as well. The Parsis are a very small religious minority that has survived on the Indian subcontinent since medieval times, preserving their ethnic and religious identity through great effort. The Parsis still cluster today around the city of Bombay, as they did in the nineteenth century when Monier Monier-Williams, the author of the following account, was writing.

Monier-Williams was born in India to English parents, and became a professor of Sanskrit at Oxford. He was an important Indian scholar, and in this selection he describes his encounter with the funerary practices and religious beliefs of the Zoroastrian sect in Bombay for an English audience whom he would expect to know little or nothing of Zoroastrianism. Zoroastrians follow the teachings of the ancient Persian prophet Zoroaster, who taught a monotheistic, dualist religion that worships one deity called Ahura Mazda. Zoroastrians have a special reverence for fire and the sun, which represent the divine creative energy.

Different groups and cultures have different funerary practices, but this nineteenth-century account shows how one particular group dealt with the remains of its dead and the beliefs about the relationship of the body to the world after death. To the Parsi, the dead are seen as unclean, both ritually and physically, once the process of putrefaction begins. This is consistent with the ancient caste system and majority Hindi religious view in India, where handling the bodies of the dead is considered an undesirable and unclean task.

Rather than burying or burning, which Parsis feared would be disrespectful to the sanctity of the elements of fire and earth, Parsis built a series of large funerary structures called the "Towers of Silence," and they placed the remains of the deceased members of their community on the top in the open, exposed to weather and scavengers until nothing but bones remained—a rapid process thanks to the vultures Monier-Williams describes. The bones were then collected and placed inside the Towers of Silence with the bones of all other deceased Parsis.

The towers and practice still exist today, but the vultures are mostly gone, so solar panels have been installed to speed the decomposition process—an innovation that combines the ancient practice with current technology in the practice of modern religious life.

The Parsis are descendants of the ancient Persians who were expelled from Persia by the Muhammadan conquerors, and who first settle at Surat about 1,100 years ago. According to the last census they do not number more than 70,000 souls, of whom about 50,000 are found in the city of Bombay, the remaining 20,000 in different parts of India, but chiefly in Gujarāt and the Bombay Presidency. . . .

Their religion, as delivered in its original purity by their prophet Zoroaster, and as propounded in the Zand-Avasta, is monotheistic, or, perhaps, rather pantheistic, in spite of its philosophical dualism and the apparent worship of fire and the elements, regarded as visible representations of the Deity. Its morality is summed up in three precepts of two words each—"good thoughts," "good words," "good deeds"; of which the Parsi is constantly reminded by the triple coil of his white cotton girdle. . . .

A man must be born a Brahman or Parsi; no power can convert him into either one or the other. One notable peculiarity, however, distinguishes Parsiism. Nothing similar to its funeral rites prevails among other nations; though the practice of exposing bodies on the tops of rocks is said to prevail among the Buddhists of Bhotan.

The Dakhmas, or Parsi Towers of Silence, are erected in a garden, on the highest point of Malabar Hill—a beautiful rising ground on the north side of Back Bay, noted for the bungalows and compounds of the European and wealthier inhabitants of Bombay, scattered in every direction over its surface.

The garden is approached by a well-constructed private road, all access to which, except to Parsis, is barred by strong iron gates. Thanks to the omnipotent Sir Jamsetjee, no obstacles impeded my advance. The massive gates flew open before me as if by magic. I drove rapidly through a park-like enclosure, and found the courteous Secretary of the Parsi Panchayat, Mr. Nusserwanjee Byramjee, awaiting my arrival at the entrance to the garden. He took me at once to the highest point in the consecrated ground, and we stood together on the terrace of the longest of the three *Sagris*, or Houses of Prayer, which overlook the five Towers of Silence. This principal Sagri contains the sacred fire, which, once kindled and consecrated by solemn ceremonial, is fed day and night with incense and fragrant sandal and never extinguished. The view from this spot can scarcely be surpassed by any in the world....

But what are those five circular structures which appear at intervals rising mysteriously out of the foliage? They are masses of solid masonry, massive enough to last for centuries, built of the hardest black granite, and covered with white chunam, the purity and smoothness of which are disfigured by patches of black fungus-like incrustations. Towers they scarcely deserved to be called; for the height of each is quite out of proportion to its diameter. The largest of the five, built with such solid granite that the cost of erection was three lacs [groups of 100,000] of rupees, seemed 50 or 60 feet in diameter and not more than 25 feet in height. The oldest and smallest of the five was constructed 200 years ago, when the Parsis first settled in Bombay, and is now only used by the Modi family, whose forefathers built it, and here the bones of many kindred generations are commingled. The next oldest was erected in 1756, and the other three during the succeeding century. A sixth tower stands quite apart from the others. It is square in shape, and only used for persons who have suffered death for heinous crimes. The bones of convicted criminals are never allowed to mingle with those of the rest of the community.

But the strangest feature in these strange, unsightly structures, so incongruously intermixed with graceful cypresses and palms, exquisite shrubs, and gorgeous flowers, remains to be described. Though wholly destitute of ornament, and even of the simplest moulding, the parapet of each tower possesses an extraordinary coping, which instantly attracts and fascinates the gaze. It is a coping formed, not of dead stone, but of living vultures. These birds, on the occasion of my visit, had settled themselves side by side in perfect order and in a complete circle around the parapets of the towers, with their heads pointed inwards, and so lazily did they sit there and so motionless was their whole mien that, except for the colour, they might have been carved out of the stonework. So much for the external aspects of the celebrated Towers of Silence. After they have been consecrated by solemn ceremonies no one, except the corpse-bearers, is allowed to enter; nor is any one, not even a Parsi High Priest, permitted to approach within 30 feet of the immediate precincts. An exact model of the interior was, however, shown to me....

While I was engaged with the Secretary in examining the model, a sudden stir among the vultures made us raise our heads. At least a hundred birds, collected round one of the towers, began to show symptoms of excitement, while others swooped down

from neighbouring trees. The cause of this sudden abandonment of their previous apathy soon revealed itself. A funeral was seen to be approaching. However distant the house of a deceased person, and whether he be rich or poor, high or low in rank, his body is always carried to the towers by the official corpse-bearers, called *Nasa-salar*, who form a distinct class, the mourners walking behind. As the bearers are supposed to contract impurity in the discharge of their duty, they are forced to live quite apart from the rest of the community, and are, therefore, highly paid....

The tower selected for the present funeral was one in which other members of the same family had before been laid. The two bearers speedily unlocked the door, reverently conveyed the body of the child into the interior, and, unseen by any one, laid it uncovered in one of the open stone receptacles nearest the central well. In two minutes they re-appeared with the empty bier and white cloth. But scarcely had they closed the door when a dozen vultures swooped down upon the body, and were rapidly followed by flights of others. In five minutes more we saw the satiated birds fly back and lazily settle down again upon the parapet. They had left nothing behind but a skeleton. Meanwhile the bearers were seen to enter a building shaped like a huge barrel. There, as the Secretary informed me, they changed their clothes and washed themselves. Shortly afterwards we saw them come out and deposit their cast-off funeral garments on a stone-receptacle near at hand. Not a thread leaves the garden, lest it should carry defilement into the city. Perfectly new garments are supplied at each funeral. In a fortnight, or at most four weeks, the same bearers return, and with gloved hands and implements resembling tongs place the dry skeleton in the central well. There the bones find their last resting-place, and there the dust of whole generations of Parsis commingling is left undisturbed for centuries.

The revolting sight of the gorged vultures made me turn my back to the towers with ill-concealed abhorrence. I asked the Secretary how it was possible to become reconciled to such a usage. His reply was nearly in the following words:—"Our Prophet Zoroaster, who lived 6,000 years ago, taught us to regard the elements as symbols of the Deity. Earth, fire, water, he said, ought never, under any circumstances, to be defiled by contact with putrefying flesh. Naked, he said, we came into the world, and naked we ought to leave it. But the decaying particles of our bodies should be dissipated as rapidly as possible, and in such a way that neither Mother Earth nor the beings she supports should be contaminated in the slightest degree. In fact our Prophet was the greatest of health officers, and, following his sanitary laws, we build our towers on the tops of hills, above all human habitations. We spare no expense in constructing them of the hardest materials, and we expose our putrescent bodies in open stone receptacles, resting on 14 feet of solid granite, not necessarily to be consumed by vultures, but to be dissipated in the speediest possible manner, and without the possibility of polluting the earth or contaminating a single living being dwelling thereon. God, indeed, sends the vultures, and, as a matter of fact, these birds do their appointed work much more expeditiously than millions of insects would do if we committed our bodies to the ground. In a sanitary point of view nothing can be more perfect than our plan. Even the rain water which washes our skeletons is conducted by channels into purifying charcoal. Here in these five towers rest the bones of all the Parsis that have lived in Bombay for the last 200 years. We form a united body in life, and we are united in death. Even our leader,

Sir Jamsetjee, likes to feel that when he dies he will be reduced to perfect equality with the poorest and humblest of the Parsi community.”

When the Secretary had finished his defence of the Towers of Silence, I could not help thinking that however much such a system may shock our European feelings and ideas, yet our own method of internment, if regarded from a Parsi point of view, may possibly be equally revolting to Parsi sensibilities.

Source: Monier-Williams, Monier. *Modern India and the Indians: Being a Series of Impressions, Notes, and Essays*. London: Trubner and Company, 1878.

13. Colonial Yankee Tombstone Epitaphs

It is the norm in many cultures and religious groups to bury the dead and mark the grave with a monument of some sort. This practice recognizes the individuality of the deceased, and serves to remind the family and larger community of those who have died. Such funeral monuments, when carved in stone, have the advantage of being more durable than many other types of records. Not only can they serve to document the names, lives, and relationships between people, but styles, shapes, locations, and inscriptions can offer insights into the lives and the attitudes toward death and the afterlife of the groups that erected the monuments.

The tombstones transcribed in this selection come from the graveyard in Groton, Massachusetts, a New England town founded in the middle of the seventeenth century. The Groton Old Burying Ground has stones dated as early as 1704, but those that make up this selection date to the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Then, as now, monuments reflected the wealth and status of the deceased. Some of the inscriptions give extensive details of prominent members of the community, such as the pastor of one of the churches, or the colonel, judge, and assemblyman. These epitaphs not only list the social standing and achievements of the dead, but also carefully enumerate their personal virtues, including, of course, the practice of Christian religion and the hope of Christian salvation. However, the longest epitaphs for the most important people are not necessarily the most effective or interesting. Others relate with much greater poignancy the death of small children, or the ravages of smallpox in a family, or the dangers of childbirth, where a woman and her child might both die, leaving a husband without wife or child.

Often New England tombstones were decorated with small sculptural motifs, which are indicated in brackets. Some of these are clearly religious, such as angelic cherub heads, or winged skulls, called Death's Heads, which have been variously interpreted, sometimes as a dour Puritan reminder of mortality, or as a more hopeful symbol of the transience of death. An hourglass indicates the swift passage of time. The phrase "Memento Mori" is Latin and means "Remember [your] mortality." In the eighteenth century world where disease or even pregnancy could easily be mortal, the inscriptions serve as records of everyday life, but also as records of the importance of religion and the consolation of belief in the afterlife for the Christians of Groton.

Underneath This Stone Lies the Body of The
 Revd Caleb Trowbridge, late Pastor of the Church
 of Christ in Groton, born of reputable Parents in the Town
 of Newton, educated at Harvard College in Cambridge

New-England; of such natural and acquir'd Endowments as render'd him an Ornament and a Blessing in the several Relations which he sustain'd: he was a good steward over the House of God, and discharg'd the Duties of his Pastoral relation with Prudence and impartiality, Diligence and Fidelity, He was a tender and loving Husband, an affectionate and kind Parent; an agreeable and faithful friend; and a Useful Member of Society: he was much belovd and respected while he liv'd, and dyed greatly lamented, the 9th day of septr AD, 1760, in the 69th year of his Age and 46st of his Ministry, and is we trust receiving the reward of his Labours in the Kingdom of his Lord: and in Honour to his Memory his loving People have erected this Monument over his Grave.
Blessed are the Dead that die in the Lord for they rest from their Labour and their works do follow them.
The Memory of ye Just is Blessed

...

Memento [hour glass] Mori
[Death's head]
Here lies ye Body of Simeon Ames ye son
of Mr. Samuel and Mrs. Hannah Ames. A hopeful & promising young man, but cruel death that regards none snatched him out of the world in the Bloom of Life, and early frustrated the fond hopes of his indulgent Parents, and the raised Expectation of his acquaintance, he was much beloved in his Life and greatly Lamented in his death he died of the small pox decemeber ye 10th A D 1760 Aged 19 years 5 months and 6 days
Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth for thus saith the Lord I Love them that Love me and those that seek me shall find me.

...

[Cherub's Head]
Memento Mori
Here lies the
Body of Joseph
Davis, son of Mr.
Benjn. Davis & Mrs.
Sarah his wife, he
died Febr. 13th 1761
In ye 16th year of his age
Likeways Elizabeth there
Daughter died Febr. 27th 1762.
In ye 12 month of her age.

...



Old New England cemetery under a canopy of fall foliage in late October. © Paula Stephens / Dreamstime.com.

Memento Mori
[Cherub's Head]
here lies the
Body of Mr. Josiah
Boyden, who depar-
ted this Life Octr.
17th 1772. in ye 72d
year of his age.
Also 8 of his Children 5
sons & 3 daughters all
lyeing near this place

...

Here lies the
Body of Joseph
Stone son of Mr.
Nathaniel Stone
& Mrs. Sybel his
wife who died
Novr. 10th 1772.
Aged 2 years.

...

Memento mori
[Cherub]
Here lies Buried ye
Body of Mrs.
Prudence Warren
wife of Mr. Abijah

Warren; she departed this Life Febr.
1st 1773. Aged 23
Years. Likeways a
little babe still born
10 days before she died.

...

Here lye the remains of Colln. William
Lawrence, who departed this Life May 19th
A.D. 1764. Anno Aetatis 67.
he was a Gentleman who in military life rose
from the rank of Capn. Lieut. to the command of
a Regiment. In the year 1739, he was made a Justice
of the peace afterwards Quorum unus; a special
Justice of the court of common Pleas for the County
of Middlesex, and a standing Justice of the Court.
he for many years represented the Town of Groton
with the Districts of Pepperrell and Shirley in the
general Assembly of this Province. In all his public
betrustments he acquitted himself with fidelity
and honour. In private life his behavior was
becoming his Christian profession. He was remark-
ably industrious in the improvement of time, Just in his
dealings, a good neighbor, a faithful friend, patient
of injuries and ready to forgive them, gratefull to
Benefactors, very ready in affording assistance to
the widow and fatherless, and mercifull to all proper
Objects of pity. He was a strict observer of the
Lord's Day, a constant and serious attender on
the public exercises of Religin, a devout worship-
er of God in his family.
Blessed are the dead who dye in the Lord.
Here also lies the Body of Mrs. Susanna
Lawrence Relict of the above named Colln.
William Lawrence
She was a woman of Piety and good Sense,
An industrious, Prudent wife; and indulgent
parent, a good Neighbour, a faithfull Friend,
A hater of Hypocrisy and Guile; a lover of
Hospitality, Patiet under Affliction and Resigned to
The will of Heaven in death by which she
was called out of the world to Receive the
Rewards of a faithfull Servant on the 10th of
Sept. & in the 80th year of her Age. AD: 1771.

Source: Green, Samuel A. *Epitaphs from the Old Burying Ground in Groton, Massachusetts*. Boston: Little, Brown, & Company, 1878.

GLOSSARY OF INDIVIDUALS AND TERMS

Compiled by John Wagner and Mariah Gumpert.

See the Appendix for biographical information on the authors of documents included in this volume.

Adams, John (1735–1826). The second president of the United States, serving from 1797 to 1801. Adams was also one of the Founding Fathers of the American Republic, serving as a delegate from Massachusetts in the Continental Congresses of the 1770s, where he was a leading advocate of American independence and a member of the committee charged with drafting the Declaration of Independence. He was also congressional commissioner to France (1778–79), one of the American commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Paris (1782) ending the Revolutionary War, minister to Great Britain (1785–88), and first vice president of the United States. (1789–97). He was a friend and, for a time, political opponent of Thomas Jefferson, and the father of John Quincy Adams, the sixth president of the United States. His correspondence with Jefferson and with his wife, Abigail Adams, is an important source for American politics and society in the Revolutionary and Early National periods.

American Civil War. See Civil War (American).

American Revolution (1775–1783). The American Revolution was a late eighteenth-century movement by which the 13 English colonies in North America sought and won their independence from Britain. After more than a decade of political dispute, the colonies formally declared their independence in July 1776, proclaiming themselves the United States of America. The resulting American Revolutionary War, or War for American Independence, culminated in American military victory at the Battle of Yorktown in 1781 and British recognition of the new American Republic in the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

Animism. A belief system that attributes souls or spirits to animals, plants, geographical features, and other natural phenomena and objects.

Anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is prejudice, hostility, or discrimination directed toward Jews as a religious, racial, or ethnic group.

Apprentice System. A system of training skilled craft workers by attaching them to an experienced craftsman for a certain term of service, thereby allowing them to learn

their craft on the job. The apprenticeship system was developed in the late Middle Ages by guilds and town governments.

Arcadia. Named for a region of southern Greece, Arcadia (*l'Acadie*) was a French colony in eastern Canada that comprised all or part of the present-day Canadian provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, and the American state of Maine. In 1713, Britain assumed control of the colony under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. In the 1750s, many French Arcadians, suspected of disloyalty by the British, were expelled from the colony, with a large number eventually settling in Louisiana. Also called Acadia.

Armenia/Armenians. An ancient kingdom lying between the Black and Caspian Seas. In the sixteenth century, Ottoman Turkey and Persia extinguished Armenian independence by dividing the country between them; in the twentieth century, much of the formerly Persian-controlled portion became a Soviet republic. In 1915 during World War I, the Turkish government, suspecting the Armenians within Turkey of being pro-Russian, began a severe repression that is estimated to have led to the deaths of more than a million Armenians and has become known as the Armenian Genocide. In 1991, the Soviet Republic of Armenia became an independent state.

Ashkenazi Jews. The Ashkenazi (“Germanic Jews”) are descended from central and northern European Jews who spoke Yiddish and originated in communities in western Germany. In the middle ages, many moved eastward to establish new communities across eastern Europe and into Russia. *See also* Sephardic Jews.

Ashura, Day of. The tenth day of Muharram, the first month of the Islamic calendar. For the Shiite Muslim, Ashura is a day of mourning for Husayn ibn Ali, the grandson of the prophet Muhammad, who was killed in battle on 10 Muharram in A.D. 680. For Sunni Muslims, Ashura is a day when fasting is recommended but not required.

Baby Boom. This term refers to the sharp increase in birth rates experienced by the United States and other countries in the years following World War II. “Baby Boomer” describes someone born between 1946 and 1964.

Ballets Russes. French for the “Russian Ballets,” the *Ballets Russes* is the name of a ballet troupe founded in Paris by Russian impresario Serge Diaghilev in 1909. The combination of talent from the Russian Imperial Ballets in St. Petersburg and the innovative, avant-garde collaborations with Russian and Western composers, artists, and choreographers made the *Ballet Russes* a sensation in Paris and elsewhere and greatly influenced the overall development of ballet in the twentieth century.

Bedouins. Arab nomads who live in small groups in the desert regions running from the Atlantic coast of Saharan North Africa in the west to the deserts of Arabia in the east. Since the 1960s, many Bedouins have left their traditional nomadic lifestyle to settle in the cities of North Africa and the Middle East.

Bentham, Jeremy (1748–1832). An English philosopher, social reformer, and advocate of utilitarianism, an ethical philosophy that measures the moral worth of an action by its utility, or the overall benefit it provides for society as a whole. *See also* Panopticon.

Bonaparte, Napoleon. *See* Napoleon.

Boyar. A member of the feudal aristocracy of Russia and other eastern European societies from the tenth through the seventeenth centuries.

Boy Scouts. An organization of boys who are part of a youth movement begun in 1907 by Robert Baden-Powell, a British military officer whose program is designed to build character, citizenship, and physical fitness. The Scouting movement has expanded around the world, and today also includes Scouting organizations for girls.

British East India Company. Established in 1600 as an English joint-stock trading company with special trade privileges in India and East Asia, the British East India Company had by the nineteenth century acquired political and military control of India and other British colonies in Asia. Nationalized in 1858, following the Indian Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, the company saw oversight of all its dominions transferred to the British government.

Buddhism. Buddhism is a religious philosophy that developed in India in the fifth century B.C. from the teachings of Siddhartha Gautama, who is known as Gautama Buddha or simply “the Buddha.” The fourth largest religion in the world today behind Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism, Buddhism has divided into two major branches: Mahayana Buddhism, practiced in China, Vietnam, Korea, Tibet, and Japan, and Theravada Buddhism, practiced in Sri Lanka, Thailand, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, and other parts of southern Asia. *See also* Zen Buddhism.

Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Established in 1824 as the Office of Indian Affairs, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is a federal agency that oversees the U.S. government’s relations with Native Americans. Acquiring its present name in 1947, the BIA, now part of the Department of the Interior, today supervises millions of acres of land held in trust for Native American tribes.

Burke, Edmund (1729–1797). An eighteenth-century Irish politician and author, Burke was one of the leading political theorists of his time. He was a strong supporter of the American colonies during the American Revolution and, as appeared in his most influential work, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), a strong opponent of the French Revolution. Burke is today regarded as the father of Anglo-American conservatism.

Byron, George Gordon [Lord Byron] (1788–1824). An eighteenth-century English poet, who, with John Keats and Percy Bysshe Shelley, is considered a leader of the Romantic movement. Byron greatly influenced many later English and American poets, and he lent his name to a new type of dark, flawed, but still attractive “Byronic” hero. He died while fighting in the Greek War of Independence against the Ottoman Turks. *See also* Keats, John.

Canton System. A system of trade regulation employed by the government of China between 1760 and 1842. Designed to control and limit the extent of European trade and influence in China, the Canton system restricted British trade to the harbor of Canton, where specially designated Chinese merchants acted as middlemen between British

traders and Chinese citizens, with whom the British were forbidden to trade directly. The system collapsed in 1842 following the Chinese defeat in the First Opium War.

Capitalism. An economic and social system in which the means of production are, in most cases, privately owned and operated and not under the control or direction of the state. In a capitalist system, the rights of the individual in property and labor are recognized and prices, wages, incomes, production, distribution, and other economic factors are determined by the operation of the market, not by governmental action. From roughly the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, capitalism gradually replaced feudalism as the dominant economic system in the West.

Carroll, Lewis (1832–1898). Lewis Carroll is the pen name for the Reverend Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, a mathematician and Anglican clergyman who is best known as the author of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and nonsense poems such as “The Hunting of the Snark.” Noted for their whimsical word play and inventive fantasy these works have been enjoyed by both adults and children and have heavily influenced later writers.

Catholic Reformation. The Catholic Reformation is the name given to the period of reform and revival that occurred in the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries roughly parallel to the Protestant Reformation. Important events included the Council of Trent (1545–1563), the reform of the liturgy and clerical training, the emergence of new spiritual movements and devotional life, the founding and reformation of religious orders such as the Jesuits, educational and missionary activity, and the defining and clarification of what constituted official Catholic doctrine and practice. Also known as the Counter Reformation. *See also* Protestant Reformation.

Charles I (1600–1649). King of England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1625 to 1649. An advocate of the divine right of kings, Charles fought the forces of Parliament during the English Civil War in the 1640s. Upon his defeat, Charles was tried, convicted, and executed for treason in 1649, when the English monarchy was abolished until the restoration of his son, Charles II, in 1660. *See also* Divine Right; English Civil War.

Chipewyan. The Chipewyan are a Native American people living in the arctic regions of Canada around Hudson Bay. They are not, despite the similarity in the names, related to the Chippewa, or Ojibwa people, who live in southern Canada and the northern United States.

Cholera. An infectious disease caused by the bacterium *Vibrio cholerae*. Potentially fatal within hours, transmission of cholera in humans is caused by contaminated food, water, or waste. Thought to be endemic to India, cholera spread via trade routes to Russia and then into Europe. Severe epidemics of cholera in various parts of the world in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries caused many deaths, although with modern sanitation practices cholera is no longer considered a serious health threat in Europe and North America.

Chop (of tea). A certain number of chests all carrying tea of the same manufacture and quality.

Church of England. The official state Church in England, also known as the Anglican Church. The monarch of England has been head of the Church since 1534, when Henry VIII separated the Church in England from the Roman Catholic Church. The English Church subsequently persecuted Roman Catholics and other religious groups such as the Puritans and adopted many of the doctrines and practices of continental Protestant churches. *See also* Protestant Reformation.

Civil War (American) (1861–1865). Also known as the War Between the States, the American Civil War was a four-year conflict fought between the United States of America and the Confederate States of America, a group of 11 southern slave states that had seceded (i.e., withdrawn) from the United States following the 1860 election of Abraham Lincoln as president. The Confederacy was defeated by 1865, and the states that had comprised it eventually returned to full membership in the United States. In addition, slavery was outlawed, and the repercussions of the war still effect American life. *See also* Confederacy.

Clausewitz, Karl von (1780–1831). A nineteenth-century Prussian soldier, historian, and military theorist best known for his military treatise *Vom Kriege* (*On War*), which was based upon his participation in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and his extensive research into other wars in history. The first to apply a philosophical approach to military thinking, Clausewitz revolutionized military administration and organization in the nineteenth century.

Cold War. The political, military, and ideological conflict between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, that emerged after the end of World War II in the mid-1940s. Marked by proxy wars in places like Afghanistan and Vietnam, a nuclear arms race, and geopolitical maneuvering, the Cold War never became a hot war, or open, full-scale military conflict. The collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s ended the Cold War.

Colonialism. Colonialism is the subjugation by a nation of usually non-contiguous lands and peoples outside its borders, or the ideology used to support such colonial domination. Colonizing powers generally control and exploit the resources and institutions of the colony, and may govern or replace the native population. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, much of Africa, Australia, and Asia was under the colonial dominance of one or another European power.

Communism. An economic and social system that seeks to create a classless and stateless society through communal ownership of the means of production and the elimination of free markets and private property. Based on the writings and theories of Karl Marx and others, communism is one of the philosophies and ideologies that comprise the broader socialist movement. While promising equality in a stateless and classless world society, most communist states have been unfree and authoritarian. The governing philosophy of the Soviet Union and its satellites until the 1990s, communism today is still the official philosophy of the People's Republic of China and various other states. *See also* Capitalism; Marx, Karl.

Comte, Auguste (1798–1857). A nineteenth-century French thinker best known for developing positivism, a philosophical theory that only scientific knowledge is authentic, or positive knowledge. In developing a positivist science of society he coined the term “sociology.”

Confederacy/Confederate States of America (CSA). A group of 11 southern slave states that seceded (i.e., withdrew) from the United States following the election of Abraham Lincoln as president in 1860 and formed the Confederate States of America in 1861. Never recognized by the United States or any other country as an independent nation, the Confederacy was composed of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas. The CSA fought the American Civil War between 1861 and 1865, lost, and was dissolved with the end of the war. Its constituent states returned to the United States. *See also* Civil War (American).

Coolidge, Calvin (1872–1933). The thirtieth president of the United States, serving from 1923 to 1929. He was elected vice president in 1920 under Warren G. Harding, whom he succeeded as president when Harding died of a heart attack. He won the presidential election in a landslide in 1924. Popular and Republican, Coolidge’s pro-business approach to the office of president coincided with the stable, economically booming years of the 1920s.

Copland, Aaron (1900–1990). Copland was an American composer of concert and film music. He is best known for integrating modern and folk music into a distinctly American style of musical composition in works such as *Appalachian Spring* and *Fanfare for the Common Man*. As a composer, score writer, and conductor, Copland was one of the foremost figures in twentieth century music.

Counter-Reformation. *See* Catholic Reformation.

Cowpox. A disease of the skin caused by a virus that was used in the late eighteenth century to devise a vaccine for a far deadlier but related disease, smallpox.

Crimean War (1853–1856). Fought between Russia and an alliance comprising Britain, France, Piedmont, and the Ottoman Empire, the Crimean War occurred mainly on Russia’s Crimean Peninsula in the Black Sea. Despite the first wartime use of railroads and telegraphs, the war was poorly conducted on both sides and prompted military reforms in its aftermath.

Crompton, Samuel (1753–1827). An English inventor and pioneer of the spinning industry who is best known as the inventor of the spinning mule, a device that combined the water frame with the spinning jenny and allowed for the creation of a large amount of high quality textiles in a short amount of time.

Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). A decade-long political and social campaign initiated by Mao Zedong in 1966 in the People’s Republic of China. The campaign, which led to intense political factionalism, social chaos, and economic disruption in China, also resulted in mass deportations, the destruction of cultural artifacts and traditions, and the deaths of a million Chinese. *See also* Mao Zedong.

d'Alembert, Jean le Rond (1717–1783). A French Enlightenment mathematician, physicist, and philosopher who was coeditor of the *Encyclopédie* with Denis Diderot. *See also* Diderot, Denis; Enlightenment.

Davis, Jefferson (1808–1889). An American politician and slaveholder who served as first and only president of the Confederate States of America from 1861 to 1865. After the war, he published *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* in 1881 and completed *A Short History of the Confederate States of America* shortly before his death. *See also* Civil War (American); Confederacy/Confederate States of America.

Decolonization. Decolonization refers to the ending of colonialism, and specifically to the shift from colonial rule to autonomy of most of the various colonial possessions of Western powers in Africa and Asia during the years following the end of World War II in 1945. *See also* Colonialism.

Deist/Deism. A religious philosophy that bases belief in the existence and nature of God on reason, rather than, like Christianity, Islam, and Judaism, upon divine revelation through sacred scriptures. Deists generally reject the supernatural, believing that God does not intervene in human affairs. Often associated with Enlightenment thought, Deism was influential in Britain and America in the eighteenth century. *See also* Enlightenment.

Democracy. From the Greek meaning “rule of the people,” democracy is a form of government usually characterized by competitive elections, freedom of speech and press, civilian control of the military, the rule of law, and adherence to the philosophical principle of equal rights. In a representative democracy, such as the United States, the people elect representatives to act on their behalf for a certain term; in a direct democracy, such as Athens in the fifth century B.C., sovereignty is lodged in an assembly comprising all citizens of the state who choose to participate in public affairs. *See also* Monarchy, Theocracy.

Diaghilev, Sergei (1872–1929). A Russian art critic, art patron, ballet impresario, and founder of the *Ballets Russes*, the ballet company from which emerged many of the most famous dancers and choreographers of the twentieth century. Diaghilev's most famous collaboration was with composer Igor Stravinsky, from whom he commissioned *The Firebird* (1910), *Petrushka* (1911), and *The Rite of Spring* (1913). After the Russian Revolution of 1917, Diaghilev stayed away from Russia, and the new Soviet regime condemned him as an example of bourgeois decadence and Soviet art historians ignored him for more than 60 years. *See also* Ballets Russes; Modernism; Russian Revolution; Stravinsky, Igor.

Diderot, Denis (1713–1784). An eighteenth-century French Enlightenment author and philosopher who was editor, with Jean le Rond d'Alembert, of the *Encyclopédie*. *See also* d'Alembert, Jean le Rond; *Encyclopédie*; Enlightenment.

Divine Right. A political and religious idea holding that a monarch derives his right to rule from the will of God, and not from any temporal authority, including the will of his subjects or previous law. It thus conflicts with democratic and constitutionalist

ideas. In England, divine right ideas were associated with the early seventeenth-century Stuart kings, James I and his son Charles I. *See also* Charles I; Monarchy.

Domesticity. In the nineteenth century, domesticity was the dominant belief of the upper and middle classes in the United States and Europe that the ideal woman was delicate, virtuous, and submissive to male authority in society. The private home was regarded as the proper sphere of women and parenting their proper role. The ideal of feminine domesticity waned in the early twentieth century with the rise of feminism and the movement for women's voting rights, but then revived in a more modern form in the United States in the 1950s, when the stay-at-home mother with children and working father were seen as the ideal family.

Dorsey, James Owen (1848–1895). An American ethnologist and missionary known primarily for his ethnographic and linguistic studies of the Siouan tribes of the Great Plains.

Doubleday, Abner (1819–1893). A nineteenth-century American military officer and Union Civil War general. Although recent research has thrown much doubt on the story, Doubleday is best known as the inventor of baseball, a game he is said to have devised in a cow pasture near Cooperstown, New York, in 1839.

Dualism. A moral or spiritual belief that accepts the existence of two fundamental concepts, which often are equal but opposed to each other, such as harmony and conflict, or good and evil.

Duchamp, Marcel (1887–1968). A French Surrealist and Dadaist artist whose work and philosophy of art strongly influenced the development of art in the twentieth century. His later career was as a chess master. Among his most famous works are *Nude Descending a Staircase* and his readymade sculptures, especially *Fountain*—which was a urinal.

Ecotourism. Ecotourism is a form of tourism that has become increasingly popular in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. It generally focuses on volunteerism, personal growth, and learning new ways to live ecologically sound lives and typically involves environmentally sustainable travel to destinations where plants, animals, and current culture are primary attractions.

Edict of Fontainebleau (1685). Issued in 1685 by King Louis XIV of France, the Edict of Fontainebleau revoked the 1598 Edict of Nantes, which had granted French Protestants, known as Huguenots, freedom of worship. The Edict of Fontainebleau formalized Louis's policy of persecuting Huguenots. *See also* Edict of Nantes.

Edict of Nantes (1598). Issued in 1598 by King Henry IV of France, the Edict of Nantes, in an effort to end the French wars of religion, granted freedom of conscience to French Protestants, known as Huguenots. Protestants were offered amnesty and restoration of their civil rights. The Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685. *See also* Edict of Fontainebleau.

Edwardian. A term used in Britain (and to some extent in the United States) to describe the political and social trends of the period 1901 to 1910, the reign of King

Edward VII. Often extended to the start of World War I in 1914, the period was one of important changes, such as workers and women's movements, but also the height of British imperial power and great cultural opulence.

Einstein, Albert (1879–1955). A twentieth-century German theoretical physicist best known for his theory of relativity and many other advancements in theoretical physics. He is perhaps the most recognized scientist of the last century, and the winner of the 1921 Nobel Prize in Physics.

Encyclopédie. A highly influential encyclopedia published in France between 1751 and 1772, with later updates to 1780. Edited by the French *philosophes* Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, the *Encyclopédie* was designed to be a compendium of human knowledge; it eventually comprised 35 volumes and over 71,000 articles and 3,000 illustrations. Part of its great influence rested on the fact that it was written in French, the European language of diplomacy and government, and on its effective presentation and espousal of Enlightenment ideals. *See also* d'Alembert, Jean le Rond; Diderot, Denis; Enlightenment; *Philosophes*.

English Civil War (1642–1651). A series of seventeenth-century English military conflicts fought between the forces of Parliament and those of the king. The first two wars ended with the execution of King Charles I in 1649. The war ended the monopoly of the Church of England and established, following the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the principle that the king could not rule without the consent of Parliament. *See also* Charles I; Glorious Revolution; Parliament.

Enlightenment. An eighteenth-century European intellectual movement that advocated human reason as the primary basis of authority, and questioned the authority of such institutions as the Church and the aristocracy. Centered in France, Britain, and Germany, the Enlightenment influenced political, social, and religious thought in all of Europe. *See also* *Philosophes*.

Estates General. A French legislative assembly comprising the three classes or estates of the realm—nobility, clergy, and commoners. The estates general, which had to be summoned by the king, met infrequently from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries and not at all in the eighteenth century until it was summoned in 1789, just prior to the French Revolution. *See also* French Revolution.

Ethnography. A twentieth century academic discipline that undertakes the study, based on fieldwork, of human social phenomena.

Eucharist. Derived from a Greek word meaning “thanksgiving,” the Eucharist is one of the most common forms of Christian worship. The ritual is believed by most Christians to have been instituted by Jesus during the Last Supper with his disciples on the eve of his crucifixion. Almost every Christian denomination celebrates Eucharist in some form, though the meaning and significance of the rite varies by denomination. *See also* Mass; Roman Catholic Church; Transubstantiation.

Exurbs. A semi-rural region lying beyond the suburbs of a city. *See also* Suburbs.

Feminism. A number of social, cultural, and political movements, theories, and philosophies, emerging particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which are concerned with gender inequalities and rights for women.

Feudalism. A political and social system, prominent in Europe from the early Middle Ages to the fifteenth century that was based upon the giving of a grant of land by a ruler or noble to a knight or lesser noble in return for military service. In the later Middle Ages, services given by vassals could be legal, political, economic, or domestic, as well as military.

Forty-niner. Name given to one who participated in the California gold rush of 1849.

Foucault, Michel (1926–1984). A French philosopher, historian, critic, and sociologist best known for his critical studies of various social institutions, especially psychiatry, medicine, and the prison system, as well as for his work on the history of human sexuality.

French and Indian War (1754–1763). The North American phase of an Anglo-French conflict that was known in Europe as the Seven Years War. The American war is so-named because it pitted British forces and colonists against the French and their Indian allies. The war resulted in the British conquest of all of North America east of the Mississippi River.

French Revolution (1789–1799). A period of political and social upheaval in France at the end of the eighteenth century. Inspired by Enlightenment ideals, the French Revolution led to the overthrow of the French monarchy, and the suppression of the privileges of the aristocracy and the Catholic Church. Various attempts at establishing a French republic ensued. Marked by war abroad and civil chaos and the Terror within, the Revolutionary period ended with the rise of Napoleon to power. *See also* Enlightenment; Napoleon; Robespierre, Maximilien.

Gautama. *See* Buddhism.

Glorious Revolution (1688). The name given to the overthrow of King James II and his supplanting on the thrones of England, Scotland, and Ireland by his Dutch son-in-law William of Orange and his daughter Mary, who thereafter ruled jointly as William III and Mary II. The Glorious Revolution secured a Protestant succession and established the principle that the monarch must rule with the consent of Parliament. *See also* Divine Right; English Civil War.

Graham, Martha (1894–1991). An American dancer and choreographer who is considered an originator of modern dance and one of the most influential dancers of the twentieth century. Her dance company produced a host of well-known performers, and she taught dance and movement to a variety of actors and performers well into her 80s.

Greeley, Horace (1811–1872). A nineteenth-century American newspaper editor and political reformer who is best known for his opposition to slavery and his advocacy of other reform movements. His newspaper, the *New York Tribune*, was one of the most influential publications in the United States from the 1840s to the 1870s.

Guild. An association of craftspeople producing a particular product. Guilds were especially prevalent in medieval Europe, where they controlled prices, wages, labor, and training. *See also* Apprentice System.

Hajj. The pilgrimage to Mecca in Arabia made annually by thousands of Muslims. The hajj is one of the Pillars of Islam and must be carried out at least once in a lifetime by every able-bodied Muslim able to afford the trip. *See also* Pillars of Islam.

Hametz/Chametz. In Jewish dietary tradition, hametz is food made from one of the five species of grain—wheat, barley, rye, oats, and spelt—in which leavening or fermentation induced by the presence of water has taken place. Traditionally, all hametz must be removed from Jewish homes for the celebration of Passover.

Harem. A harem is a separate portion of a polygynous household designated for women and that is strictly forbidden to outside men. The idea originated in the Islamic Middle East and came to the attention of the West through the Ottoman Empire, the sultan of which maintained a large harem of wives and concubines in his palace. *See also* Ottoman Empire; Polygamy.

Hinduism. A polytheistic religion originating in India in the second millennium B.C., Hinduism is the third largest religion in the world after Christianity and Islam, with the majority of its adherents in India and South Asia. It is also the oldest continually practiced religion on earth., Hinduism has no single founder and is today an amalgam of various beliefs and traditions. *See also* Buddhism.

Hitler, Adolf (1889–1945). Leader of the German National Socialist (Nazi) Party and chancellor and dictator of Germany from 1933 to 1945. Hitler's aggressive foreign policy initiated World War II in Europe, and his anti-Semitism and racially-charged nationalism led to the deaths of six million Jews and millions of others who were considered opponents of the regime or otherwise undesirable. *See also* Anti-Semitism; Holocaust.

Holocaust. A term used to describe the killing of some six million European Jews during World War II as part of a deliberate plan of extermination carried out by the German National Socialist (Nazi) regime of Adolph Hitler and its allies. The Hebrew term for the Holocaust is Shoah, which means “calamity.” Although the Nazis also murdered members of many other groups, many scholars do not include them within the Holocaust, which is defined strictly as a genocide of the Jews. *See also* Hitler, Adolf.

House of Commons. *See* Parliament.

House of Lords. *See* Parliament.

Huguenot. The name given to members of the Protestant Reformed Church of France from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. In the seventeenth century, many Huguenots left France to settle in England, Ireland, Germany, and the Americas. *See also* Edict of Fontainebleau; Edict of Nantes.

Imperialism. The extension of a nation's power over another nation by establishing economic, political, and cultural control, either by direct, territorial conquest or more

informal means. Imperialism also describes the ideology of the superiority of imperialist powers that legitimates the subordination and domination of foreign peoples. Modern European imperialism reached its zenith in the nineteenth century, when European states competed with one another to increase their prestige and extend their control across wide areas of Africa and Asia.

Indian Territory. This describes U.S. land set aside by the Indian Intercourse Act of 1834 for the use of Native Americans. The Indian Territory served as a destination for tribes, such as the Cherokee, who were removed from their ancestral lands by the government policy of Indian removal. By the late nineteenth century, the Indian Territory had been reduced to the land comprising the present-day state of Oklahoma, and then, with the organization of the Oklahoma Territory in 1890, to just the eastern half of the Territory. The Indian Territory was extinguished when Oklahoma was admitted to the Union in 1907.

Industrial Revolution. A period beginning in the eighteenth century characterized by the application of power-driven machinery to manufacturing, transportation, and agriculture, accompanied by widespread social, cultural, economic, and political changes. The movement began in earnest in Europe in the mid-eighteenth century, particularly in Britain, and then spread in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the United States and elsewhere and still continues today in some parts of the world. *See also* Capitalism.

Invisible Hand. A metaphor coined by Scottish economist Adam Smith. In his *The Wealth of Nations* and other writings, Smith argued that in a free market an individual pursuing his own self-interest also tends to promote the good of the entire community; the individual is led, as if by an “invisible hand,” to take actions leading to unintended ends that will benefit the whole of society.

Iranian Revolution (1979). A 1979 revolution that replaced the Iranian monarchy under Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi of the Pahlavi Dynasty with an Islamic republic led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who had returned to Iran from exile in France to lead the revolutionary movement. *See also* Mohammad Reza Pahlavi; Pahlavi Dynasty.

Jay, John (1745–1829). An American statesman, diplomat, and jurist who co-authored the *Federalist Papers* with Alexander Hamilton and James Madison and who served as first chief justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1789 to 1795. During the American Revolution, he was American minister to Spain and France and helped negotiate the Treaty of Paris with Britain, which ended the American Revolutionary War. *See also* American Revolution; Hamilton, Alexander; Madison, James.

Jenner, Edward (1749–1823). A nineteenth-century English scientist and doctor who discovered and introduced the use of the smallpox vaccine.

Jim Crow Laws. State and local laws passed and enforced between 1876 and 1965, mainly in southern states of the United States, which mandated “separate but equal” facilities and accommodations for whites and blacks, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court’s 1896 decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Named for “Jump Jim Crow,” a song-and-dance caricature of African Americans, these laws almost invariably led to inferior

treatment for African Americans. The U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* struck down segregated schools, while most other Jim Crow laws were overturned by the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Johnson, Lyndon B. (1908–1973). The 36th president of the United States. A Democrat from Texas, Johnson was vice president under President John Kennedy, and assumed office following Kennedy's assassination in 1963. Elected in his own right in 1964, Johnson pursued an ambitious social agenda he called the Great Society. In foreign policy, Johnson escalated American military involvement in the Vietnam War, which led to increasing anti-war unrest in the United States. *See also* Vietnam War.

Kaaba. A cube-shaped building that predates Islam located within the Masjid al-Haram Mosque in Mecca that is the holiest of Muslim sites. Muslim pilgrims who come to Mecca for their Hajj make a ritual circumambulation around the Kaaba and Muslims throughout the world turn in the direction of the Kaaba to make their daily prayers. The eastern corner of the Kaaba contains a black stone generally thought to be an ancient meteorite. *See also* Hajj; Masjid al-Haram; Mecca.

Kami. *See* Shinto.

Kasparov, Garry (1963–). A Russian chess grandmaster and the youngest person to ever win the World Chess Championship, which he captured in 1985 at the age of 22. In 1997, Kasparov famously lost a match to the IBM computer, Deep Blue.

Keats, John (1795–1821). A nineteenth-century English poet, who, with his friends Shelley and Byron, was a leader of the English Romantic movement. Although much criticized during his life, his poetry greatly influenced later poets, such as Tennyson. His most famous works are his odes, such as "Ode to Psyche," "Ode on a Grecian Urn," "Ode to a Nightingale," "Ode on Melancholy," and "To Autumn." *See also* Byron, George Gordon.

King, Martin Luther, Jr. (1929–1968). American clergyman, orator, and one of the leaders of the American Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s. King helped organize the 1963 March on Washington, where he delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. He raised public awareness of the Civil Rights Movement. In 1964, King became the youngest person to receive the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to end segregation and racial discrimination through civil disobedience and nonviolent protest. He was assassinated in Memphis in 1968.

Kipling, Rudyard (1865–1936). An Indian-born British author and poet who, through such works as *The Jungle Book* (1894), *Just So Stories* (1902), "The White Man's Burden" (1899) and "Gunga Din" (1890), became one of the most popular writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A talented and prolific writer, the militarism and imperialism present in many of his works have also made him controversial. He won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1907. *See also* Imperialism.

Kitaro, Nishida (1870–1945). A prominent twentieth-century Japanese philosopher and founder of the Kyoto School of Philosophy.

Kremlin. A fortress complex in central Moscow that dates in its current form to the fifteenth century and includes palaces, cathedrals, and an enclosing wall and towers. The complex serves as the official residence of the president of Russia and the seat of its government. The term “the Kremlin” is often used as a shorthand for the Russian (and previously the Soviet) government. *See also* Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

Laissez-faire. Laissez-faire, from a French phrase meaning “to let be,” is an economic policy that favors minimal intervention by the state in the form of regulation and taxation that goes beyond what is thought necessary to maintain liberty, order, and security. Laissez-faire economics responded to the interventionism of eighteenth century mercantilism and were popular through the nineteenth century, though most modern governments exert a significant amount of economic control. *See also* Capitalism, Mercantilism.

Livre/Sous. French units of currency used until the introduction of the franc in 1795.

Lorestan. A province and historical territory of western Iran that is centered in the Zagros Mountains with its capital at Khorramabad. Lorestan, which means “land of the Lurs,” is one of the oldest settled regions of Iran. The Lurs, who inhabit much of south-western Iran, speak Lori, an Iranian language closely related to Persian.

Lowell System. A textile factory system employed in the early nineteenth century in the New England textile mills of Francis Cabot Lowell. To avoid the poverty and disorder that plagued English mill towns, Lowell closely supervised both the living and working conditions of his employees, who were mainly young, unmarried women. The Lowell system stressed cleanliness, encouraged church attendance, enforced strict curfews, paid good wages, and provided good food in well-maintained employee boarding-houses. Increasing competition led to the breakdown of Lowell’s system.

Madison, James (1751–1836). Fourth president of the United States, serving from 1809 to 1817, and leading the country through the War of 1812. Madison was also one of the chief architects of the United States Constitution, one of the authors of the *Federalist Papers*, and a founder of the Democratic-Republican Party. He is considered the “Father of the Bill of Rights,” the first ten amendments to the Constitution, of which he was the primary author.

Magisterium. A Latin term from the Roman Catholic Church that refers to the teaching authority of the Church exercised by Pope and bishops. *See also* Roman Catholic Church.

Mahayana Buddhism. *See* Buddhism.

Mao Zedong (1893–1976). Chinese political and military leader who led the Communist Party to victory in the Chinese Civil War and who led the People’s Republic of China from 1949 until his death. To maintain his grip on power, Mao initiated the period of political and social upheaval known as the Cultural Revolution in 1966. *See also* Cultural Revolution.

Marathon. A long-distance running event of 42 kilometers (just over 26 miles). Its name comes from the legend of Pheidippides, a Greek soldier who in 490 B.C. ran the

entire distance from the battlefield to Athens to announce, before collapsing and dying of exhaustion, that the Greeks had defeated the Persians at the Battle of Marathon.

“The Marseillaise.” A marching song composed in 1792 by Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle that became the anthem of the French Revolution and is today the national anthem of France. Its name comes from the fact that it was first sung in the streets of Paris by military volunteers from the city of Marseille. *See also* French Revolution.

Marx, Karl (1818–1883). A nineteenth-century German philosopher, political economist, and revolutionary, who, in such works as *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), argued that capitalism would be destroyed and eventually replaced by communism. *See also* Capitalism; Communism.

Masjid al-Haram. Arabic for “The Sacred Mosque,” the Masjid al-Haram is the largest mosque in the world and the object of the hajj pilgrimage. Located in the city of Mecca, it surrounds the Kaaba, the holiest place on earth to Muslims. *See also* Hajj; Kaaba; Mecca.

Mass. The Eucharistic celebration of the Roman Catholic Church. *See also* Eucharist; Roman Catholic Church; Transubstantiation.

Matisse, Henri (1869–1954). A twentieth-century French artist, known primarily as a painter, whose skill at drawing and expressive use of color made him one of the leading figures in modern art. Some of his better-known works include *Woman with a Hat* (1905), *Madras Rouge* (1907), and *La Danse* (1909). A leader of the Fauvist movement, which emphasized strong color and artistic technique, Matisse later in life worked with paper cutouts, such as the famous *Jazz* series.

Matzoh. A cracker-like flatbread made of plain white flour and water that is the substitute for leavened breads during the Jewish holiday of Passover. *See also* Passover.

Mecca. A city in western Saudi Arabia and the holiest city in Islam, being the birthplace of Muhammad (570–632), the founder of Islam, and the location of the most sacred site in Islam, the Masjid al-Haram, the Sacred Mosque of Mecca. The fifth of the Five Pillars of Islam calls upon each able-bodied Muslim who can afford it to make a pilgrimage (hajj) to Mecca at least once in a lifetime. *See also* Hajj; Medina; Pillars of Islam.

Medina. A city in western Saudi Arabia and, after Mecca, the second holiest city in Islam. It is the burial place of Muhammad, the founder of Islam, and the city to which he emigrated in 622 when he and his followers faced growing opposition and persecution in Mecca. *See also* Mecca.

Meiji Restoration. A political revolution occurring in Japan in the late 1860s whereby the shogunate, a hereditary military dictatorship that had ruled Japan since 1600, was overthrown and political power was theoretically restored to the emperor. The new government used its authority to industrialize and militarize Japan, which by the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 had become a recognized world power. *See also* Russo-Japanese War.

Mercantilism. An economic theory which holds that the economic strength of a nation depends upon its share of finite global economic value. Mercantilism calls for the government to play an interventionist and protectionist role in the economy by extensive regulation, tariffs, and taxes, especially on imported items. Mercantilism was the dominant economic theory in Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

Middle Passage. The Middle Passage was the leg of the eighteenth-century trans-Atlantic triangle trade from West Africa to the Americas. The cargo was usually enslaved Africans, and the conditions maintained aboard the ships that transported slaves were horrendous. More than 600 slaves could be shackled together below decks and fed only one meal a day on a voyage that could last months. Many died of disease or starvation before the ship ever reached its destination. *See also* Triangle Trade.

Miscegenation. Marriage, cohabitation, or sexual relations between persons of different races. The term was often applied to the passage of statutes—so-called anti-miscegenation laws—which banned racial intermarriage or sexual contact. The term usually has a negative connotation and is often considered offensive.

Modern. Historians use the term “Modern” generally to describe the period beginning in the eighteenth century and running to the present; however, the term also is used to refer to the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries only or even to only portions of the latter. *See also* Modernity.

Modernism. A term that describes a series of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century cultural movements in art, literature, music, architecture, and the applied arts. *See also* Postmodernism.

Modernity. Of or related to the Modern period and the cultural phenomena that comprise it. *See also* Modern.

Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919–1980). Shah of Iran from 1941 to 1979 and last monarch of the Pahlavi Dynasty. An ally of the United States, the shah was overthrown by the 1979 Iranian Revolution, which resulted in the establishment of an Islamic Republic in Iran. The shah lost support because of his pro-Western policies, his recognition of Israel, and his suppression of internal dissent. *See also* Iranian Revolution; Pahlavi Dynasty; Reza Shah Pahlavi.

Monarchy. Form of government in which the head of state is (usually) a single individual who exercises power for life and passes his office to children or another member of the family. In the early Modern period, European monarchs exercised extensive powers, but by the twentieth century most remaining monarchs were constitutional rulers who served as head of state but exercised little or no political power. *See also* Republicanism.

Monotheism. Belief in the existence of only one deity. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are monotheistic religions. *See also* Pantheism.

Mughal Empire. Imperial Muslim state that, during its height in the seventeenth centuries, ruled most of the Indian subcontinent. The empire declined rapidly after about

1725, but the last Mughal ruler was not deposed until 1857, when he was exiled by the British in the aftermath of the Sepoy Mutiny.

Nabokov, Vladimir (1899–1977). A Russian-American novelist and short story writer who is best known for his 1955 novel *Lolita*.

Napoleon (1769–1821). Born Napoleon Bonaparte on the Mediterranean island of Corsica, Napoleon was a French Revolutionary military and political leader who ruled France as First Consul from 1799 to 1802 and as Emperor Napoleon I from 1802 until his abdication in 1814, and then again briefly in 1815. Through his military victories, he redrew the political map of Europe and extended French influence and the ideals of the French Revolution throughout Europe. Napoleon is also credited with reforming the French legal code. After his failed campaign against Russia in 1812 and his final defeat at Waterloo in 1815, he was exiled by the British to the Atlantic island of St. Helena, where he died in 1821. *See also* French Revolution.

Natural Law. An ethical theory that posits the existence of a set of moral norms which can be defined by the rational observation of the nature of the world and human beings and therefore in effect everywhere. Originating in pre-modern religious and philosophical thought, its influence is evident in the Enlightenment and modern ideas of human rights.

Nijinsky, Vaslav (1890–1950). A Russian ballet dancer and choreographer who worked for the Ballets Russes, Nijinsky is considered one of the best male dancers and one of the most innovative choreographers of the twentieth century. His choreography and performances include the ballets *L'après-midi d'un faune* (*The Afternoon of a Faun*) (1912) and *Le Sacre du Printemps* (*The Rite of Spring*), with music by Igor Stravinsky (1913). His work in *The Rite of Spring* was so nontraditional that it caused a riot among the audience when it premiered in Paris. *See also* Diaghilev, Serge; Ballets Russes.

Nirvana. A term used by the Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, to describe the state of perfect peace of mind. *See also* Buddhism.

Opium Wars. Two wars, fought from 1839 to 1842 and 1856 to 1860, between China and Britain, which resulted from ongoing trade disputes between the two nations and the British practice of smuggling opium from India into China in defiance of Chinese drug laws. Defeated in both wars, China was forced to accept the opium trade, to open several of its ports to foreign trade, and to cede Hong Kong to Britain.

Orthodox Christianity. A Christian religious tradition that traces its origins and rites to the original Christian communities of the eastern Mediterranean or areas evangelized by them, such as the Greek Orthodox Church or the Russian Orthodox Church. The Orthodox Churches separated from the Roman Catholic Church of the West in the eleventh century over political and doctrinal issues. *See also* Roman Catholic Church.

Ottoman Empire. An Islamic Turkish empire that during its height in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ruled the Balkans, the Eastern Mediterranean, and much of the Middle East to the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf., The Ottoman Empire declined during the nineteenth century and finally collapsed after World War I, during

which the Empire supported the Central Powers, and the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed in 1923.

Pahlavi Dynasty. A twentieth-century dynasty that ruled Iran from 1925 to 1979. The founder of the dynasty was Reza Shah Pahlavi, an Iranian army officer who overthrew the reigning Qajar Dynasty in 1925. His son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, succeeded him in 1941 when Reza Shah Pahlavi was overthrown and exiled by an Anglo-Soviet invasion launched when the shah was feared to be pro-German. The dynasty came to an end in 1979 when Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was overthrown by the Iranian Revolution. *See also* Iranian Revolution; Mohammad Reza Pahlavi; Reza Shah Pahlavi.

Panopticon. A type of prison building designed by English philosopher Jeremy Bentham in 1785. The structure is designed to allow guards to watch all the prisoners without the prisoners knowing whether or not they are being observed, thus influencing the prisoners to behave as if they are under observation at all times. Never built, many modern prisons are modified versions of Bentham's panopticon design. *See also* Bentham, Jeremy.

Pantheism. Belief in the equivalence of the Universe, Nature, and God and that God is to be found in all things. *See also* Monotheism.

Parliament. A legislative body, especially one patterned on the British Parliament and system of government. In Britain, Parliament comprises two houses, the House of Commons, elected by the people and today the real seat of political power, and the House of Lords, consisting of titled hereditary members or members appointed by the government for their lives only. *See also* Parliamentary System.

Parliamentary System. A form of representative government distinguished by no clear separation of powers between the executive and legislative branches of the government, unlike the situation pertaining in a presidential republic like the United States. Parliamentary systems usually have a clear differentiation between the head of government (usually a prime minister or premier) and the head of state (an elected president or a hereditary monarch). Britain has one of the oldest and best-known parliamentary systems of government. *See also* Parliament; Republicanism.

Passover. An annual Jewish religious observance commemorating the flight of the Jews under Moses from bondage in Egypt as described in the biblical Book of Exodus. The name derives from the story in Exodus about the Angel of Death passing over the Jewish households marked with the blood of a lamb as it came bringing the tenth plague, the slaying of every first-born male in Egypt.

Pasteur, Louis (1822–1895). A nineteenth-century French chemist and microbiologist whose experiments confirmed the germ theory of disease and created the first vaccine for rabies. One of the founders of microbiology, Pasteur is also known for inventing a method to destroy harmful microbes in milk and wine, a process now known as “pasteurization.”

Penicillin. An antibiotic drug used in the treatment of various bacterial infections that was discovered by Sir Alexander Fleming in 1928 and developed for medical use by Howard Walter Florey.

Persia. The ancient and traditional name of modern-day Iran, which was the heart of the ancient Persian Empire in the sixth to the fourth centuries B.C.

Peter the Great (1672–1725). Czar of Russia from 1682 until his death—he ruled jointly with his half-brother Ivan V until 1696. Peter pursued a policy of Westernization and military expansion that transformed Russia into a major European power. In 1703, he founded a new capital at St. Petersburg. *See also* St. Petersburg.

Philosophe. From French for “philosopher,” one of a loose group of eighteenth-century Enlightenment intellectuals who advocated a new approach to society that encouraged reason, knowledge, and education, and criticized political and religious authority and some forms of social injustice. The *philosophes* Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d’Alembert edited the *Encyclopédie* (1751–1772), which represented their belief that everything could be known, classified, and understood by humans. *See also* d’Alembert, Jean le Rond; Diderot, Denis; *Encyclopédie*; Enlightenment.

Picasso, Pablo (1881–1973). A Spanish painter and sculptor who was one of the most famous artists of the twentieth century. He is best known as a founder of the Cubist movement and for a prolific body of work encompassing a wide variety of artistic styles. His most famous works include *Les Femmes d’Alger* (1907), which foreshadowed the Cubist style, and *Guernica* (1937), which depicts the German bombing of the Spanish town of Guernica during the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s.

Picul. English word for a traditional Chinese measurement of weight.

Pillars of Islam. The five obligations of every Muslim. The five pillars are (1) Shahadah, a profession of faith; (2) Salat, the saying of ritual prayer five times per day; (3) Sawm, fasting during Ramadan; (4) Zakat, charity given to family, friends, and the needy; and (5) Hajj, pilgrimage to Mecca. To Sunni Muslims, these practices are essential; Shi’a Muslim ritual practices largely coincide with the Pillars. *See also* Hajj; Shiism; Sunnism.

Poe, Edgar Allan (1809–1849). A nineteenth-century American poet, short story writer, editor, and literary critic, who is best known for his poems and his tales of mystery and the macabre. Considered part of the American Romantic movement, Poe is credited as being the inventor of the detective-fiction genre. Among his best-known works are the poem “The Raven,” and the stories “The Pit and the Pendulum,” “The Tell-tale Heart,” and “The Murders in the Rue Morgue.”

Political Machine. An unofficial system of political organization based on control of government patronage and the work of supporters who further the ends of the organization in return for government jobs, favors, and contracts. Such organizations often controlled the politics of major American cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *See also* Tammany Hall.

Pol Pot (1925–1998). Leader of the Cambodian Communist movement known as the Khmer Rouge and prime minister of Cambodia from 1976 to 1979. While in power, Pol Pot adopted a policy of agrarian collectivization and forced labor projects. This practice, when combined with frequent executions of political and ideological opponents, led to the deaths of an estimated 750,000 to 1.7 million people.

Polygamy. A form of marriage in which a person has more than one spouse.

Ponca. A Native American tribe living mainly in northern Nebraska and Oklahoma. The tribe numbered only about 200 individuals when it was visited by the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1804.

Positivism. A philosophy that declares the only authentic knowledge to be scientific knowledge, which can only be gained from affirmation of theories through strict application of the scientific method. Positivism was developed by Auguste Comte in the mid-nineteenth century, and, in various versions, became one of the dominant strains of British and American philosophy in the twentieth century. *See also* Comte, Auguste.

Postcolonialism. A set of theories and concepts in philosophy, literature, the arts, and political science that deal with the cultural legacy of imperial or colonial rule. *See also* Colonialism; Decolonization; Imperialism.

Postmodernism. A wide-ranging set of ideas, theories, and developments in philosophy, art, literature, architecture, and culture that are generally characterized as either emerging from, reacting to, or superseding the ideas and characteristics of Modernism. *See also* Modernism.

Pound/Shilling/Penny. Units of British currency. Prior to 1971, the pound was worth 20 shillings and the shilling worth 12 pence, making the pound worth 240 pence. In 1971, a pound was declared to be worth 100 pence.

Protestant Reformation. A European religious reform movement of the sixteenth century that resulted in the emergence of various new Protestant Christian denominations that rejected the authority of the pope and adopted various new doctrines and practices not approved by the Roman Catholic Church. Among the leaders of the Reformation were Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Ulrich Zwingli. *See also* Catholic Reformation, Roman Catholic Church.

Prussia. A Germanic kingdom with its capital at Berlin that in the nineteenth century became the core and driving force for unification of the modern Germany, with the King of Prussia becoming the emperor of Germany in 1871.

Pueblo. A traditional Native American village or settlement of the American Southwest, sometimes characterized by adobe dwellings.

Qanat. A type of underground irrigation system which dates to ancient times, qanats are designed to supply water to communities in hot, arid climates from distant, subterranean sources. Use of the system spread from the Middle East to North Africa, Spain, Italy and elsewhere, following the Muslim conquests of the seventh century.

Quit-rent. A type of land tax. Under feudalism in the Middle Ages, payment of a quit-rent freed the holder of the land from performing service obligations otherwise due to the feudal lord. British colonial governments often imposed quit-rents on landholders from the eighteenth into the twentieth century. *See also* Feudalism.

Reformation. *See* Catholic Reformation; Protestant Reformation.

Republicanism. A political ideology that emphasizes the belief that the citizens of a state are the source of political power or sovereignty and that a legitimate government represents the will or consent of the people. Republicanism has become increasingly common and popular in the modern period.

Reza Shah Pahlavi (1878–1944). Shah of Iran from 1925 to 1941, and founder of the Pahlavi Dynasty. An Iranian military officer, he overthrew the ruling Qajar Dynasty in 1925 and established an authoritarian regime that was secular, militaristic, and anti-communist. His many economic and political reforms helped to modernize the country, but also generated much opposition. He was forced to abdicate in favor of his son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, in 1941, when fears that he was pro-German prompted Britain and the Soviet Union to invade Iran. *See also* Iranian Revolution; Mohammad Reza Pahlavi; Pahlavi Dynasty.

Robespierre, Maximilien (1758–1794). A French Revolutionary and politician, Robespierre became the de facto leader of the Revolutionary government in 1793 and began the elimination of perceived enemies of the Revolution, ordering thousands arrested and guillotined without trial. This period, known as the Reign of Terror, ended with Robespierre's own arrest and execution by guillotine in 1794. *See also* French Revolution.

Roman Catholic Church. The Church led by the Pope or Bishop of Rome, who, through apostolic succession, traces his authority back to the biblical commission given by Jesus to St. Peter, whom Catholics consider to be the first pope, at the founding of Christianity. The Church's main mission is to preach the Gospel of Christ and administer the sacraments, such as the Eucharist, and it also runs numerous charitable and social programs and ministries throughout the world. In the sixteenth century, reformers such as Martin Luther questioned various Roman Catholic doctrines and practices, which led to the eventual development of Protestantism. *See also* Catholic Reformation; Magisterium; Mass; Orthodox Christianity; Protestant Reformation.

Romanticism. A cultural movement arising in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Europe that emphasized individuality and imagination. Responding to the rationalism of the Enlightenment and the technologies of the Industrial Revolution, Romanticism was most strongly embodied in the visual arts, music, and literature. The complex movement stressed aesthetic experience and strong emotion over reason and social norms and brought a new appreciation to folk art, the exotic, and the inspiration provided by the natural world.

Roosevelt, Theodore (1858–1919). An American statesman, conservationist, and author. The 26th president of the United States, Roosevelt, a Republican and Progressive, served from 1901 to 1909. He became president of the New York City Police Commissioners Board in 1895, and he organized volunteer cavalry regiment, dubbed the "Rough Riders," during the Spanish-American War in 1898. He was elected vice president under William McKinley in 1900, assumed office upon McKinley's assassination in 1901, and won a term in his own right in 1904. He was known for his outgoing, energetic personality, his role in the building of the Panama Canal, his conservationism,

and his mediation during the Russo-Japanese War, for which he won a Nobel Peace Prize. *See also* Russo-Japanese War.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712–1778). A French Enlightenment political philosopher and writer, whose political and social theories greatly influenced the French Revolution and inspired the Romantic movement. His novel, *Julie, or the New Heloise*, was one of the best-selling works of fiction of the eighteenth century. *See also* Enlightenment; French Revolution; Romanticism.

Russian Revolution (1917). A series of political, social, and economic upheavals that occurred in Russia during the year 1917 and led to the overthrow of Czar Nicholas II and the end of the Russian Empire. The Bolshevik faction of the Communist party—under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin—subsequently seized power. The Bolsheviks, who eventually became the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1922 and governed until the collapse of the USSR in 1991. *See also* Communism; Stalin, Joseph; Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). A war between the Russian and Japanese Empires that arose from the conflicting imperial ambitions of each in East Asia. A total victory for Japan, the war was the first modern instance of an Asian nation defeating a European nation, and it raised Japan to the rank of a world power. The war was ended by the 1905 Treaty of Portsmouth, which was mediated by President Theodore Roosevelt of the United States, who won a Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts.

St. Petersburg. Former capital city of Russia, St. Petersburg was a completely new city founded by Czar Peter the Great in 1703 at a site in northeastern Russia along the Neva River with access to the Baltic Sea. The city was the capital of Russia until 1918, when it was supplanted by Moscow. Renamed Petrograd in 1914 and Leningrad in 1924, the city resumed the name St. Petersburg upon the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. *See also* Peter the Great; Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

Satyagraha. A practical philosophy of nonviolent resistance developed in the early twentieth century by Indian nationalist leader Mohandas K. Gandhi. Gandhi employed *satyagraha* in his campaigns for racial justice in South Africa and his campaigns for independence from Britain in India. *Satyagraha* also strongly influenced the thinking of American civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr. *See also* King, Martin Luther, Jr.

Scientific Management. *See* Taylorism.

Secession. The act of withdrawing from an organization, union, or political entity. In American history, the term “secession” refers to the attempted withdrawal from the United States of 11 southern states in 1860 and 1861 to form the Confederate States of America, which led to the American Civil War. *See also* Civil War (American); Confederacy/Confederate States of America.

Seder. A Jewish ritual meal held on the first night of Passover. *See also* Passover.

Selamlık. The portion of a Turkish palace or house reserved for men.

Sephardic Jews. The Sephardi (“Spanish Jews”) are Jews descended from communities originating in the Iberian Peninsula, North Africa, and the Middle East. *See also* Ashkenazi Jews.

Sharia. The body of Islamic religious law.

Sheridan, Philip (1831–1888). A Union Army general during the American Civil War, who rose rapidly through the ranks through his leadership, skill, and close association with General Ulysses S. Grant. *See also* Civil War (American); Confederacy/Confederate States of America.

Shiism (Shi’a Islam). The second largest denomination of Islam, comprising roughly 15 percent of all Muslims worldwide. The major point of contention between Shiites and Sunnis (members of the majority Muslim denomination) involves the disputed succession to the political authority of Muhammad, the founder of Islam. Shiites are the majority today in Iran, Iraq, Bahrain, and large minorities in several other countries. *See also* Ashura, Day of; Sunnism.

Shinto. The native religion and formerly the state religion of Japan. An animistic belief system that attributes souls to animals, plants, and natural phenomena, Shinto is a polytheistic religion that involves the worship of numerous spirits, known as *kami*, which can be associated with a particular place or natural object, such as the sun or a mountain. *See also* Animism.

Shoah. *See* Holocaust.

Shogun. Title given to the leader of the feudal military dictatorship that ruled Japan from 1600 to 1868. The Meiji Restoration ended the rule of the shoguns. *See also* Meiji Restoration.

Slavery. A socio-economic institution in which certain persons are forced into involuntary servitude. The term “chattel slavery” describes persons who are treated as the personal property of another person or group. Slavery has existed in human societies since ancient times, being, for instance, a vital part of the economy of ancient Rome. Africans were brought to the Americas as slaves beginning in the sixteenth century, and slavery based on race continued in the United States until 1865, when it was abolished following the Civil War. Today slavery is illegal almost everywhere in the world, but is still practiced secretly in some places, particularly in West Africa. *See also* Civil War (American).

Smallpox. An acute infectious disease unique to humans that is caused by either of two variants of the same virus, *Variola major* and *Variola minor*. The disease was first named “smallpox” in the fifteenth century to distinguish it from syphilis, the so-called “great pox.” Smallpox was a leading cause of death in Europe in the eighteenth century and it is believed that smallpox was one of the chief Old World diseases responsible for the deaths of a large percentage of Native Americans following initial contact with Europeans. With the development of vaccines starting in the late eighteenth century, smallpox was eventually eradicated in the twentieth century, with the last death due to the disease occurring in 1978. *See also* Cowpox.

Soviet. In pre-Revolutionary Russia, a soviet was a local workers' council, which were first formed about 1905. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, the soviet became, at least theoretically, the basic unit of political organization in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), and the term became shorthand for something relating to the USSR. *See also* Russian Revolution; Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Spinning Jenny. A multiple-spool spinning wheel invented in the 1760s by British inventor James Hargreaves. The device significantly reduced the amount of human work required to produce yarn.

Sprawl. *See* Urban Sprawl.

Stalin, Joseph (1878–1953). General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and de facto ruler of the USSR from the mid-1920s to his death in 1953. He manipulated communist ideas to establish an authoritarian regime known as Stalinism, which was characterized by extensive propaganda to create a cult of personality around Stalin himself as absolute dictator and the employment of secret police to create terror and stifle political dissent. His programs of rapid industrialization, forced deportation and labor, manufactured famine, and collectivization of agriculture made his personal power absolute and the Soviet Union an industrial and political superpower but at the cost of millions of lives. *See also* Cold War; Communism; Russian Revolution; Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Stravinsky, Igor (1882–1971). A Russian composer, pianist, and conductor who is considered one of the most important composers of the twentieth century. Stravinsky achieved international fame with three ballets commissioned by Sergei Diaghilev's *Ballets Russe*. *L'Oiseau de feu* (*The Firebird*) (1910), *Petrushka* (1911/1947), and *Le sacre du printemps* (*The Rite of Spring*) (1913). The last of these was so innovative, it provoked a riot among the audience at its premier, but it also heavily influenced the work of many modernist composers.

Suburbs. Primarily residential communities on the outskirts of large cities or towns. *See also* Exurb; Urban Sprawl.

Sunnism. The largest denomination of Islam, comprising almost 85 percent of all Muslims worldwide. The major point of contention between Sunnis and Shiites (members of the second largest Muslim denomination) involves the disputed succession to the political authority of Muhammad, the founder of Islam. Sunnis are the majority through most of North Africa and the Middle East, as well as in parts of Southeast Asia, such as Indonesia. *See also* Shiism.

Swaraj. Meaning, in general, “self-government” or “home-rule,” the term swaraj usually refers in particular to a concept for Indian independence from foreign rule put forward in the 1910s by Mohandas Gandhi. As explained by Gandhi, swaraj is a form of decentralized self-government that flows from individuals to the greater community; it envisions a type of direct democracy that is classless and stateless and thus rejects a hierarchical centralized government and class system, such as were imposed on India

by Britain prior to 1947. The modern Indian government is generally not considered a model of Gandhi's swaraj ideal.

Syncretism. The attempt to reconcile and integrate disparate or contradictory religious or philosophical beliefs, often while melding practices of various schools of thought.

Tael. The English name for a Chinese system of weight measures. Tael weighing standards tended to vary by region and type of trade.

Taille. A direct tax on land or wealth imposed by the pre-Revolutionary French royal government. Privileged groups were exempted from the tax, disproportionately burdening peasants and non-nobles. The taille was abolished at the start of the French Revolution in 1789. *See also* French Revolution.

Tammany Hall. The Democratic Party political machine that largely controlled New York City politics from the 1850s to the 1930s. The political machine arose from the Tammany Society, which was founded in May 1789. Named for a local Native American leader, the Society adopted many Native American words and customs, calling its hall a wigwam and its leader the Grand Sachem. In 1830, the Society established its headquarters in a building called Tammany Hall, and thereafter the names of the building and the group were synonymous. *See also* Political machine.

Taylor, Frederick Winslow. *See* Taylorism.

Taylorism. Also known as "Scientific Management," Taylorism is a theory of management that applies scientific models to analyze and synthesize work processes to improve labor productivity. The core ideas of the theory were developed by Frederick Winslow Taylor (1856–1915) in the 1880s and 1890s and first published in *Shop Management* (1905) and *The Principles of Scientific Management* (1911). Taylor believed that decisions should be based on precise procedures developed after careful study of individuals at work rather than on tradition or basic rules of thumb.

Tenement. An apartment house or multi-unit dwelling that meets only minimum standards of sanitation, safety, and comfort and that is usually located in a large city.

Theocracy. A form of government in which sovereignty is believed to be in a god or deity. Laws are usually considered divine commands. Power is usually vested in an individual who claims personal divinity or the hierarchy of a religious group.

Theravada Buddhism. *See* Buddhism.

Tojo, Hideki (1884–1948). A general in the Imperial Japanese Army, Tojo was prime minister of Japan during World War II, from October 1941 to July 1944. After the war, the International Military Tribunal for the Far East tried and convicted Tojo for war crimes. He was sentenced to death and executed in 1948.

Tolstoy, Leo (1828–1910). A Russian writer and philosopher who is best known for his novels *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*, both masterful depictions of nineteenth-century Russian life and considered to be among the greatest novels of all time. Later in

his life he also developed ideas of nonviolent resistance that inspired Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. *See also* Gandhi, Mohandas; King, Martin Luther, Jr.

Transubstantiation. The doctrine of the Eucharist taught by the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christian Churches. Transubstantiation means that during the Mass or Divine Liturgy the bread and wine are changed by God, through the priest, into the actual body and blood of Christ. In the sixteenth century, Protestant denominations developed different teachings on the Eucharist. *See also* Eucharist; Mass; Roman Catholic Church.

Triangle Trade. A historical term used to describe an ongoing trade between three ports or regions. The best-known example of such trade is the three-cornered trans-Atlantic connection that existed in the eighteenth century between Europe, West Africa, and the European colonies in the West Indies and on the east coast of North America. The westward leg of this trade, running from Africa to America, was the infamous “Middle Passage,” on which traders carried as cargo newly captured or purchased Africans to be sold into slavery in the Americas. *See also* Middle Passage.

Ukraine. An eastern European region that in the nineteenth century was incorporated into the Russian Empire and in 1922 became part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Following the break-up of the USSR in 1991, Ukraine became an independent state with a capitalist free market economy. *See also* Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The largest country in the world, the USSR was founded in 1922 from the remains of the Russian Empire. Dominated by the majority ethnic Russians and governed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it eventually comprised 15 national republics. An ally of Britain and America during World War II when it was invaded by Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union became one of two superpowers in the post-war period and the Cold War era. The USSR collapsed in 1991. *See also* Cold War; Russian Revolution; Stalin, Joseph.

Urban Sprawl. The spreading of a city and its low-density suburbs and exurbs over rural land at the edge of the city, a growth pattern that was characteristic of many American cities in the twentieth century. Because of the effect of such growth on the environment, communities, and the health of residents, the term has a generally negative connotation. *See also* Exurbs; Suburbs.

Victorian. A term describing British and general Western culture during the reign of Queen Victoria in Britain (1837–1901). Despite the dramatic changes of the period, Victorian society was dominated by conservative, middle-class tastes and morals. *See also* Edwardian.

Viet Cong (VC). A guerilla force of Vietnamese Communists supported by the North Vietnamese Army who fought against the government of South Vietnam and the United States during the Vietnam War. They were called Viet Cong (meaning Vietnamese Communists) by the U.S.-backed government of South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem and simply “VC” by the U.S. troops who fought them in the 1960s and 1970s. *See also* Communism; Vietnam War.

Vietnam War. A war between the Soviet- and Chinese-supported Communist Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) and the United States-supported Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam), which lasted from 1959 to 1975. Although U.S. advisors had been present in Vietnam since the 1950s, significant numbers of U.S. ground forces did not engage in combat until 1965. The United States withdrew from Vietnam in 1973 after the loss of almost 60,000 men, and South Vietnam, fighting on without American support, fell to the North within two years, thus creating the current unified Socialist Republic of Vietnam. *See also* Johnson, Lyndon J.; Viet Cong.

Washington, George (1732–1799). Foremost of the American Founding Fathers, commander of the Continental Army during the American Revolution, and first president of the United States, serving from 1789 to 1797.

Water Frame. The name given to the spinning frame, a device that increases the production of yarn for textiles, when water power is employed to drive it. Application of one to the other is credited to the English inventor Richard Arkwright, who patented and exploited the technology in the 1770s.

Zen Buddhism. A school of Mahayana Buddhism that originated in China and that has spread gradually eastward into Japan and Korea. *See also* Buddhism.

Zionism. The international political movement formally organized in the nineteenth century to support the recreation of a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine, which it achieved with the founding of the modern-day state of Israel in 1948. The movement continues today primarily as a support for Israel.

Zoroastrianism/Mazdayasna. An ancient Persian religion and philosophy based on the teachings of the prophet Zoroaster, who is traditionally thought to have lived in the sixth century B.C.

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APPENDIX: BIOGRAPHIES OF DOCUMENT AUTHORS

Compiled by John Wagner and Mariah Gumpert.

Adams, Abigail (1744–1818): Born Abigail Smith, Abigail Adams was the wife of the second president of the United States, John Adams and the mother of the sixth U.S. president, John Quincy Adams; she was thus the second First Lady of the United States, even though that term was not coined until well after her death. She is best known for the many letters that she exchanged with her husband while she was at home in Massachusetts and he was in Philadelphia serving in the Continental Congress. John Adams frequently sought his wife's advice on matters both personal and political, and their letters are filled with intellectual discussions on politics, government, society, and gender. The letters are important sources of information on life during the American Revolution and the Early National period.

Aurangzeb (1618–1707): Also known by his Imperial title Alamgir I (Conqueror of the Universe), Aurangzeb was ruler of the Mughal Empire from 1658 until his death in 1707. The son of Shah Jehan, Aurangzeb, through his conquests, brought the Mughal state to its greatest territorial extent, but his constant campaigns left the empire dangerously overextended and by his death large portions of the empire had been lost. A devout Sunni Muslim, he abandoned the religious toleration of his predecessors and attempted to impose Sharia (Islamic law) throughout the empire. During his reign, many Hindu temples were destroyed and replaced by mosques and the hated jizya tax, imposed only on non-Muslims, was reinstated. Considered the last of the strong Mughal rulers, Aurangzeb's empire fell into decline after his death.

Baden-Powell, Robert, 1st Baron Baden-Powell (1857–1941): A lieutenant-general in the British Army and founder of the Scouting movement. He served in India and Africa between 1876 and 1910, being particularly known for his part in the defense of Mafeking during the Second Boer War in 1899. Because his several books on military reconnaissance and scout training, written during his years in Africa, were also read by boys, he later wrote *Scouting for Boys* (1908) especially for a young readership. The book offered activities for boys that centered around camping, observation, woodcraft, chivalry, lifesaving, and patriotism. Baden-Powell tested many of these ideas on a camping trip to Brownsea Island that he organized for 20 boys in August 1907, an event that is now considered the start of the worldwide Scouting movement.

Beeton, Isabella Mary (1836–1865): The author of *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management* (1861), a best-selling guidebook on how to run a Victorian household. The book, which sold millions of copies within a few years of its publication, offers advice on fashion, childcare, animal husbandry, poisons, the management of servants, and cooking. Of the book's more than 1,100 pages, some 900 contain recipes, accounting for the volume's popular title, *Mrs. Beeton's Cookbook*, and for the author's status as one of the most famous cookery writers in English history. Beeton was only 21 when she began writing the volume, and only 28 when she died of complications following childbirth.

Bensusan, Samuel Levy (1872–1958): British journalist and author who wrote numerous works on travel and art, such as *Morocco* (1904), *Wild-Life Stories: Stores from a Home County* (1907), *On the Tramp in Wales: The Record of a Springtime Pilgrimage in Search of Agricultural Knowledge and Seasonable Recreation* (1929); *Tales from the Saxon Shore* (1939), and *Back of Beyond: A Countryman's Pre-War Commonplace Book* (1946).

Blackstone, Sir William (1723–1780): An eighteenth-century English jurist who produced the most famous and influential treatise on English common law, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, which was published in four volumes between 1765 and 1769. In 1743, Blackstone became a barrister—a type of common law lawyer—and practiced before the courts until 1758, when he became the first holder of the Vinerian Professorship of Common Law at Oxford University, a position he retained until 1766. Blackstone also wrote treatises on Magna Carta and on the Charter of the Forests. Blackstone's *Commentaries* are still taken by U.S. courts as the definitive source on pre-Revolutionary common law and the framers of the U.S. Constitution drew many of their terms and phrases from Blackstone's works.

Boswell, James (1740–1795): An eighteenth-century Scottish writer, lawyer, and diarist of a noble family who is best known as the biographer of the English writer Samuel Johnson. He is also known for his voluminous journals, only discovered in the 1920s, which provide detailed and frank descriptions of long periods of his life. The journals include extensive notes on the Grand Tour of Europe that he took as a young man and his later tour of Scotland with Dr. Johnson. His journals also record meetings and conversations with eminent contemporaries David Garrick, Edmund Burke, Joshua Reynolds, and Oliver Goldsmith.

Bruegmann, Robert: An historian of architecture, landscape, and the built environment who teaches in the School of Architecture and the Program in Urban Policy and Planning at the University of Illinois at Chicago. His best-known work is *Sprawl: A Compact History*, published by the University of Chicago Press in 2005.

Bump, Lottie M.: A Salisbury, Vermont, farm wife, who kept a diary of life on her family farm in 1868. The diary entries detail early morning temperatures and daily domestic affairs on the farm. She also notes the activities of her husband Samuel, her health, the birth of her first child, and the comings and goings of family and friends.

Burton, Sir Richard Francis (1821–1890): A nineteenth-century English explorer, writer, soldier, linguist, and translator who is best known for his travels in Asia and Africa and his extraordinary knowledge of languages (it was claimed he spoke 29) and

cultures. His most famous undertakings include traveling in disguise as a Muslim pilgrim to Mecca, making an unexpurgated English translation of *The Book of One Thousand Nights and A Night* (more commonly known as *The Arabian Nights*), making a translation of the Indian erotic text the *Kama Sutra*, and journeying into the African interior with the first party of white men to seek the source of the Nile. He was also a prolific author and wrote numerous books and scholarly articles about such subjects as travel, fencing, and ethnography.

Clayton, Victoria Virginia: Born Victoria Hunter, she married Henry DeLamar Clayton around 1849 in Clayton, Alabama, where he had a law practice. Henry Clayton was a judge, member of the Alabama Legislature, Confederate major general, and president of the University of Alabama from 1886 to his death in 1889. Two of Clayton's sons, Henry DeLamar Clayton and Bertram Tracy Clayton, became United States congressmen. In 1899, Victoria Clayton published her recollections of life during the Civil War in a memoir entitled *White and Black under the Old Regime*.

Comstock, Anthony (1844–1915): A nineteenth-century U.S. postal inspector best known for his firm advocacy of Victorian notions of morality. In 1873, he founded the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, an organization dedicated to the regulation of public morality. He also successfully lobbied the U.S. Congress to pass the Comstock Law (1873), which made it illegal to deliver through the mail or transport any obscene, lewd, or lascivious material or any material promoting or pertaining to birth control. Comstock aroused the ire of civil liberties groups and his name eventually became a by-word for the prohibitions he supported.

Coubertin, Pierre de (1863–1937): Pierre de Frédy, Baron de Coubertin, was a French teacher and historian, who is best known as the founder of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), for which he served as first general secretary. After the success of the first Olympic Games in Athens in 1896, de Coubertin became president of the IOC, a post he held until 1924.

Crystal, David (1941–): A twentieth-century British linguist and author whose academic interests include English language learning and teaching, forensic linguistics, and language death. Born in Ireland and raised in Wales, he grew up fluent in both Welsh and English, a fact that influenced his approach to language education. He has edited many reference works on language and linguistics and is the author of *The Stories of English* (2004), a history of the English language. He is currently honorary professor and part-time lecturer of linguistics at the University of Bangor.

De Amicis, Edmondo (1846–1908): An Italian novelist, journalist, poet, and short story and travel writer who is best known for his 1886 children's novel *Cuore* (*Heart*), which had been widely published and translated. Among his other well-known works are *La vita militare* (1868), *Novelle* (1872), *Poesie* (1880), and *La carozza di tutti* (1899).

Delano, Alonzo (c. 1809–1874): A writer and humorist who is best known for his books and letters describing life in California in the first years following the discovery of gold there in 1849. Delano journeyed to California in the spring of 1849, and published his account of that journey in 1854 as *Life on the Plains and Among the Diggings*. Delano

set up as a merchant supplying the miners in the various California boomtowns. He eventually gravitated to San Francisco where he established a business in 1850. After prospering there, he moved eventually to Grass Valley, which was in the heart of the northern California gold mining district. In Grass Valley, he became a banker, Wells Fargo agent, and, eventually, city treasurer. His sketches of California life appeared, under his nickname, "The Old Block," in *Pen-Knife Sketches; or, Chips of the Old Block* (1853) and *Old Block's Sketch Book* (1856).

Deutsch, Leo (1855–1941): Born Lev Deich, but known as Leo Deutsch, he was a Russian Marxist revolutionary and founding member of the Menshevik Party prior to the Russian Revolution of 1917. Arrested and convicted of terrorism in 1884 by the czarist regime, he was sentenced to hard labor in a Siberian prison camp, from which he escaped in 1901. He returned to Russia during the 1905 revolution, but was again arrested and sentenced to Siberia, but once again escaped, this time to London. He returned to Russia in 1917, where he edited a revolutionary newspaper and eventually wrote his memoirs.

Diderot, Denis (1713–1784): An eighteenth-century French Enlightenment philosopher and writer who was editor, with Jean le Rond d'Alembert, of the *Encyclopédie*. See also d'Alembert, Jean le Rond; *Encyclopédie*; Enlightenment.

Douglass, Frederick (c. 1817–1895): One of the most prominent figures in African American history, Frederick Douglass was an editor, orator, author, statesman, reformer, and leader of the abolitionist movement. Born a slave in Maryland, Douglass learned to read and write from the wife of one of his masters and then through his own efforts. After several failed attempts, Douglass escaped from his master in 1838. His best-known work is his autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself*, published in 1845. Douglass was the editor of various antislavery newspapers, including *The North Star*, and a popular lecturer in both the United States and Europe, becoming a forceful proponent of the equality of all people.

Equiano, Olaudah (c. 1745–1797): Also known as Gustavus Vassa, Equiano was a former slave who became the most prominent African activist in the effort to abolish the slave trade throughout the British Empire. He wrote an autobiography entitled *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself* (1789), which depicted the horrors of slavery and helped influence British lawmakers to abolish the slave trade in 1807. During his life, Equiano worked as a seaman, merchant, and explorer in South America, the Caribbean, the Arctic, the Americas, and Britain.

Fletcher, Alice Cunningham (1838–1923): An American ethnologist of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who studied the remains of Indian civilizations of the Ohio and Mississippi river valleys and who worked and lived among the Omaha people as a representative of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University. Her publications include *Indian Education and Civilization* (1888), a special report to the U.S. Bureau of Education; *Indian Story and Song from North America* (1900); and *The Omaha Tribe* (1911), which was co-authored with Francis La Flesche, an Omaha Indian.

Flynn, Jennifer: The author of various volumes on computers and computing, including the Star Trek Series volume *20th Century Computers and How They Worked* (1993), which provides a visual tour of computer technology from the vantage point of a twenty-fourth-century Starfleet Academy course in computer history.

Franklin, Benjamin (1706–1790): An eighteenth-century American author, printer, politician, scientist, inventor, and diplomat, as well as one of the principal Founding Fathers of the United States. Besides conducting experiments with electricity, Franklin invented the lightning rod, bifocals, and the Franklin stove. A newspaper editor, printer, and merchant in Philadelphia, he formed the first lending library in the American colonies and the first fire department in Pennsylvania, founded the University of Pennsylvania, and grew wealthy publishing the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and *Poor Richard's Almanack*. He was also a member of the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence in 1776, American minister to France from 1776 to 1785, and a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1787.

Frederick II, the Great (1712–1786): King of Prussia from 1740 to 1786 and a proponent of “enlightened absolutism,” a form of despotism in which the ruler was influenced by Enlightenment principles. He reorganized the Prussian army and expanded Prussian territory, winning military renown for himself and his kingdom, for which he won recognition as a European power. A correspondent of Voltaire and a patron of artists and philosophers, Frederick modernized the Prussian bureaucracy and civil service, established public education, and promoted religious toleration.

Friedan, Betty (1921–2006): An American feminist and writer best known for her influential 1963 book, *The Feminine Mystique*, which effectively criticized the popularly held notion that women could find fulfillment only as wives, mothers, and homemakers. The book is often credited with launching the so-called Second Wave of the feminist movement, which reached its peak in the late 1960s and 1970s. Friedan was a cofounder of the National Organization for Women (NOW), serving as its first president from 1966 to 1970.

Fulton, Mary (d. 1926): Born in Ashland, Ohio, Mary Fulton was a medical missionary for the Philadelphia branch of the Presbyterian Church. She spent more than 20 years in China teaching school and providing medical care. One of her pupils was Sun Yat-Sen, the first president of the Republic of China. Fulton also served as director of a hospital and formed a school for nurses in China.

Fulton, Robert (1765–1815): A nineteenth-century American engineer and inventor who is credited with developing the first commercially successful steamboat, which began carrying passengers on the Hudson River in 1807. He also experimented with submarine torpedoes and torpedo boats, and he designed what is considered the first practical submarine.

Gandhi, Mohandas K. (1869–1948): The political and spiritual leader of the Indian independence movement. His philosophy of *Satyagraha*, which called for active, non-violent resistance to evil, led to the independence of India in 1947 and inspired other civil rights and independence movements worldwide, including the Civil Rights Movement

in the United States, where Gandhi's philosophy influenced Martin Luther King, Jr. Gandhi first employed civil disobedience in the struggle for civil rights for the Indian community in South Africa, where he lived from 1893 to 1915. Returning to India, he assumed leadership of the Indian National Congress and led nationwide campaigns for the alleviation of poverty, the liberation of women, the brotherhood of all religious and ethnic groups, an end to untouchability and caste discrimination, economic self-sufficiency, and, above all, for *Swaraj*, the independence of India from foreign domination. He was assassinated in 1948.

Gilpin, William (1724–1804): An eighteenth-century English artist, author, clergyman, and schoolmaster who is best known as one of the chief originators of the idea of the picturesque. He first defined the term in his popular 1768 work, *Essay on Prints*, and thereafter began to more widely expound his principles of picturesque beauty, which were based largely on his knowledge of landscape painting. In 1782, he published *Observations on the River Wye and Several Parts of South Wales, etc. Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty; Made in the Summer of the Year 1770*, which included reproductions of some of his own sketches. This volume was followed in the next decade by several similar works on various areas of Britain.

Gutierrez, Simon “Sam”: A prisoner at Stateville Prison in Illinois who, at the behest of noted criminal justice scholar Norval Morris, kept a detailed diary of a single day of prison routine that effectively captured what it was like to be incarcerated in the United States in the late twentieth century. The diary was included as a chapter in Morris's 1995 publication, *The Oxford History of the Prison*. See also Morris, Norval.

Halid, Halil (d. 1934): A Turkish writer, politician, and diplomat, who taught Turkish literature at Cambridge University. He was the author of some notable and controversial books on late Ottoman political thought that were published in English in the early years of the twentieth century.

Hamilton, Alexander (c. 1755–1804): An eighteenth-century American military officer, politician, lawyer, and political theorist, as well as an important framer of the U.S. Constitution and first secretary of the Treasury. He was the anonymous author, under the pseudonym “Publius,” of 51 of the 85 *Federalist Papers*, a series of articles published in 1787–1788 that advocated ratification of the U.S. Constitution. A New York delegate to the 1787 Constitutional Convention and one of the founders of the Federalist Party in the 1790s, Hamilton favored a strong central government and as secretary of the Treasury under President George Washington pushed Congress to adopt an expansive view of federal powers under the Constitution, a policy that led to the funding of the national debt, federal assumption of state debts, and creation of a national bank. Hamilton was killed in a duel with his political rival Aaron Burr.

Hidalgo, Francisco (1659–1726): A Franciscan missionary priest working in Spanish Texas in the early eighteenth century who was the strongest and most persistent advocate for expansion of Spanish missionary activity from the Rio Grande region into East Texas. Thanks to Father Hidalgo's efforts a new mission was established under his charge in East Texas at Nuestro Padre San Francisco de los Tejas in 1716. He remained

at the mission until East Texas was abandoned by the Spanish in 1719. Hidalgo then resided at San Antonio de Valero Mission in San Antonio, where he remained until 1725, when he resigned and petitioned unsuccessfully to preach among the Apaches. He died in 1726 at the age of 67.

Hills, Henry (d. c. 1689): A late seventeenth-century English writer of pro-Catholic pamphlets and printer to King Charles II of England. He became Master of the Stationer's Company under the Catholic Monarch James II in about 1685, but was forced into exile when James himself was deposed and exiled in 1688.

Ingersoll, Ernest (1852–1946): American writer, lecturer, and naturalist, who wrote many magazine articles and guide books, primarily on scientific subjects. He studied at Oberlin College and then at Harvard University, where he was a student of the Swiss-American zoologist Louis Agassiz.

Jaucourt, Louis de (1704–1779): A French aristocrat who was the most prolific contributor to the *Encyclopédie*; he was the author of about 18,000 entries, or nearly one-quarter of the work. Being independently wealthy, he sought no payment for his work, which focused mainly on such subjects as physiology, chemistry, botany, and pathology, but also covered some topics in political history and philosophy. His entries were rarely as overtly political as those of some other contributors, such as Voltaire and *Encyclopédie* editor Denis Diderot, but those covering historical topics reveal a deeply held anti-clericalism and an abhorrence of slavery.

Kennedy, John (1769–1855): An English cotton spinner and inventor who devised several important improvements for the spinning of yarns, including the invention of the jack frame. He was an active member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and presented to the Society a number of papers on the history of English industrialization, including “On the Rise and Progress of the Cotton Trade” (1815), “Observations on the Influence of Machinery on the Working Classes” (1826), and “A Memoir of Samuel Crompton” (1830).

Khrushchev, Nikita (1894–1971): Successor to Joseph Stalin as first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, serving from 1953 to 1964, and chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers from 1958 to 1964. He was the face of the Soviet Union during the midst of the Cold War in the 1950s and early 1960s, and became infamous for his difficult and boorish behavior on trips to the West, especially during his 1959 tour of the United States, when he tried unsuccessfully to visit Disneyland, and his 1960 appearance at the United Nations. In 1964 he was forced to retire in favor of Leonid Brezhnev.

Kingsley, Mary (1862–1900): A nineteenth-century English writer and explorer who greatly influenced European ideas about Africa and the treatment and education of Africans. Her criticisms of European missionaries for attempting to change the living habits of African peoples incurred the displeasure of the Church of England, and her defense of African traditions and practices, including polygamy, shocked her Victorian audience. However, her two books, *Travels in West Africa* (1897) and *West African Studies* (1899), were widely read and made her famous.

Komar, Vitaly (1943–): A twentieth-century Russian artist, who collaborated from 1965 to 2004 with fellow Russian artist Alex Melamid on various artistic projects including a series of “ecocollaborations,” the best known of which is the Asian Elephant Project, which sells paintings made by Asian elephants to raise money for the protection and maintenance of the elephants. In 1978, Komar and Melamid left the Soviet Union, where their iconoclastic art had led to their arrest and to the destruction of their work, and settled in New York. In 1981, they became the first Russians to receive a National Endowment for the Arts grant.

Malevich, Kasimir (1878–1935): A twentieth-century Russian painter and art theoretician who pioneered nonrepresentational art, one of the most important innovations in modern art. Malevich was a leading member of the Russian avant-garde and invented Suprematist art. He supported the Russian Revolution, but his views on art and his criticism of more traditional forms eventually caused him to fall out of favor with the Soviet authorities, though he is now recognized as a seminal figure in Modernism.

Marshall, Joseph Head (d. c. 1815): An English physician who was among the first to learn the technique of vaccination from Edward Jenner, the first European to use cowpox inoculations to create immunity to smallpox. Marshall introduced the vaccination to British soldiers and civilians in the Mediterranean during the Napoleonic Wars. Marshall later worked as a British secret agent in Napoleonic France and disappeared there in about 1815.

Maybaum, Ignaz (1897–1976): One of the most prominent Jewish theologians of the post-Holocaust period, Maybaum is best known for his controversial statement that the Holocaust was God’s punishment of the Jews for the sins and misdeeds of the rest of the world. Born in Vienna, Maybaum became a rabbi in Bingen, Frankfurt, and then Berlin, but fled Germany with his wife and children in 1939 at the start of World War II. His mother and sisters remained in Germany and died in Nazi concentration camps. In 1939, he became rabbi of Edgware Reform Synagogue in London, and, in 1956, he co-founded Leo Baeck College in London, a school for the training of Reform and Liberal rabbis.

McLaren, Deborah (1959–): An international leader in the movement toward responsible tourism. Her 2003 book *Rethinking Tourism and Ecotravel* grew out of a typical tourist vacation to Jamaica in the 1980s. McLaren also came to question the validity of the popularized notion of ecotourism—an idea created with good intentions, but that has been marketed indiscriminately and is often in conflict with local people and the very wilderness and wildlife it promotes.

Melamid, Alex (1945–): A twentieth-century Russian artist who collaborated from 1965 to 2004 with fellow Russian artist Vitaly Komar on various artistic projects including a series of “ecocollaborations,” the best known of which is the Asian Elephant Project, which sells paintings made by Asian elephants to raise money for the protection and maintenance of the elephants. In 1978, Melamid and Komar left the Soviet Union, where their iconoclastic art had led to their arrest and to the destruction of their work, and settled in New York. In 1981, they became the first Russians to receive a National Endowment for the Arts grant.

Melrose, William (1817–1863): Member of a nineteenth-century British tea trading family who was sent to China in 1842 as a tea buyer. He stayed in China until 1855 and his letters, published in 1973 in *William Melrose in China, 1845–1855: The Letters of a Scottish Tea Merchant*, provide a vivid description of European trade in China in the years between the two Opium Wars.

Monier-Williams, Sir Monier (1819–1899): A nineteenth-century British scholar of Asian languages who compiled a widely used Sanskrit-English dictionary. Born in Bombay, India, he taught Asian languages at the East India Company College from 1844 to 1858. Monier-Williams won appointment as the second holder of the Boden Chair of Sanskrit at Oxford University in 1860. He founded Oxford's Indian Institute in 1883.

Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de (1689–1755): An eighteenth-century French Enlightenment social commentator and political thinker who is best known for his articulation of the theory of separation of powers, which heavily influenced the framers of the U.S. Constitution. His publications include the landmark *De l'Esprit des Lois* (*The Spirit of the Laws*, 1748), as well as *Lettres persanes* (*Persian Letters*, 1721), a satire of contemporary French society, and *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* (*Considerations on the Causes of the Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans*, 1734).

Moore, Amasa (1801–1865): Born in New York, Amasa Moore was the sixth child and third son of Pliny Moore. He entered Middlebury College in Vermont in 1817 and married Charlotte Mooers in 1826.

Morgenthau, Henry, Sr. (1856–1946): Author and U.S. ambassador to the Ottoman Empire for the Wilson Administration from 1913 to 1916 during the first years of World War I. His memoirs of his tenure as ambassador, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (1918), provide a detailed description of the events that later became known as the Armenain Genocide. In 1919, he accompanied Wilson to the Paris peace conference and then headed a U.S. government fact-finding mission to Poland, which resulted in publication of the *Morgenthau Report* criticizing the treatment of Polish Jews.

Morris, Norval (1923–2004): An influential twentieth-century criminal justice writer and theorist who served as dean of the University of Chicago Law School from 1975 to 1978. He was also a founding director of the University of Chicago Law School's Center for Studies in Criminal Justice and a professor of law and criminology. His publications included *Machonochie's Gentlemen: The Story of Norfolk Island and the Roots of Modern Prison Reform* (2003), *The Oxford History of the Prison* (1995) with David Rothman, *The Brothel Boy and Other Parables of the Law* (1992), *Between Prison and Probation: Intermediate Punishments in a Rational Sentencing System* (1990) with Michael Tonry, and *Madness and the Criminal Law* (1982). See also Gutierrez, Simon.

Nightingale, Florence (1820–1910): A nineteenth-century English writer, statistician, and pioneer of the modern nursing profession. She is most famous for her nursing activities during the Crimean War in the early 1850s, when she became known as “the lady with the lamp,” from a London *Times* article describing her moving among the wounded in the hospital wards with a little lamp in her hand. Although suffering from a

fever she contracted in the Crimea, Nightingale was instrumental in the establishment of the Royal Commission on the Health of the Army in 1857. Although, as a woman, she could not sit on the Commission, she wrote its 1,000-page report, which included detailed statistical summaries, and she was vital to the implementation of its recommendations. The report led to a major overhaul of army military care, and to the establishment of an Army Medical School and a comprehensive system of medical records.

Oppenheimer, J. Robert (1904–1967): Known as the father of the atomic bomb, Oppenheimer was a twentieth-century American physicist who directed the Manhattan Project, the American World War II effort to develop atomic weapons at a secret laboratory in Los Alamos, New Mexico. After the war, Oppenheimer was chief advisor to the United States Atomic Energy Commission and used that position to lobby for international control of atomic energy and against the nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union. His outspoken opinions, delivered during the Communist scare of the 1950s, outraged many politicians and scientists and, as a result, his security clearance was revoked during a much-publicized hearing in 1954.

Paine, Thomas (1737–1809): An eighteenth-century American pamphleteer, radical, intellectual, and revolutionary who is best known as the author of *Common Sense* (1776), a pamphlet that strongly advocated American independence, and *The American Crisis*, a series of pamphlets published in the late 1770s that denounced British Loyalists and supported the revolutionary cause. Paine emigrated to the American colonies from Britain in 1774. His *Rights of Man* (1791) greatly influenced the French Revolution and he was elected to the French National Assembly in 1792, even though he spoke no French. He then fell into disfavor with Maximilien Robespierre and his faction and was arrested and imprisoned in Paris in 1793, although he was released in the following year. He was widely criticized for his book *The Age of Reason* (1793–1794), which promoted deism and attacked Christianity. He returned to the United States in 1802.

Paul VI, Pope (1897–1978): Head of the Roman Catholic Church from 1963 until his death, Paul VI is known for his issuance in 1968 of the encyclical *Humanae Vitae* reaffirming the Catholic Church's opposition to the use of artificial birth control. Born Giovanni Montini in the Italian province of Brescia, he was papal secretary of state under Pope Pius XII from 1944 and archbishop of Milan from 1954. In 1963, he succeeded Pope John XXIII, who had convened the Second Vatican Council; as pope, Paul VI presided over most of the sessions of the council and oversaw the implementation of its decrees.

Razavi, William Mohammad (1973–): An American writer, Razavi was born in Tehran, Iran. His father, Seyed Abolhassan Razavi, was a colonel in the Imperial Iranian Army, who, after being forced into early retirement, brought his family to the United States in 1976. William Razavi grew up in Texas where he graduated from Trinity University in 1995. He earned an MFA in Playwriting from Brandeis University in 1997. His play *Making Up For Lost Time* was workshopped at the American Repertory Theatre in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and was nominated for an ATAC Globe award in San Antonio, Texas. He directed a production of his most recent play, *The Complete Fragments of Menander: Some Assembly Required*, at the San Antonio Museum of Art

in 2008. Razavi returned to Iran for the first time in 20 years in 1996 and has returned frequently since, including a lengthy stay in 2004–2005. In 2002, his maternal grandmother, administering the charitable legacy of his grandfather, Mohammad Ali Salessi, suggested the construction of a new high school for girls in the Razavi hometown of Aligudarz in Lorestan. Ground was broken later that year and in 2005 the Mohammad William Razavi High School opened its doors. Razavi became an American citizen in 2008.

Riis, Jacob (1849–1914): A Danish-American muckraking journalist, photographer, and social reformer who is best known for his writings and photographic essays exposing the poverty and dangerous, unhealthful living conditions of the poor in New York City at the turn of the twentieth century. Riis' most important work, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (1890), helped bring about the creation of model tenements that improved living conditions for some New Yorkers. Despite his strong sense of social justice, Riis reveals in his writings an equally strong sexism and bias against certain ethnic groups, whom he tends to describe in stereotypes.

Robinson, Harriet Hanson (1825–1911): Best known as the author of *Loom and Spindle, or Life Among the Early Mill Girls* (1898), her account of life as a young female worker in the textile mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, from 1835 until her marriage in 1848. Her father died when she was only six, leaving her mother with four young children to support. To help her mother, Harriet began working in the mill when she was 10. Her husband, William Robinson, published an anti-slavery newspaper. After his death, Mrs. Robinson became a strong supporter of voting rights for women.

Robinson, Jack Roosevelt “Jackie” (1919–1972): Jackie Robinson ended 80 years of racial segregation in baseball by becoming the first African American to play for a major league team in the modern era when he joined the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947. During the season, Robinson suffered continuous harassment from fans and players. He was named Rookie of the Year in 1947 and National League MVP in 1949. He was inducted into the Hall of Fame in 1962. After his retirement, he became a political activist and a strong supporter of such civil rights leaders as Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X.

Sacre-Coeur, Sr. Marie-Andre du (1899–?): Born Jeanne Dorge, Sister Marie-Andre du Sacre-Coeur was a French White Sister who, while serving as a nurse, teacher, social worker, and missionary in French West Africa, began vigorously denouncing the oppression suffered by African women in their marriages and families. She lobbied for legislation improving the status of women, especially as regards to dowries and marriage arrangements, and also addressed the United Nations on the subject. Her major works include *La Femme Noire en Afrique Occidentale* (*The Black Woman in West Africa*, 1939) and *The House Stands Firm: Family Life in West Africa* (1962).

Saint-Just, Louis de (1767–1794): A French revolutionary leader who was closely associated with Maximilien Robespierre, with whom he served on the Committee of Public Safety during the French Reign of Terror. He supported the execution of the king, the reform of the calendar, the redistribution of land, and the replacement of Catholic

orthodoxy with the deistic Cult of the Supreme Being. He and Robespierre both fell from power in 1794 and were guillotined on the same day.

Schlosser, Eric (1959–): A twentieth-century American author and investigative journalist who is known for his bestselling book, *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All American Meal* (2001), an exposé of the unsanitary and discriminatory practices of the American fast food industry. His work has also been published in *Atlantic Monthly*, *Vanity Fair*, *The Nation*, and *The New Yorker*. He won the National Magazine Award for reporting on his two-part series “Reefer Madness” and “Marijuana and the Law,” which was published in *Atlantic Monthly* in 1994.

Scott, Georgia: An American author, travel consultant, and cultural coach who provides clients with information on current international hot topics, country briefings, and help with overseas relocations and foreign assignments. She is the author of *Headwraps: A Global Journey* (2003) as well as the forthcoming *Globetrippler's Travel Guide* and various other travel books.

Secondat, Charles-Louis de, Baron de Montesquieu: See Montesquieu.

Sezikawa Hidehiko: Professor at Tokyo Keizai University and Senior Fellow and former Director of the Hakuhodo Institute for Life and Living (HILL), a think tank associated with Hakuhodo, one of Japan's largest advertising agencies. A member of the Japanese Baby Boom generation, his research employs Hakuhodo's approach of *sei-katsu-sha*, a holistic approach to advertising and marketing that focuses on the whole person, rather than just their consumer behaviors.

Sharp, Henry S.: An anthropologist noted for his work in the late twentieth century among the Chipewyan people of northern Canada. His doctoral dissertation, completed at Drake University in 1973, was entitled “The Kinship Systems of the Black Lake Chipewyan.” His most important publications on the Chipewyan are *Chipewyan Marriage* (1979) and *The Transformation of Bigfoot: Maleness, Power, and Belief Among the Chipewyan* (1988).

Shelley, Percy Bysshe (1792–1822): A nineteenth-century English Romantic poet who is today considered one of the finest lyric poets in English literature. His best-known works include “Ozymandias,” “Ode to the West Wind,” “To a Skylark,” and “The Masque of Anarchy.” Idealistic and unconventional, he was much criticized during his lifetime, but he became a major influence on poets and writers of the later nineteenth century, including Robert Browning; Alfred, Lord Tennyson; William Butler Yeats; and Karl Marx. He was the husband of novelist Mary Shelley and a close associate of the poets John Keats and Lord Byron. He spent his later years traveling in Italy, where he was drowned while sailing in 1822 a month before his 30th birthday.

Shinzutera Ueda (1926–): A twentieth-century Japanese philosopher specializing in the philosophy of religion. The son of a Buddhist priest, he studied philosophy at Kyoto University under Keiji Nishitani, who oriented his studies toward medieval mystics. He then went to Germany and obtained a doctorate at the University of Marburg. He then returned to Kyoto University to teach philosophy of religion. Later he specialized in the

thought of Kitaro Nishida. A practitioner of zen, he is considered a third generation member of Kyoto School.

Smith, Adam (1723–1790): An eighteenth-century Scottish political economist and moral philosopher who is best known for his two treatises *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) and *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, usually known as *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). The latter was one of the earliest systematic studies of the historical development of industry and commerce in Europe, as well as a detailed criticism of the doctrine and practice of mercantilism. Smith believed that rational self-interest and competition could lead to the economic betterment of society. Smith's work helped create the modern discipline of economics and provided one of the best-known rationales for free trade and capitalism.

Sugita, Genpaku (1733–1817): A eighteenth-century Japanese scholar best known for assembling a team to translate a Dutch book of anatomy into the *Kaitai Shinsho* (*New Book of Anatomy*), a massive undertaking that was finally published in 1774. Sugita undertook the work after an autopsy that he attended indicated the superiority of Western drawings of human organs over those available in Chinese handbooks of anatomy. He was also the author of *Rangaku Kotohajime* (*Beginning of Dutch Studies*).

Terry, Milton S. (1840–1914): An American Protestant minister and Orientalist who visited Japan at the turn of the twentieth century and wrote a book entitled *The Shinto Cult: A Christian Study of the Ancient Religion of Japan*, which offered American Protestant audiences his observations on the practice of Shinto, the indigenous Japanese religion, in the late nineteenth century.

Tocqueville, Alexis de (1805–1859): A nineteenth-century French writer, historian, and political thinker who is best known for his two-volume work, *Democracy in America* (1835, 1840), a widely read commentary on the state of American politics and society in the 1830s. Based on Tocqueville's travels in America, his book is today considered one of the earliest works in sociology. Tocqueville's other major work is *The Old Regime and the Revolution* (1856), which, like *Democracy in America*, traces the effects of the rising equality of social conditions on the individual and the state in Western societies.

Train, Arthur, Jr. (1902–1981): A twentieth-century American writer, Arthur Train, Jr., was the son of Arthur C. Train, an attorney and well-known author of legal thrillers. He studied at Oxford and was a lieutenant commander in the Navy at the end of World War II. He became a translator, a frequent contributor to *Reader's Digest* and other periodicals, and the author of two books, *The Story of Everyday Things* (1941) and *Spoken Like a Frenchman* (1966).

Troyat, Henri (1911–2007): A twentieth-century Russian author, historian, novelist, and biographer working in France who published more than 100 works, among the best known of which are his biographies of Anton Chekhov, Catherine the Great, Rasputin, Ivan the Terrible, and Leo Tolstoy. Born Lev Aslanovich Tarasov in Moscow to Armenian parents, his family settled in Paris in 1920 after fleeing Russia to escape the 1917 Russian Revolution.

Uzan, Rafael: A twentieth-century Jewish artist best known for his published reminiscence of life as a Jewish child in the Tunisian coastal village of Nabeul, which appeared in 1984 as *Days of Honey: The Tunisian Boyhood of Rafael Uzan* by Irene Awret. Like many other North African Jews, Uzan moved with his family to Israel in the 1950s.

Voltaire (1694–1774): The pen name for François-Marie Arouet, an eighteenth-century French Enlightenment writer, essayist, philosopher, and Deist who was known across Europe for his wit and his liberal views. His ideas, which included support for freedom of religion, greatly influenced the thinking of supporters of both the American and French Revolutions. His works include *Lettres philosophiques sur les Anglais* (1733), which was revised as *Letters on the English* in 1778; *Candide* (1759); *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764), which criticized French political institutions, the Bible, and the Roman Catholic Church; and numerous articles in Denis Diderot's *Encyclopédie*. An extremely prolific writer, he also authored plays, poetry, essays, novels, pamphlets, historical and scientific books, and more than 20,000 letters.

Von Forstner, Georg-Günther: The captain of German U-boat 28 during World War I. His journal detailing the events of his command in 1915 was printed in German in 1916, with an English translation appearing as *The Journal of Submarine Commander von Forstner* in 1917.

Wairy, Louis Constant (1778–1845): Head valet to Emperor Napoleon I of France and author of the *Memoirs of Constant*, which provide significant information on the person and private life of Napoleon.

Wawer, Maria J.: Professor of clinical population and family health at the Mailman School of Public Health, Columbia University. She received her doctorate from the University of Toronto in 1979. Her research activities focus on HIV, associated infections, and reproductive health in Uganda. In 1988, collaboration with colleagues at the Uganda Virus Research Institute in Entebbe, Makerere University in Kampala, and at Johns Hopkins, she established the Rakai Health Sciences Program, which has become one of the largest HIV research, prevention, and care programs in Africa.

Weber, Friedrich Christian (d. c. 1739): A diplomat who represented English interests at the court of Czar Peter the Great of Russia in the late 1710s. Like King George I, who became ruler of Britain in 1714 and who appointed him to his post, Weber was born in the German state of Hanover. Weber is best known for his written account of his time in Russia, which was translated into English and published in 1722–1723 as *The Present State of Russia*.

Weeks, Holland (c. 1768–1843): An early nineteenth-century Congregationalist minister who led churches in Vermont, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York. He was pastor of First Church in Waterbury, Connecticut, in the early 1800s, and then pastored a church in Abingdon, Massachusetts, from 1815 to 1820 before moving to a church in Henderson, New York, in 1821.

Wills, Nathan Parker (1806–1867): An American author and editor who published the works of such notable writers as Harriet Jacobs and Edgar Allan Poe. He founded

the short-lived *American Monthly Magazine* in 1829 and was foreign editor and correspondent for the *New York Mirror* in the 1830s. In 1844, he co-founded another newspaper, the *Evening Mirror*, in which he published “The Raven,” the great poem of his friend Poe on January 29, 1845. He also published many of Poe’s contributions to the so-called “Longfellow War,” a long literary feud between Poe and the admirers of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, whom Poe felt was an overrated plagiarist. In 1846, Wills became editor of the *National Press*, which he renamed the *Home Journal*, and in which he promoted the work of various women poets, including Frances Sargent Osgood, Anne Lynch Botta, Grace Greenwood, and Julia Ward Howe.

Wilson, Samuel G. (d. 1916): A Presbyterian missionary stationed for 15 years in Persia, where he served for a time as principal of a missionary school and was also in charge of Armenian relief work during World War I. His experiences in Persia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries resulted in two publications, *Persian Life and Customs* and *Persia: Western Missions*.

Young, Arthur (1741–1820): The greatest and most prolific of English agricultural writers, Young is also known as a keen observer of eighteenth-century politics and society. He conducted various agricultural experiments on his farm in Essex, which he described in *A Course of Experimental Agriculture* (1770). In the late 1760s, he undertook a series of journeys through Britain that resulted in three books of observations: *Six Weeks’ Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales*, *A Six Months’ Tour through the North of England*, and *Farmer’s Tour through the East of England*. He traveled through Ireland in 1776, and published *Tour in Ireland* in 1780. In the late 1780s, he undertook several tours of France, which resulted in the two-volume *Travels in France* (1792), which is a valuable account of social conditions in that country on the eve of the French Revolution. In 1793, Young was appointed secretary of the British Board of Agriculture. Young is also known as a pioneering statistician; his *Political Arithmetic* and his various accounts of English tours produced important estimates of English national income.

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